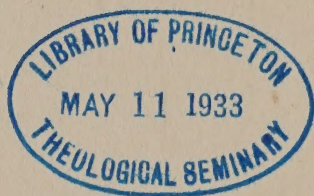


FORT LIGONIER AND ITS TIMES

G. HALE SIPE

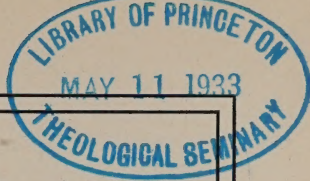


Division

F152

Section

.S57



FORT LIGONIER AND ITS TIMES

A History of the First English Fort West of the
Allegheny Mountains and an Account of Many
Thrilling, Tragic, Romantic, Important but
Little Known Colonial and Revolution-
ary Events in the Region Where the
Winning of the West Began.

Based Primarily on the Pennsylvania
Archives and Colonial Records

FIRST EDITION

By

C. HALE SIPE, A. B., Litt. D.

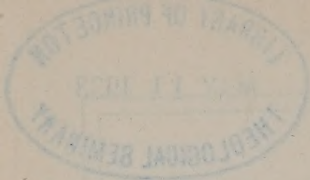
of the Pittsburgh and Butler Bars; Member of the Historical Society
of Pennsylvania; Member of the Historical Society of Western
Pennsylvania; Member of the Pennsylvania German
Society and Other Historical and Scientific Societies.
Author of "The Indian Chiefs of Pennsylvania",
"The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania", "Mount
Vernon and the Washington Family"
and Other Historical Works.

For Schools, Colleges, Libraries and
Lovers of Informative Literature



THE TELEGRAPH PRESS
HARRISBURG, PA.
1932

Price \$3.50, postpaid. Order from C. Hale Sipe, Butler, Pa.



Copyrighted 1933

By

C. HALE SIPE



Printed in the United States of America

*To the Memory of his Sainted Mother from Whom
he Inherited a Love for the History of Penn-
sylvania, this Book is Reverently
Dedicated by the
Author*

INTRODUCTION

Fort Ligonier, erected during General Forbes' campaign against Fort Duquesne, in 1758—a fort that never surrendered—was the first fort built by men of the Anglo-Saxon race in the region west of the Allegheny Mountains. Located on the ancient Indian trail and traders' path leading from the waters of the Susquehanna to the waters of the Ohio—a forest and mountain trail which, under the magic hand of that renowned soldier, Colonel Henry Bouquet, who led the advance of Forbes' army, became the most important military road in Colonial America—, Fort Ligonier was the base from which General Forbes made his final dash against Fort Duquesne and forever ended French dominion in the Valley of the Ohio, with the consequent ascendancy of the Anglo-Saxon in the Western World.

The reader should keep in mind that Fort Ligonier stood in the region which was the Gateway to Ohio, Indiana and the West—the region from which George Rogers Clark led his expedition in 1778 which captured the Northwest from the British—the region from which the great stream of Pennsylvania influence, and not that of New England, flowed to the uttermost limits of the Continent.

The need for this volume is apparent. Many thousands of intelligent Pennsylvanians—many thousands of Pennsylvania school children—are strangers to most of the historical facts which this volume presents. One of the main reasons for this condition is the fact that, “while Pennsylvania had the historical glory, New England had the historians”—the fact that historical scholarship in America has been dominated, almost to the pres-

ent day, by men of New England. These men, it is true, have made contributions of very great value to the historical literature of America. But most of them have presented American history, as might be expected, from their own local point of view.

And so it has come to pass that the school children of Pennsylvania know more about the beginnings in Massachusetts than they do about the beginnings in Pennsylvania—that they know the name of the ship that brought the first settlers to Massachusetts, bearing the seeds of religious intolerance, but do not know the names of the Swedish ships that brought the first settlers to Pennsylvania, bearing the seeds of religious liberty, the principle that made America—that they know much about Captain Miles Standish, in Massachusetts, but know little or nothing about the able Swedish governor, John Printz, who, before William Penn was born, established the first permanent seat of government in Pennsylvania, erecting a state house which stood for one hundred and sixty years—that they know the story of the Boston Tea Party, but do not know the story of the Philadelphia Tea Parties that took place long before Boston Tea Party was planned—that they know the story of the seventeenth-century Indian wars in New England, but know little or nothing about the much more important Indian wars in Pennsylvania, which were the West Point from which George Washington and most of his ablest generals were graduated and but for which the Revolutionary War would have been doomed to failure—that they know that the Puritans of Massachusetts loved education, but do not know that Pennsylvania Germans published the first school books in all America, and printed the first Bibles in all America fifty years before descendants of the May-

flower printed any Bibles in America—that they know that New England poets wrote fine poems against slavery, but do not know that Pennsylvania-Germans issued the first protest against slavery on the American Continent—that they know so little of their own local heritage of historical glory and commonwealth and regional development.

The author makes no apology for the fact that many pages of this volume are devoted to the tragedies in the cabin homes and on the forest farms of the pioneers. These victims of the tomahawk and scalping knife of the Indian allies of the French and of the British are entitled to a place in the eternal pages of history.

Not believing in long introductions, the author hastens to say that, as indicated above, this volume has been written to fill a gap in the historical literature of Pennsylvania, especially Western Pennsylvania, a region whose historical background is as important as that of any other beneath the beautiful folds of the Starry Banner of the Free. It is therefore the hope of the fine man who sponsored this book, and the hope of the author, that the volume will help to awaken a greater interest in the early history of the state bearing the name of Penn, the apostle.

C. HALE SIPE.

Butler, Pennsylvania,
December 1, 1932.

CONTENTS

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Page</i>
I Ligonier, the Loyalhanning of the Delawares	1
II The Forbes Campaign—March Over the Mountains to the “Camp at Loyal Hannon”	17
III The Forbes Campaign (Continued)—Grant’s De- feat	46
IV The Forbes Campaign (Continued)—Attack on the “Camp at Loyal Hannon”	67
V The Forbes Campaign (Continued)—Christian Frederick Post at Loyalhanning	81
VI The Forbes Campaign (Continued)—Some Noted Soldiers at the “Camp at Loyal Hannon”	108
VII The Forbes Campaign (Continued)—The March from Loyal Hannon to Fort Duquesne	119
VIII Fort Ligonier from the Fall of Fort Duquesne to the Opening of Pontiac’s War	127
IX The Principal Cause of Pontiac’s War	141
X Pontiac’s War—The Storm Moves Towards Fort Ligonier	154
XI Pontiac and Guyasuta’s Warriors Attack Fort Ligonier	172
XII Col. Bouquet Relieves Forts Ligonier and Pitt— Battle of Bushy Run	192
XIII Fort Ligonier from 1763 to 1774—Further View of Early Westmoreland Settlements	214
XIV Fort Ligonier and Westmoreland in 1774 and 1775—Virginia’s Claim and Dunmore’s War . .	263
XV Fort Ligonier and Western Pennsylvania in the Revolution (1775-1776)	331
XVI Fort Ligonier and Western Pennsylvania in the Revolution (Continued)—1777	360
XVII Fort Ligonier and Western Pennsylvania in the Revolution (Continued)—1778	413
XVIII Fort Ligonier and Western Pennsylvania in the Revolution (Continued)—1779	460
XIX Fort Ligonier and Western Pennsylvania in the Revolution (Continued) 1780-1781	494
XX Fort Ligonier and Western Pennsylvania in the Revolution (Continued) 1782-1783	535
XXI The Passing of Fort Ligonier and the Western Pennsylvania Frontier	595
Appendix	663
Index	673

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	<i>Page</i>
Colonel Henry Bouquet	24
Plan of "Camp at Loyal Hannon," Later Called Fort Ligonier	44
Tablet in Memory of Pontiac	152
Ravine of Battlefield of Bushy Run and Brush Creek Lutheran and Reformed Church	198
Plan of Battle of Bushy Run	206
Monument to Frederick Pershing	244
Monument in Herold's (Harrold's) Cemetery	244
General Arthur St. Clair	264
Site of Cabin Where General Arthur St. Clair Died	272
A War Poster Used in Western Pennsylvania During the Revolution	334
Group of Trees at Graves Near Carnahan's Blockhouse .	368
Forbes Road Marker	380
Site of Palmer's Fort	388
Residence at Site of Fort Hand	400
Monument at the Foot of St. Clair Hollow	406
Door of the Ulery Cabin	432
Colonel (later General) Daniel Brodhead	454
Site of the Graves of Mrs. Henry and Her Child	472
Monument in the Public Square at Ligonier	596
General St. Clair's Mansion	630

FORT LIGONIER AND ITS TIMES

CHAPTER I

Ligonier, the Loyalhanning of the Delawares

When the historic curtain first rises upon the spot where Fort Ligonier was later erected and where the town of Ligonier, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, stands today, we find the Delaware Indian town of Loyalhanning situated here on the banks of the sparkling Loyalhanna. Here the Indian council fires, long since gone out on the shore, beamed on the faces of the tender and the helpless, the faces of the wise and the daring; here the Delawares paddled their light canoes on the stream, whose waters yielded an abundance of fish; here they pursued the panting deer and beasts of prey—bears, wolves, panthers, wildcats—amid the great expanse of timberland which had never known an axe; here they hunted the turkey, the pheasant, the quail, and gazed at the flight of the crow, the hawk and the eagle by day, and listened to the dismal hoot of the owl by night; here the song birds made music for them throughout the summer days, and the wolves howled in the long winter nights; here they worshipped the Great Spirit, who taught the streams to flow and the bird to build her nest, who governed the world, who caused day and night and the changing seasons, who stocked the forests with game and the streams with fish for his Red Children.

But long before the coming of the Delawares, the ancient Alligewi roamed the region between the Laurel Hill and the Chestnut Ridge, the charming Ligonier Valley, fishing in the mountain streams and drinking the living waters of the springs that gushed forth amid

the sylvan shades. In the far, dim centuries, this ancient race disappeared forever amid the shadows of the western hills. The Delawares, too, are gone to the "Land of the Lost Ones;" but their memory will linger forever on the rippling Loyalhanna, like the vibrations of deathless music.

A great, historic Indian tribe, these Delawares, who, in their own language, were called Lenape, or Lenni-Lenape, meaning "original men," or "original people," This tribe belonged to the great Algonquin family—by far the greatest Indian family in North America, measured by the extent of territory occupied—a family which surrounded on all sides the great Iroquoian family, and extended from Labrador westward through Canada to the Rocky Mountains, southward to North Carolina, and again westward through the Mississippi Valley to the Rocky Mountains.

According to their great national legend, called the Walum Olum, the Lenape, in long ages past, lived in the vast region west of the Mississippi. Then, with the Mengwe, or Iroquois, they began a migration eastward, driving out the Talligewi, or Alligewi, known also as the "Mound Builders," who fled down the Mississippi Valley, never to return. This conquest lasted many generations, and at its end the Lenape and the Mengwe divided between them the possessions of the defeated race; the Mengwe taking the country in the vicinity of the Great Lakes and their tributary streams and the Lenape taking the region to the South.

For a long period, probably many centuries, according to the Walum Olum, the Mengwe and Lenape resided peacefully in their new country and increased greatly in population. Some of the Lenape warriors and hunters crossed the Allegheny Mountains and, arriving at the streams flowing eastward, followed

them to the Susquehanna and this stream to the Atlantic Ocean. Other enterprising Lenape pathfinders penetrated the wilderness to the Delaware River and, exploring still eastward, arrived at the Hudson. Some of these explorers returned to their nation and reported the discoveries they had made, describing the country as abounding in game and the streams as having an abundance of water-fowl and fish, with no enemy to be dreaded.

The Lenape considered these discoveries as fortunate for them and believed the newly-found region to be the country destined for them by the Great Spirit. Consequently they crossed the Appalachian Mountains and settled on the Susquehanna, the Potomac, the Delaware and the Hudson. They divided into three divisions or clans—the Munsee (later corrupted to Monsey), the Unami and the Unalachtigo. These were called the Wolf, the Turtle and the Turkey clans respectively, from their respective animal types or totems. With these creatures which they had adopted as their symbols, they believed themselves connected by a mystic and powerful tie.

At the dawn of the historic period, the Munsee (Wolf Clan) were living in the mountain country from the mouth of the Lehigh River northward into New York and New Jersey, embracing the territory between the Blue or Kittatinny Mountains and the sources of the Susquehanna river. A part of this clan also dwelt on the Susquehanna, and still another part had a village near Nazareth, Northampton County, in the triangle between the Delaware and the Lehigh. The chief village and capital of the Munsee Clan was the village of Minisink in the present Sussex County, New Jersey. The Munsee were the most warlike of the Delawares. Being defrauded out of their lands by the notorious

“Walking Purchase” of 1737, which obliged them to move, first to the Susquehanna and then to the Ohio, they became the bitter enemies of the white man and drenched the frontier settlements with the blood of the pioneers. Indeed, the fraudulent “Walking Purchase” was one of the principal causes of the Delawares, in the French and Indian War, taking up arms against the Province founded by their true friend, William Penn, the apostle.

The Unami (Turtle Clan), “down river people,” at the opening of the historic period, dwelt on both sides of the Delaware from the mouth of the Lehigh to the line dividing the states of Pennsylvania and Delaware. Their chief village and capital was Shackamaxon, likely the capital also of the whole Lenape nation, located on the Delaware River at Kingston within the limits of Philadelphia. The principal chief of the Unami Clan was the “King” of the united Lenape nation, by immemorial custom presiding at all the councils of the tribe.

The Unalachtigo (Turkey Clan), “people living near the sea,” at the dawn of the historic period occupied the land on the lower reach of the Delaware River and Delaware Bay. Their villages were on both sides of the river, and their chief village and capital was Chicoki, located on the site of Burlington, New Jersey.

In time, the Lenape and the Iroquois became enemies, and the former were reduced to a state of vassalage by the latter; but it cannot be stated with exactness just when the subjugation took place. It was probably shortly before the coming of William Penn. Nor can it be stated with exactness just how the subjugation took place—whether by artifice, intimidation, or warfare.

Among the great Delaware chiefs who helped to

make Pennsylvania history were the renowned Tamamend (Tammany), with whom William Penn made the Great Treaty, which has become immortal principally on account of Voltaire's allusion to it as the only treaty "never sworn to and never broken;" Sassoonan, or Al-lumapees, who did so much to preserve the friendship which William Penn established with the Indians; King Beaver (Tamaque), who, after leading many a bloody expedition against the Pennsylvania frontier, yielded to the peace message of the gentle Moravian missionary, Christian Frederick Post; Teedyuscung, the "Delaware King," who gave the "Big Peace Halloo" to the eastern Delawares; Shingas, the "bloody warrior" who was kind to prisoners; New Comer, friend of the Moravians and the United States; White Eyes, who planned that the Delawares should live as a civilized and Christian people in a country which should be their home to all generations; Captain Jacobs, who, after laying waste large portions of the Pennsylvania frontier, met death at Kittanning at the hands of the Scotch-Irish troops of Colonel John Armstrong; and Killbuck, who had a captain's commission in the Continental Army and is said to have lost the wampum of the Great Treaty as he swam the icy waters of the Allegheny to reach the protecting walls of Fort Pitt.

Founding of Loyalhanning—Meaning of Loyalhanna and Loyalhanning

As early as 1724 and 1725, Delawares of the Turtle and Turkey clans began, by permission of the Iroquois, to migrate from the region near the Forks of the Susquehanna to the valleys of the Allegheny and Ohio, coming chiefly from the region to the east and south-east of Sunbury. Those Delawares who founded Loyalhanning came from the Susquehanna region by

way of the historic Indian trail which led through Carlisle, Bedford and Ligonier to the Forks of the Ohio, following very closely the course of the present Lincoln Highway. Loyalhanning was founded probably as early as 1727.

Other forms of the name, as found in the old records, are Loyalhannan and Loyal Hanin Old Town.

The name, Loyalhanna, is a corruption of the Delaware adjective, Lawell, meaning "middle," and the Delaware noun, Hanna, meaning "river, or stream"—hence "the middle stream." The name is very appropriate, as the Loyalhanna is midway between the Ohio and the Juniata. The name, Loyalhanning, is simply a corruption of the Delaware, "Lawell-Hanna," with the Delaware locative, "Ing," the sign of place at—hence "at the middle stream," or "the town on the middle stream."

Other Delaware place names in Westmoreland County are the following: 1. Conemaugh, from Conummoch, meaning "an otter." 2. Kiskiminetas, either from Gisch-gu, "day," and Man-i-toon, "to make"—hence "to make daylight," or from Kee-ak-kshee-man-nit-toos, "cut spirit," though Hewitt gives the meaning of "plenty of walnuts." 3. Youghiogheny, a corruption of Juh-wiah-hanna, meaning "a stream flowing in a contrary direction"—hence, literally, "a circuitous stream." 4. Allegheny, a corruption of Alligewi-Hanna, meaning "the river or stream of the Alligewi."

At about the time when the Delawares began their migration across the Alleghenies to the valleys of the Ohio and Allegheny, the Shawnees also began a migration from the Susquehanna to this same western region, settling along the Conemaugh, Kiskiminetas, Alle-

gheny and Ohio principally. Some of their towns will be mentioned later in this chapter.

Early Traders—Indian Towns—War Parties

Loyalhanning being located on one of the main Indian trails from the Susquehanna to the Ohio, it is likely that this Indian town was visited by such Pennsylvania traders as James Le Tort, the younger, Jonah Davenport and Lazarus Lowrey soon after its founding. Le Tort traded with the Indians on the Conemaugh, Kiskiminetas and Allegheny as early as 1727. In 1731, he and Jonah Davenport gave the Pennsylvania Provincial Council an account of the following Indian towns west of the Allegheny Mountains, thus showing their familiarity with region in which Loyalhanning was located:

1. Conemaugh, or Conemaugh Old Town, a Shawnee and Delaware settlement, located where Johnstown now stands.
2. Keckenepaulin's Town (described but not mentioned by name), a Shawnee town, later inhabited by Delawares, located at the mouth of the Loyalhanna.
3. Blacklegs Town (described but not mentioned by name), a Shawnee village, located on the north bank of the Kiskiminetas at the mouth of Blacklegs Creek, Indiana County.
4. Kittanning, a Delaware town, located where the town of the same name now stands.
5. Senangelstown, which likely was the same as Shannopin's Town, a Delaware village, located on the east bank of the Allegheny, about two miles above its mouth.
6. Lequeepees, which was likely the same as Allaquippa's Town, composed of Senecas, Mingoes and Delawares, located where McKees Rocks now stands.
7. Sewickley, a Shawnee town, located on the right bank of the Allegheny, a few miles below Tarentum. There was also another

Sewickley Town, located on the Youghiogheny, near West Newtown. The name is a corruption of "Asswekales," the common name given the Hathawekela clan of Shawnees by the English traders.

It is also likely that French traders and emissaries visited the Delawares at Loyalhanning soon after its founding, coming from Canada. Le Tort, in his examination taken before Governor Gordon of Pennsylvania on October 29, 1731, says "that he is lately come from Allegheny, where there are several Settlements of Delaware, Shawanese & Mingoe Indians, to the number of four or five hundred; that for these three years past, a certain French Gentleman, who goes by the Name of Cavalier, has made it his Practice to come every Spring amongst the Indians settled there, & deals with them but for a very small Value; that he particularly fixes his Abode amongst the Shawanese with whom he holds frequent Councils, & 'tis generally believed with a design to draw them off from the English Interest."

Le Tort goes on to say that soon after Cavalier visited the Indian towns west of the Alleghenies in the spring of 1730, several Shawnees with one or two of their chiefs followed the Frenchman to Montreal, where they saw the Governor of Canada and were treated very civilly by him; also that when Cavalier came to these Indian towns in the spring of 1731, he was accompanied by five other Frenchmen, one of whom was a blacksmith who mended the hoes, guns and hatchets of the Shawnees without pay during his stay of two months. *(Pa. Archives, First Series, Vol. 1, pages 299 to 302).

Thus at this early day do we see the beginning of the contest between England and France for the possession of the region west of the Alleghenies.

* Unless otherwise indicated, all references to the Pa. Archives, in this volume, are to the First Series.

Loyalhanning being on one of the principal Indian trails that were used by the Delawares and Shawnees in making bloody expeditions against the settlements east of the mountains during the French and Indian War, it is likely that many captives, taken during these expeditions, were detained at this Indian town, but none of them seems to have mentioned the place. John and James McCullough, who were captured in Franklin County, on July 26, 1756, were taken to Fort Duquesne, and likely passed through this town. At least they were at Kiskiminetas Town, as John McCullough mentions this fact in his Narrative.

Reference to the fact that a large party of hostile Delawares stopped at Loyalhanning in the spring of 1757, is found in the examination of a Delaware prisoner in May of that year. Said this prisoner: "A Hundred and thirty-five Indians set off from Fort Duquesne, not designed against any Particular Place, but divide and fall separately on different Places of the Frontier; the Party divided at Lawelpanning [Loyalhanning]." (Pa. Archives Vol. 3, page 147).

The Ohio Company—Christopher Gist at Loyalhanning

At the Lancaster Treaty of 1744, Virginia purchased from the Six Nations, or Iroquois, a vast tract of land, whose western limits were set forth in the beautiful, metaphorical language of the Indian as "the setting sun." Virginia believed that the lands of the Ohio and its tributaries in Western Pennsylvania were within the bounds of this purchase. Consequently, in 1748, Thomas Lee, President of the Council of Virginia, and a number of others, mostly Virginians, among whom were George Washington's half-brothers, Lawrence and Augustine, formed the Ohio Company for the purpose of settling the lands in the northern part of the Ohio Valley.

The rapidly growing Indian trade on the Ohio and its tributaries had attracted the traders from Maryland and Virginia as well as from Pennsylvania. This hastened the forming of the Ohio Company. Especially did Conrad Weiser's mission to the Indians of the Ohio Valley, in the autumn of 1748, arouse the authorities of Virginia to active measures for the possession of the Indian trade on the upper Ohio and for the possession of the territory drained by the "Beautiful River." At Logstown, the "Indian Capital" on the north bank of the Ohio, about eighteen miles below Pittsburgh, this Pennsylvania-German, agent of the Colony of Pennsylvania, negotiated with the Indians a treaty which laid the region west of the Alleghenies open to Anglo-Saxon influence and development and laid the foundations for the "Winning of the West"—a move first made by Pennsylvania and not by New England. Yet there are many so-called educated Pennsylvanians who seem to think that the history of the development of the United States, is simply synonymous with the history of the expansion of New England! Thus Weiser—diplomat, churchman, nation-builder—has an exalted and permanent place in the history of Pennsylvania and the Nation.

King George II granted the Ohio Company two hundred thousand acres of land, to be taken on the south side of the Ohio and Allegheny between the Kiskiminetas River and Buffalo Creek, and on the north side of the Ohio between Yellow Creek and Cross Creek; or in such other part of the country west of the Allegheny Mountains as the Company should think proper, on the condition that it should settle one hundred families thereon within seven years and build a fort. On compliance with this condition, the Company was to become entitled to three hundred thousand acres more, adjoining the first grant.

Although all the official documents relating to the Ohio Company's grant plainly show that the northern limit was the Kiskiminetas, yet almost all the major historians of the United States join in a grand chorus, like the voice of many waters, in singing the song that the northern limit was the Monongahela. Although the Iroquois, through Conrad Weiser, explained that by the expression, "the setting sun" they meant the crest of the Allegheny Mountains, yet the Ohio Company proceeded to explore the region embraced in its grant from the King. The Company, through its agent Christopher Gist, in 1753 made the first English settlement in that part of Pennsylvania west of the Allegheny Mountains, a settlement of eleven Virginia families at the present Mount Braddock, Fayette County—a settlement which was outside the bounds of the Company's grant if the major historians are correct. Early in 1754, the Company erected a storehouse where Brownsville, Fayette County, now stands, also outside the bounds of the grant if the above historians are correct. And in February, 1754, the Ohio Company began to erect a fort at the "Forks of the Ohio," also outside the bounds of the Company's grant if the above historians are correct. But as stated above, the historians are wrong. The Kiskiminetas was the northern limit of the Ohio Company's grant; and therefore it follows that the above named settlement and the above named storehouse and the fort were where one would expect to find them, namely, within the bounds of the grant to the Ohio Company. It is thus seen, too, that Fort Ligonier was located within the bounds of this grant.

While the Ohio Company's Mount Braddock settlement was unquestionably the first English-speaking settlement in that part of Pennsylvania west of the

Alleghenies, yet the Pennsylvania-German settlement of the Eckerlin (Eckerling) brothers, on Dunkard Creek, in the present Greene County was probably made at as early or even earlier, date. The Eckerlings were from Ephrata, Lancaster County, members of the colony of German Seventh Day Baptists of that place. When George Croghan was at Logstown, in May, 1751, he met a "Dunkar," very likely Samuel Eckerling, who had come there to request that the chiefs of the Six Nations permit him to make a settlement "on the River Yough-yo-gaine, a branch of Ohio." Soon after the French and Indian War broke out, the Eckerlings moved their settlement from Dunkard Creek to a point near the mouth of the Cheat River. Here the settlement was destroyed by French and Indians, in the summer of 1757, two of the Eckerlings and one of their companions being captured and the rest of their companions killed and scalped. (Author's "Indian Wars of Pennsylvania," pages 353 and 354.)

In 1750, Christopher Gist, as the agent and surveyor of the Ohio Company, was sent to explore the region west of the Alleghenies. On September 11, Gist received his "Instructions" from the Committee of the Ohio Company, and on October 31, he set out from Colonel Thomas Cresap's house at Old Town, Maryland. Following the "Warriors Path," along the eastern base of the Great Warrior Mountain to Warrior's Gap, near "Bloody Run," the present Everett, about eight miles east of Bedford, he there took the Allegheny Path leading westward through Bedford and Ligonier to Shannopin's Town on the Allegheny within the limits of Pittsburgh.

Let us follow Gist over the mountains from Old Town on the Potomac through Loyalhanning on the

Loyalhanna to Shannopin's Town on the Allegheny. The following is from his journal:

"Wednesday, Oct. 31, 1740. Set out from Col. Thomas Cresap's at the Old Town on Potomack River in Maryland, and went along an old Indian Path N 30 E about 11 miles.

"Thursday, Nov. 1. Then N 1 mile N 30 E 3 M. Here I was taken sick and stayed all night.

"Friday 2. N. 30 E 6 M, here I was so bad that I was not able to proceed any further that Night, but grew better in the Morning.

"Saturday 3. N 8 M to Juniatta, a large Branch of Susquehanna, where I stayed all Night.

"Sunday 4. Crossed Juniatta and went up it S 55 W about 16 M.

"Monday 5. Continued the same Course S 55 W 6 M to the Top of a large Mountain called the Allegheny Mountain. Here our Path turned, & we went N 45 W 6 M. Here we encamped.

"Tuesday 6, Wednesday 7 and Thursday 8. Had Snow and such bad Weather that We could not travel for three Days; but I killed a young Bear so that we had Provision enough.

"Friday 9. Set out N 70 W about 8 M. Here I crossed a Creek of Susquehanna and it was raining hard. I went into an old Indian Cabbin where I stay'd all Night.

"Saturday 10. Rain and Snow all day but cleared away in the Evening.

"Sunday 11. Set out late in the Morning N 70 W 6 M, crossing two Forks of a Creek of Susquehanna. Here the Way being bad, We camped and I killed a Turkey.

"Monday 12. Set out N 45 W 8 M. Crossed a great Laurel Mountain.

"Tuesday 13. Rain and Snow.

"Wednesday 14. Set out N 45 W 6 M to Loyalhannan, an old Indian Town on a Creek of Ohio called Kiscominatis. Then N 1 M NW 1 M to an Indian's Camp on said Creek.

"Thursday 15. The Weather being bad and I unwell, I stayed here all Day; The Indian to whom this Camp belonged spoke good English and directed Me to the Way to his Town, which is called Shannopini Town; He said it was about 60 M and a pretty good Way.

"Friday 16. Set out S 70 W 10 M.

"Saturday 17. The same Course (S 70 W) 15 M to an old Indian's Camp.

"Sunday 18. I was very sick, and sweated myself according to the Indian Custom in a Sweat-House, which gave me Ease, and my Fever abated.

"Monday 19. Set out early in the Morning the same Course (S 70 W). Travelled very hard about 20 M to a small Indian Town of the Delawares called Shannopin on the SE Side of the Ohio River, where We rested and got Corn for our Horses."

We add the following to Gist's account of his journey from the Potomac to the Allegheny:

The "two Forks of a Creek of Susquehanna," mentioned in Gist's journal under date of November 11, were the north and east forks of Quemahoning Creek. As these streams here flow to the northeast, they misled Gist into supposing that they flowed into the Susquehanna. It will be observed that Gist calls Loyalhanning "Loyalhannan," that he calls the Loyalhanna "Kiscominatis," likely considering it as the main branch of the Kiskiminetas River; and that he gives the distance from Loyalhanning to Shannopin's Town (named for the Delaware chief of that name) as "about 60

miles." The Pennsylvania trader, John Patten, advised the Pennsylvania Provincial Council in March, 1754, that the distance between these two places was fifty miles. The latter is more nearly correct. The "old Indian's Camp," at which Gist arrived on November 17 and at which he "sweated" himself on November 18, was Cockey's Cabin, its owner a Delaware well known to the Pennsylvania traders. Its location was on Bushy Run, near Harrison City and near the famous battlefield of Bushy Run.

At Shannopin's Town, Gist and his companion, his son, swam their horses across the Allegheny. Then they proceeded down the Allegheny and Ohio through Logstown to the mouth of the Beaver. From the mouth of the Beaver, they proceeded to the valley of the Muskingum and then returned to Virginia through the heart of Kentucky almost twenty years before Daniel Boone penetrated its wilderness. Late in 1751 and early in 1752, Gist, accompanied by his son, made another exploring journey for the Ohio Company. Setting out from the Ohio Company's store house opposite the mouth of Will's Creek (Cumberland, Md.), Gist followed the old Indian trail to the present Brownsville, Fayette County. On this trip he explored the southwestern part of Pennsylvania, a part of West Virginia and Ohio, and returned to Will's Creek. While on this journey, King Beaver and Captain Oppamyluca, chiefs of Delawares, propounded to him the following question, which Gist confesses he "was at a loss to answer:" "The French claim all the Land on one side of the River Ohio & the English all on the other Side. Where does the Indian's Land lie?"

Gist, the first white man to make a record of the Indian town of Loyalhanning on whose site Fort Ligonier was erected, really selected the ground upon

which the conflict between Great Britain and France for the possession of the Ohio Valley was to take place. Being one of the earliest Anglo-Saxon explorers of the vast region composing southwestern Pennsylvania and large parts of Ohio and Kentucky, and being Washington's guide on the latter's mission to the French in 1753, this great pathfinder deserves a permanent place in American history.

Having taken the above glance at some of the early history relating to the Loyalhanna region, we shall devote our next chapter to more stirring things at Loyalhanning and in connection with the tragic and awful French and Indian War.

CHAPTER II

The Forbes Campaign — March Over the Mountains to the “Camp at Loyal Hannon”

In Chapter I, reference was made to the fact that English traders followed the Delawares and Shawnees to the waters of the Ohio soon after these Indians migrated from the Susquehanna to the western wilderness. Reference was also made in the same chapter to the fact that Virginia laid claim to the upper Ohio on the basis of her purchase from the Six Nations at the Lancaster Treaty of 1744, and that Conrad Weiser, at the head of the first embassy of Pennsylvania to the Indians of the Ohio Valley, in 1748, negotiated with them, at Logstown, a treaty which opened up the region west of the Alleghenies to Anglo-Saxon influence and development. Both Pennsylvania and Virginia pushed into the western region, following this treaty at Logstown. Virginia, at Logstown, in 1752 negotiated a treaty with the Indians of the Ohio, a treaty that gave the Ohio Company the right to make settlements and erect two forts west of the Alleghenies. In the meantime, French emissaries were busy among the Indians of the Ohio and Allegheny. In the summer of 1749, Celoron floated down the Allegheny and Ohio, coming from Canada and burying leaden plates at the mouths of tributary streams proclaiming that the region drained by the “Beautiful River” and its tributaries belonged to the Crown of France forever. The French claim to this region was based on the explorations of La Salle and the heroic Jesuit missionaries.

Then, in the summer of 1753, the French entered the valley of the upper Allegheny with armed forces, and, in the latter part of the same year, Lieutenant Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent George Washington to deliver to the French commander on the headwaters of the Allegheny Virginia's protest against the encroachments of the French on territory claimed by the English.

But the French kept pressing onward. The spring of 1754 saw the breaking of the storm that had long been gathering over the waters of the Ohio. In February of this year, Captain William Trent at the head of about seventy Virginians began the erection of a fort for the Ohio Company at the Forks of the Ohio. The French came down the Allegheny in the middle of April, drove the Virginians away, completed the fort and named it Fort Duquesne, in honor of the Governor-General of Canada. Then came Washington's campaign of 1754 in an effort to hold the Forks of the Ohio by Virginia troops—a campaign that ended with the young Virginian's capitulation at Fort Necessity, on July 4, his first and last surrender. The French flag now floated from the banks of the Susquehanna to the banks of the Ohio and on to the banks of the Wabash, and the prospect for Anglo-Saxon conquest of the continent was gloomy, indeed. On July 9 of the following year (1755), Braddock's proud array, marching against Fort Duquesne, went down to overwhelming and inglorious defeat on the banks of the Monongahela. The gloom among the English was deep, and the joy among the French was unbounded.

Shortly after Braddock's defeat, the Delawares and Shawnees went over to the French and began their work of spreading terror, desolation and death throughout the Pennsylvania settlements. The fraudulent "Walk-

ing Purchase" of 1737, which affected the Delawares, and the Purchase of 1754, which affected both the Delawares and the Shawnees, bore terrible and bitter fruit during the few years succeeding the defeat of the haughty and unfortunate Braddock. The smoke of burning farm houses and burning settlements darkened the heavens; the soil of the forest farms of the German and Scotch-Irish settlers was drenched with their blood; the tomahawk of the wronged and now savage Indian dashed out the brains of the aged and the infant; hundreds of Pennsylvania settlers east of the Alleghenies were tortured to death by fire at Kittanning and other Indian towns in the valleys of the Allegheny and Ohio, to which they were taken; fear traveled on the wings of the wind, filling the hearts of all, especially the inhabitants on the Pennsylvania frontier, with dismay. During this reign of terror, Fort Duquesne was the arsenal which supplied the western Delawares and Shawnees with guns and ammunition for the raids against the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia; and French officers from this stronghold often accompanied and led the hostile Indians on their bloody expeditions.

But in less than three years after Braddock's defeat, the powerful hand of William Pitt took hold of the helm of the British Ship of State. Major-General James Abercrombie was appointed commander-in-chief of all the British forces in America, and the following expeditions were planned for the year 1758: (1) Generals Amherst and Wolf were to join with Admiral Boscawen's fleet for the recapture of Louisburg. (2) General Abercrombie, with Lord Howe as real leader, was to move against Ticonderoga and Crown Point. (3) Brigadier-General John Forbes was placed in command of an expedition against Fort Duquesne.

Forces Composing the Army of Forbes

The Ohio Company's settlement at Mount Braddock, Fayette County, having been broken up by the French and Indians during Washington's campaign of 1754, there were no English settlements west of the Alleghenies at the time of which we are writing. Let us now take a view of the forces making up the army of Forbes, which is to penetrate the western wilderness and destroy the French fort at the Forks of the Ohio. Probably as accurate a list of these forces as has even been given is the following from Lowdermilk's "History of Cumberland:"

<i>Name of Corps</i>	<i>Field Officers</i>	<i>Co. Officers</i>	<i>Total</i>	
Division of First Battalion of Royal Americans	1	12	363	
Highland, or 62nd Regiment	3	37	998	} 1,267
Division of 62nd Regiment	3	12	269	
1st Virginia Regiment	3	32	782	} 1,484
2nd Virginia Regiment ..	3	35	702	
3d North Carolina Companies	1	10	141	
4th Maryland Companies..	1	15	270	
1st Battalion Pennsylvania	3	41	755	} 2,192
2nd Battalion Pennsylvania	3	40	666	
3d Battalion Pennsylvania	3	46	771	
Three Lower Counties (Delaware)	3	46	263	
Total			5,980	

Detachments on the Frontier and on the road of Communication:

	<i>Major</i>	<i>Captains</i>	<i>Subalterns</i>	<i>Total</i>
From the Pennsylvania				
Regiments	1	10	17	563
From North Carolina				
Regiments	1	3	61	624
In addition there were 1,000 wagoners.				

For the Forbes expedition, Pennsylvania equipped twenty-seven hundred troops, but some of the companies were assigned to garrisoning Fort Augusta and other posts. The three Pennsylvania battalions, called a regiment, set forth in above list, had as their general officers: Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Shippen; Commissary of the Musters and Paymaster, James Young; Surgeon, Dr. Bond; Chaplain, Rev. Thomas Barton, an Episcopal clergyman; Wagon Master, Robert Irwin; and Deputy Wagon Master, Mordecai Thompson.

The first Pennsylvania battalion was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Armstrong, of Kittanning expedition fame. Under him were: Lieutenant-Colonel Hance Hamilton; Major Jacob Orndt, who was assigned to garrison duty; Surgeon Blain; Chaplain Rev. Charles Beatty, a Presbyterian pioneer clergyman; Adjutant, John Philip de Hass; and Quartermaster, Thomas Smallman. Among the Captains in this battalion were: Samuel Allen, James Potter, Jacob Snaidor, George Armstrong, Edward Ward, Robert Callender, John Nicholas Wetterhold, William Lyon, Patrick Davis, Charles Garraway, William

Armstrong, Richard Walter, John McKnight and David Hunter.

The second Pennsylvania battalion was commanded by Colonel James Burd. Under him were: Lieutenant-Colonel, Thomas Lloyd; Major David Jamison; Surgeon, John Morgan; Chaplain, Rev. John Steel, a Presbyterian clergyman of the Cumberland frontier; Adjutant, Jacob Kern; Quartermaster, Asher Clayton; and Commissary, Peter Bard. Among the Captains of the second battalion were: Christian Busse, Joseph Scott, Samuel J. Atlee, William Patterson, William Reynolds, Levi Trump, Jacob Morgan, Samuel Weiser (son of the renowned Conrad Weiser), Alexander McKee, John Byers, John Haslett, John Singleton and Robert Eastburn.

The third Pennsylvania battalion was commanded by Colonel (later General) Hugh Mercer. Under him were: Lieutenant-Colonel, Patrick Work; Major, George Armstrong; Surgeon, Robert Bines; Chaplain, Rev. Andrew Bay; Adjutant, James Ewing; Quartermaster, Thomas Hutchins; and Sergeant-Major, Samuel Culbertson. Among the Captains of the third battalion were: Robert Boyd, John Blackburn, James Sharp, Adam Read, Samuel Nelson, John Montgomery, George Aston, Charles McClung, Robert McPherson, Paul Jackson, John Bull, William Biles, Archibald McGrew, Thomas Hamilton, Ludowick Stone, John Clark, John Allison, Job Rushton, Thomas Smith, Alexander Graydon, James Hyndshaw and Thomas Armour.

A list of the officers of these three Pennsylvania battalions is found in Pa. Archives, Fifth Series, Vol. 1, pages 178 to 185.

The Southern troops were commanded by Colonel

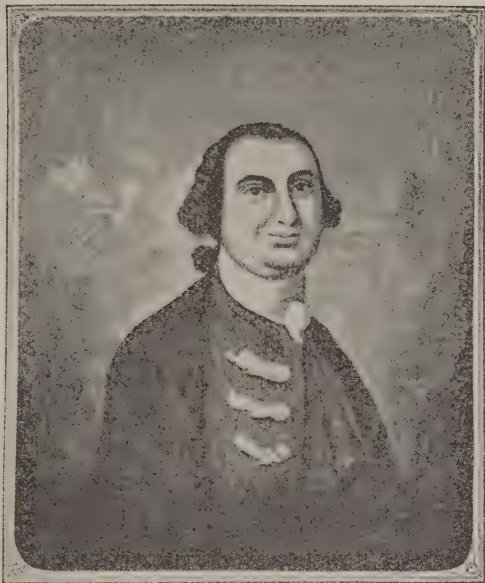
George Washington, Colonel William Byrd, Colonel Adam Stephens, Major Lewis and others. They assembled, first at Winchester, Virginia, and then at Cumberland, Maryland. Later, as we shall see, the Southern troops joined the Pennsylvania troops and the British regulars at Bedford.

The Royal Americans and Colonel Bouquet

At this point, before we follow the march of the army of General Forbes over the forest-covered mountains to Ligonier and farther into the western wilderness, we call attention to the fact that part of his army, as indicated in the list appearing earlier in this chapter, was composed of "Royal Americans." This was the name given to a force to consist of four battalions of one thousand men each—a force neither strictly British nor strictly Colonial, the men being recruited in the Colonies and the officers being commissioned by the King of England. The men were composed very largely of Pennsylvania-Germans and other non-English speaking inhabitants of the Colonies. The law creating the force provided that fifty of the commissioned officers might be chosen from Protestant foreign officers of ability and experience.

At this point, too, it will be well to state a few facts concerning the most noted officer of the Royal Americans, Colonel Henry Bouquet, commander of the first battalion, next in command to General Forbes, and under whose direction Fort Ligonier was built. He was born at Rolle, in the Canton of Vaud, Switzerland, about 1719. Having had much experience in the regiment of Constance and in the service of the King of Sardinia, in whose wars he distinguished himself, he, in 1748, entered the Swiss Guards as Lieutenant-Colonel.

When war broke out between England and France, in 1754 he entered the service of the British and was later sent to America, where he became the most distinguished and successful soldier of foreign birth, in Indian warfare. In the latter part of 1757, he was in South Carolina with four companies of Royal Americans, and on February 14, 1758, was ordered to New York by General Forbes, at which place he landed on April 15, with four companies of Royal Americans and some Virginia troops. He then came to Philadelphia and at once took an active part in the preparations for the advance of Forbes' army against Fort Duquesne. In fact, he led the advance, and, on account of the physical weakness of General Forbes, who became ill upon his arrival at Philadelphia in April, most of the work of carrying out the General's plans devolved upon Colonel Bouquet. Not only was Bouquet an able and energetic soldier, but he was a scholar as well, speaking and writing good French, German and English. In fact, he wrote better English than most British officers of his time. He was fond of the society of men of science. His greatest fame, however, was gained at the battle of Bushy Run, later to be described in this volume—the most bitterly contested battle between the Indian and the white man on the American continent. At the close of the Pontiac and Guyasuta War (Pontiac's War), he was made Brigadier-General and commandant in the Southern Colonies of British America, leaving New York for Pensacola on April 10, 1765. His new honors were not long enjoyed, as he died of yellow fever at Pensacola, in the summer of 1765, "lamented by his friends and regretted universally." He sleeps the last long sleep in an unknown grave in the summer land of our country.



Colonel Henry Bouquet, second in command in the Forbes expedition and the most distinguished and successful soldier of foreign birth in Indian warfare in America.

Courtesy Encyclopedia of Pennsylvania.

General Forbes' Indian Allies

Like General Braddock, General Forbes had Indian allies—Cherokees and Catawbias. Like Braddock, also, nearly all of his Indian allies left him before he came near Fort Duquesne. Edmund Atkins, who was superintendent of Indian affairs for the southern colonies and a member of the Council in South Carolina, had succeeded in procuring Cherokees and Catawbias to accompany the army of Forbes. On June 1, Governor Denny and General Forbes held an important conference at Philadelphia with twelve Cherokees, led by a son of the Iroquois chief, Seneca George, and the Cherokee chief, Wheunclowo, at which arrangements were made for the Cherokees to assist the English in the Forbes campaign. (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 8, page 124). As the General was marching against Fort Duquesne, many of these Indians went to the Ohio above and below the fort in order to "annoy the enemy, get intelligence and bring away prisoners." By the middle of May, there were more than seven hundred of these Southern Indians in Forbes' service. However, it was necessary to give them presents almost constantly to keep them scouting. They gradually left the service, sighing for their southern homes. When July came, all but two hundred had gone home. By the first of September, all had gone except about eighty; and on October 27, General Forbes wrote from his "Camp at Top of Allegane Mountains"; "The Cherokee and other Southern Indians who came last winter and so early in the Spring to join us, after having by every Act they were Masters of, gott everything they could expect from us, left us without any remorse when they found they were not likely to get any more presents for retaining them, so that I have now left with me about fifty, and am now on the march to the Ohio, as the season will not admit of one Moment's delay."

The Route Followed by General Forbes—Dispute Between Pennsylvanians and Virginians

HAVING taken this brief view of the forces, white and red, making up General Forbes' expedition, we shall now take a view of the route over which his army advanced to Loyalhanning and against Fort Duquesne. On March 28, 1758, the General, then in New York, wrote Governor William Denny, of Pennsylvania, giving directions for raising troops in Pennsylvania, and adding: "I propose assembling the Regular Troops and those of Pennsylvania at Conegochie [Conococheague, the mouth of the creek of this name, which flows into the Potomac at Williamsport, Maryland], about the 20th of April." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 8, pages 59 and 60). In making the mouth of the Conococheague the rendezvous and base of supplies for the Pennsylvania forces; he did so at the suggestion of Sir John St. Clair, (Sinclair), his Quartermaster-General, who had held the same position in Braddock's army and no doubt expected that Forbes would advance against Fort Duquesne over the same road that Braddock used, making, like Braddock, Fort Cumberland the starting point.

Washington and the other Virginians took it for granted that the Braddock road would be followed by Forbes. However, before the campaign was far advanced, Colonel Bouquet, who led the advance, hoped to find a better way over the mountains than the Braddock road, and General Forbes shared this hope. Bouquet carefully studied the reports of his scouts and became strongly of the opinion that the route to be followed should start at Fort Loudon, thence to Raystown, (Bedford), thence to Loyalhanning (Ligonier), thence to Fort Duquesne; that Fort Loudon should be the real starting point of the expedition and the base of supplies, and that the assembling place of the southern

troops should be Bedford, where a stockade (Fort Bedford) had been erected by Colonel John Armstrong in 1756. Conferences were held between Bouquet and the Pennsylvania officers, on the one hand, and Washington and the Virginia officers, on the other hand. The Pennsylvania officers agreed with Colonel Bouquet, while the Virginia officers, with Washington as their most active and zealous speaker, urged that, instead of hewing a road over the mountains from Bedford to Ligonier, the army should march from Bedford to Fort Cumberland, 34 miles, and thence follow the road which had been made by Braddock. At one time during the animated controversy, it was proposed that Washington and the Virginia, Maryland and Carolina troops should march over the Braddock road from Fort Cumberland and join the main army on the Monongahela just before the attack on Fort Duquesne; but this proposal, opposed by Washington, was rejected by General Forbes after he received reports from Colonel Bouquet, who had arrived at Bedford early in July, which set forth the investigations that Bouquet's scouts had made of both routes.

From first to last, Colonel Washington was in favor of the Braddock road. Leaving Winchester with the Virginia regiments, on June 24, he arrived at Fort Cumberland, the present Cumberland, Maryland, on July 2. Throughout the month, his troops were employed in opening a new road from Fort Cumberland to Bedford, being greatly annoyed in this service by flying parties of Indians. From Fort Cumberland, Washington wrote Colonel Bouquet, then at Bedford, on July 25, urging that the army advance by the Braddock road. A few days later, he had an interview with Colonel Bouquet midway between Fort Cumberland and Bedford, at which he again urged that the Braddock

road be chosen as the route for the army to follow. Then on August 2, he again wrote Bouquet:

"The matters of which we spoke relative to the roads, have, since our parting, been the subject of my closest reflection, and so far as I am from altering my opinion, that the more time and attention I bestow, the more I am confirmed in it, and the reasons for taking Braddock's road appear in a stronger point of view." Later in this letter, Washington gives the history of the first opening of this road by the Ohio Company in 1753, on down to the time of Braddock's expedition in 1755, mentions all the points in favor of using it for the Forbes expedition, and gives a table of distances to the Ohio by both this road and the proposed new road through Pennsylvania. The table of distances showed that there was a difference of only nineteen miles in favor of the new road. The new road would require more time and money, urged Washington.

Then on August 5, Washington wrote from Fort Cumberland to Governor Fauquier, of Virginia, as follows:

"I am sorry to inform you that we are still encamped here, and have little prospect of de-camping, unless a fatal resolution takes place, of opening a new road from Rays Town to Fort Duquesne. In this event, I have no doubt that the Virginia troops will be honored with a full share of the labor, as they have already been in opening a communication from hence to Rays Town, and doing the principal part of the work at that place.

"I am just returned from a conference held with Col. Bouquet. In this conference I urged, in the most forcible terms I was master of, the advanced season as an argument against new discoveries. I pressed also the difficulties attending the cutting a road over these mountains, known to me from experience; the length of time

it must require to do it; the little time left for that service; the moral certainty of its obstructing our march, beyond what the advanced season will admit—and the probable miscarriage of the expedition from that cause; and lastly I endeavored to represent the distressed condition the colonies would be reduced to consequent thereon. In fine, I said everything which the importance of the subject suggested to me, to avert a measure that seemed to forebode the manifest ruin of the expedition.

“This is the light in which it presents itself to my mind. I pray Heaven my fears may not be realized! But the thoughts of opening a road 100 miles, over mountains almost inaccessible, at this advanced season, when there is already a good road made,—a road universally confessed to be the best that either is or can be found anywhere through these mountains, prognosticates something not quite favorable.

“I have now drawn up a representation of real facts to be presented to the General; in which I think the advantages of going the old road and moral certainty of failing in the new are so clearly demonstrated that they must strike every unbiassed mind.

“The small-pox getting among the troops is another unpromising circumstance. An officer and two men of my regiment are now confined with it at Rays Town.

“From this narrative of our affairs your Honor may draw conclusions. You may depend the statement is true; free from exaggerations and flowing from a mind deeply affected at the prospect before us. I hope as once said before, that I see matters in too strong a point of view and that my apprehensions for the consequences of opening a new road are groundless.

“P. S. I was at this moment presented with a letter from Col. Bouquet telling me, that the General had

directed the other road to be opened. I expect, therefore, to be ordered that way immediately."

The following are a few more of the letters that were written relative to the discussion about the roads:

(1) Though Sir John St. Clair, after having suggested that Raystown (Bedford) be made the base of supplies, wavered from one road to the other, Colonel Bouquet denied that either he (Bouquet) or General Forbes were biased in the choice of routes, and charged Washington and Colonel Byrd with prejudice for the Braddock road. And Forbes, on July 23, wrote Colonel Bouquet, concerning St. Clair's wavering:

"Sir John, I am afraid, had got a new light at Winchester, and I believe from thence proceeded to the opening of the road from Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland."

In the same letter he refers to Colonel Byrd as follows:

"Colonel Byrd writes me that he has upwards of sixty Indians waiting my arrival, and ready to accompany me, but they will not follow me, unless I go by Fort Cumberland. This is a new system of military Discipline truly, and shows that my good friend Byrd is either made a Cats Foot of himself, or he little knows me, if he imagines that Sixty scoundrels are to direct me in my measures, in changing, to go by Fort Cumberland, without being thoroughly sensible of the impracticability of passing by the shortest way over the Laurel Hill to the Ohio."

(2) On July 31, General Forbes wrote Colonel Bouquet, after a conference with Washington:

"I have had an interview with Colonel Washington, to ascertain how he conceives the difficulties could be overcome: I got no satisfaction from it; the majority of these gentlemen do not know the difference between

a party and an army, and overlooking all difficulties, they believe everything to be easy which flatters their ideas."

(3) Washington wrote Major Peter Halket, one of Forbes' aides: "I am just returned from a conference with Colonel Bouquet. I find him fixed—I think I may say unalterably fixed—to lead you a new way to the Ohio through a road every inch of which is to be cut at this advanced season, when we have scarcely time left to tread the beaten track universally confessed to be the best passage through the mountains. If Colonel Bouquet succeeds in this point with the general, all is lost! all is lost, indeed! our enterprise is ruined! and we shall be stopped at the Laurel Hill this winter; but not to gather laurels, except the kind which covers the mountains."

(4) Again, Washington wrote Colonel Bouquet from Fort Cumberland on August 28:

"The conduct of our leaders, if not actuated by superior orders, is tempered with something—I do not care to give a name to. Nothing now but a miracle can bring this campaign to a happy issue."

(5) A few days later, or on September 1, Washington wrote Speaker John Robinson of the Virginia House of Burgesses:

"The conduct of our leaders (if not actuated by superior orders) is tempered by something I do not care to give a name to. But I will say they are. . . .or something worse to P-j-v-n artifice, to whose selfish views I ascribe the miscarriage of this expedition; for nothing now but a miracle can bring this campaign to a happy issue.Can General Forbes have orders for this? Impossible. Will, then, our injured country pass by such abuses? I hope not. Rather let a full representation of the matter to his Majesty. Let him know how

grossly his glory and interest, and the public money, have been prostituted. . . . It hath long been the luckless fate of Virginia to fall a victim to the views of her crafty neighbors, and yield her finest efforts to promote their common interest, at the expense of much blood and treasure. Whilst openness and sincerity have governed her measures." (Sparks' "Writings of Washington, Vol. 2, pages 86 to 88.)

(6) On September 2, Washington wrote from Fort Cumberland to Governor Fauquier, of Virginia:

"The Pennsylvanians whose present as well as future interest it was to conduct the Expedition thro' their Government, and along that way, because it secures at present their frontiers and the trade hereafter—a chain of forts being erected—had prejudiced the General absolutely against this road [the Braddock road]; and made him believe we [the Virginians] were a partial people; and determined him at all events to pursue that rout [the Pennsylvania road]."

(7) On September 23, General Forbes, then at Bedford, wrote Colonel Bouquet, then at Ligonier:

"Col. Stephens writes Col. Washington that he is told by everybody that the road from Loyal Hannon [Ligonier] to the Ohio and the French fort is now impracticable. For what reason, or why, he writes thus I do not know; But I see Col. Washington and my friend, Col. Byrd, would rather be glad this was true than otherways, seeing the other road (their favorite scheme) was not allowed out. I told them plainly that, whatever they thought, yet I did aver that, in our prosecuting the present road, we had proceeded from the best intelligence that could be got for the good and convenience of the army, without any views to oblige any one Province or another; and added that those two gentlemen were the only people that I had met with

who had shewed their weakness in their attachment to the province they belong to, by declaring so publicly in favor of one road without their knowing anything of the other, having never heard from any Pennsylvania person one word about the road; and that, as for myself, I could safely say—and believe I might answer for you—that the good of the service was the only view we had at heart, not valuing the provincial interest, jealousys, or suspicions, one single two-pence; and that, therefore, I could not believe Col Stephen's descriptions until I had heard from you, which I hope you will very soon be able to disprove. I fancy what I said more on this subject will cure them from coming upon this topic again."

(8) Colonel John Armstrong, strong advocate of the route chosen by Forbes, wrote from Bedford to Secretary Richard Peters of the Pennsylvania Council, on October 3:

"The Virginians are much chagrined at the opening of the Road thro' this Government, & Colonel Washington has been a good deal Sanguine & Obstinate upon the Occasion, but the presence of the General has been of great Use on this as well as Other Accounts." (Pa. Archives Vol. 3, page 551.)

Washington and the other Virginians regarded the conduct of the Pennsylvanians as selfish. In their opinion, Pennsylvania wanted a new road to the western country at the expense of the Crown, and at the risk of defeating the object of the campaign. And one can easily see how the matter of the road entered into the whole long controversy between Pennsylvania and Virginia as to the boundaries of these provinces on the Ohio. Virginia had made the first settlement (the Ohio Company's) in the valley of the Ohio; she had constructed the first road to the Ohio, the Nemacolin Indian

Trail, which the Ohio Company cleared and widened. Therefore Virginia feared that her claim to the Ohio Valley, based on the purchase she had made from the Six Nations at the Lancaster Treaty of 1744, would be endangered if a new road, leading directly from the settled parts of Pennsylvania to the Ohio Valley, were opened. Such road would afford easy access to the Ohio Valley for the Pennsylvania traders. But the Pennsylvania officers, in urging the claims of the new road, pointed out that it would afford direct communication to the fertile farms of Eastern Pennsylvania, from which food and other supplies for the army could be obtained. They also called attention to the fact that, when Braddock was marching against Fort Duquesne, work was in progress of cutting a road from McDowell's Mill, in Franklin County, to join the Braddock road at Turkey Foot (Confluence), by which supplies, so sorely needed by Braddock's army, could be brought from Eastern Pennsylvania—a road which Colonel James Burd had completed as far as the summit of the Allegheny Mountains, when Braddock's defeat put an end to its construction.

General Forbes arrived in Philadelphia in April. At the head of the British regulars, he marched from this place about the last of June to effect a union with the other troops at Bedford. Reaching Carlisle, he was detained there for some time on account of illness. In fact, he was a very sick man throughout the whole campaign, being carried in a hurdle between two horses all the way from Carlisle to Fort Duquesne and all the way back to Philadelphia. He arrived at Bedford about the middle of September, where he met the southern troops under Washington. It was not until after his arrival at Bedford that the final decision as to the road was made; for even then the very strongest efforts were

put forth by those who favored the Braddock road. In the meantime, Bouquet had strengthened the stockade at Bedford, erecting palisades and constructing entrenchments, and by the first of August, a large part of his force was at work cutting the new road through the mountain forests towards Ligonier. His total force at that time was about seventeen hundred men. By the sixteenth of August, Bouquet's forces, woodcutters and troops, consisted of thirty-nine hundred men, including two Virginia companies; and fourteen hundred men were employed at that time in cutting the new road.

The decision of Forbes almost alienated the Virginia groups most influential in that colony's support of the war. But there is no question whatever that Forbes, who had a "head of iron," was absolutely unprejudiced in his selection of the old Indian trail, running from Carlisle through Bedford and Ligonier to the Ohio, as the nearest and best route for his army.

Says Dr. George P. Donehoo in his "Pennsylvania—A History": "The very condition of affairs at Fort Cumberland when Washington was there, and still urging the Braddock road, was the best argument against taking that course, which could be afforded. At that time, about one-fifth of the men were sick; they had no provisions; they were without salt, and everything was at a low ebb because of this condition of want. One of the first things which Washington did when he reached Raystown (Bedford) on September 16 was to tell General Forbes of this condition, who then ordered Major Halket to send a convoy of provisions to Fort Cumberland, which was done the next day, thus proving at the very outset of the expedition that Raystown was a better base of supplies, because it was nearer the source of supplies than Fort Cumberland was or ever has been."

The March Over the Mountains to Loyalhanning

As we have already seen in this chapter, a large part of Colonel Bouquet's forces began the cutting of the new road from Bedford to Loyalhanning by the first of August. The western base of the Laurel Hill, along which flows the rippling Loyalhanna, had been fixed as the point at which Forbes' army should assemble before making a final dash against Fort Duquesne. Shortly before the first of September, Bouquet's troops, about 2500, were all in the "Camp at Loyal Hannon," the site of the Indian town of Loyalhanning and the present Ligonier. Before Colonel Bouquet had arrived at Loyalhanning, Colonel James Burd, of Pennsylvania, had begun the erection of the stockades and entrenchments of the camp and had also erected a fortification, since known as Breastwork Hill, located on Nine Mile Run and about one and one half miles from Latrobe, in the present Unity Township, Westmoreland County. This advance post, which was about ten miles west of Ligonier, is referred to by General Forbes in his letter of September 13, quoted in part later in this chapter.

The best information as to the time when Colonel Bouquet arrived at the "Camp at Loyal Hannon" is his letter of September 17, in which he says: "The day on which I arrived at the camp, which was the 7th of September, it was reported to me that we were surrounded by parties of Indians, several soldiers having been scalped or made prisoners. Being obliged to have our cattle and our horses in the woods, our people could not guard or search for them, without being continually liable to fall into the hands of the enemy.

"Lieut. Col. Dagworthy and our Indians having not yet arrived, I ordered two companies each of 100 men

to occupy the pathways and try to cut off the enemies in their ambush and release our prisoners."

General Forbes, detained on account of illness as we have seen, did not arrive at Bedford until about the middle of September. On September 13, while the General was at Fort Loudon and just before going to Bedford, he wrote Governor Denny of Pennsylvania that he was ready to advance with the army, but that he could not do so unless he had a sufficient quantity of provisions in the magazines at Bedford, adding: "The Road that Leads from the advance Posts to the French Fort may be opened as fast as a Convoy can reach it. . . . The new Road has been finished without the Enemies knowing it, the Troops having not suffered the least insult in Cutting it." He further says in this letter that he was obliged to use the stock of provisions at Bedford "while the Troops were opening a Road over the Mountains, and Securing its Communications, which is now effectually done to within Forty Miles [Breastwork Hill] of the French Fort." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 8, pages 167-169.)

Although nearly all historians state that the rear division of the army of General Forbes left Bedford on October 14, Forbes himself, in a letter written at this place on October 22, says: "These few Days past of dry weather have given things a more favorable aspect and everything is in Motion, the last Division being to March from hence tomorrow." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 8, pages 224-225). A rainy autumn had made the new road almost impassable. Consequently Forbes' advance troops did not reach Loyalhanning until about November 1, and his entire army did not arrive there until about a week later. Christian Frederick Post, an account of whose passing through Loyalhanning will be

given later in this volume, says in his journal that he passed Forbes' artillery on Laurel Hill, on November 7.

The work of cutting, hewing and blasting the new road over the main range of the Allegheny Mountains and, particularly, the parallel range of the Laurel Hills to the westward, was prodigious. In many places, the road was cut in the rocks on the sides of steep declivities. As far as the eye could reach, the vast and primeval forest covered the mountain ranges and the valleys between. Forbes described the mountain region through which the road was cut as an "immense uninhabited wilderness, overgrown everywhere with trees and brushwood, so that nowhere can one see twenty yards." Unlike General Braddock, Forbes kept open and protected his entire line of March to his base of supplies in the rear, erecting breastworks in advance and garrisoning them with sufficient troops to protect the main body of the army—a rule that was never departed from. Upon that efficient and capable officer, Colonel Henry Bouquet, who erected these fortifications and breastworks, devolved the responsibility of carrying out these orders of General Forbes. At the summit of the Allegheny Mountains, one can see today the most perfectly preserved of the breastworks which Bouquet erected while cutting the wilderness and mountain road. The earthen embankment can be plainly traced. It was known as McLean's Redoubt.

At many places, the heavy autumn rains destroyed the newly-cut road. The mountain torrents, rushing down in noisy fury, tore it up, and, in the valleys, the wheels of the wagons and cannon churned it into mud. Early in October, the clouds broke, and for a time there was clear weather. The sun set the heavens on fire every morning; God painted the sunset with radiant

finger, and glories eternal lingered in the western sky like fires on mystic altars. During this period, the mountains flashed in a riot of autumnal glory. But soon the clouds returned, and a veil of mist and rain hung over the mountains. Then the rain turned to snow, whose descending flakes, clinging to the foliage, again hid the glory of the mountains.

At this point a few words of recapitulation as to the course of the Forbes Road. Its starting point was Fort Loudon. From this place to Raystown (Bedford) its course was largely over the road that Colonel James Burd cut from McDowell's Mill (Fort McDowell), Franklin County, to the crest of the Allegheny Mountain, as Braddock was advancing against Fort Duquesne in the summer of 1755. Speaking more definitely, the Forbes Road ran from Fort Loudon to Fort Littleton, at Sugar Cabins, in the northeastern part of Fulton County; thence to Sideling Hill; thence to the crossing of the Raystown Branch of the Juniata; thence through Everett to Bedford; thence to Wolfsburg; thence to Schellsburg; thence to Edmunds Swamp, a few miles north of Buckstown, in Shade Township, Somerset County; thence to Stoyestown, Quemahoning and Jenner; thence over the Laurel Hill to Ligonier; thence over the Chestnut Ridge to Youngstown, and not down the Loyalhanna to Derry, as some historians have stated; thence past Old Unity Presbyterian Church to Hannastown, located three miles northwest of Greensburg; thence across the headwaters of Brush Creek to Murrysville, not, however, passing through the battlefield of Bushy Run, as some historians have stated, but turning to the northwest about four miles east of the battlefield, or at a point near Detar's School House, and crossing the headwaters of

Brush Creek, it ran on to Murraysville; thence, turning first to the north, then to the west, then to the south, then again to the west, it ran almost directly west to the Indian Village, called Shannopin's Town, located on the left bank of the Allegheny, at about the present Thirtieth Street, Pittsburgh. Those who suppose that Forbes Street, Pittsburgh, marks the course of the Forbes Road, are in error. The road entered the main part of Pittsburgh near the present Point Breeze Presbyterian Church, passed down Penn Avenue, in the main, to the site of Shannopin's Town, and thence to Fort Duquesne. On entering the city, however, the road followed the present Frankstown Avenue, which marks the course of the Old Frankstown Trail, an Indian and traders' path-leading from the Juniata to the Ohio.

The Lincoln Highway follows the general course of the Forbes Road over the mountains to Pittsburgh. At some points it is identical with the historic military road and the Indian trail which the latter followed—a trail that was used by the Delawares and Shawnees during a large part of their migration from the Susquehanna to the Ohio and that was followed also by Christopher Gist, in 1750, from Everett to Shannopin's Town, on his journey of exploration for the Ohio Company. The Pennsylvania Historical Commission has recently marked the Forbes Road by placing thirteen major markers, most of them on the Lincoln Highway.

The locations of these markers are: (1) Bedford. (2) The Forks at Bonnet's Tavern. (3) Shawnee Cabins, the location of the Indian village of that name, just a little east of Schellsburg. (4) The Eastern Slope of the Allegheny Mountain. (5) McLean's Fort. (6) Edmund's Swamp. (7) The Encampment

at Stony Creek, Stoyestown. (8) The Eastern Approach of Laurel Ridge. (9) Fort Ligonier. (10) Twelve Mile Run, near St. Vincent's College. (11) Murraysville, on the William Penn Highway. (12) Peterman's three miles west of Murraysville. (13) The Bouquet Block House, Pittsburgh.

The "Camp at Loyal Hannon"—Erection of Fort Ligonier

The first "Camp at Loyal Hannon," constructed by Colonel James Burd, and at which Colonel Bouquet arrived on September 7, as has been seen, was very probably made after the fashion of the other fortifications and redoubts erected on the line of Bouquet's advance. Colonel Joseph Shippen, who was Brigade Major in Forbes' army, wrote from Bedford, on August 16, a letter to Secretary Peters of the Pennsylvania Council, describing the works at that place, as follows: "We have a good stockade fort built here with several convenient and large store-houses. Our camps are all secured with a good breastwork and a small ditch on the outside." This description no doubt applies to the "Camp at Loyal Hannon" before the works were strengthened and named Fort Ligonier.

It seems clear that there was no actual "fort" at the "Camp at Loyal Hannon" in the early days of the occupation of this place by Bouquet's forces. In a letter to Colonel Bouquet, written at Bedford, on September 23, on his way out, General Forbes says: "Pray make a hovell or hutt for me at L. Hannon or any of the other posts, with a fire place if possible."

The following letter, written by Vaudreuil to Massac, from Montreal, September 28, 1758, is an account from the French at Fort Duquesne of some events at and near the "Camp at Loyal Hannon" before the arrival of Colonel Bouquet:

“M. de Ligneris [Captain M. de Ligneris, who was in command of Fort Duquesne from late in 1756 until the French deserted the fort shortly before Forbes’ army reached that place] has written to me from Fort Duquesne on the 30th of last month; he continues to have parties out, who brought him two prisoners on the 30th [August], from whom he learned that General Forbes was immediately expected at Royal Amnon [Loyalhanning]; where there were not more than 2,000 men, under command of Col. Bouquet, with eight pieces of cannon or field carriages and several mortars; that a fort had been built there of piece upon piece, and one saw mill; as for the rest, they are ignorant whether Fort Duquesne is to be attacked this fall; that the Provincials had orders to go into winter quarters; that they had been since countermanded, but that people still spoke of dismissing them; that there are no more horned cattle at Royal Amnon, but plenty of provisions of flour and salt meats.” (Pa. Archives Sec. Ser., page 553.)

It will be noted that the French often referred to Loyalhanning as Royal Amnon, and that in their official reports, they called it Royal Hannon. The explanation of the French form is that they made it an English name, and the common conception of the name is that which gives it an English derivation. The Delaware Indians, who named the place Lawelhanning, later called Loyalhanning, could not pronounce the letter “r”. In fact, in their language, there was an absence of the consonants r, f and v. They could not pronounce “rum”, but called it “lum”. Heckewelder says, in one place in his writings, that a Delaware Indian called him “Quackel”, taking him for a Quaker.

Naming of Fort Ligonier

The stockade and fortifications, known as the "Camp at Loyal Hannon," continued to be called by this name until after the arrival of General Forbes. The exact date of naming the place Fort Ligonier is unknown. On October 22, 1758, Forbes mentions "the fort of Loyalhannon." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 8, page 224.) Also, as late as November 9, 1758, he dates a letter to the Delaware chiefs "From my camp at Loyal Hannon." The first reference to the place as Fort Ligonier, so far as the author has been able to find, is the statement in Christian Frederick Post's journal, under date of December 4, 1758. Post, then at Pittsburgh, says in his journal on above date: "I drew provision for our journey to Fort Ligonier."

Fort Ligonier was named in honor of Sir John Ligonier, Lord Viscount of Enniskillen, the head of the British army at that time. He was made Commander-in-Chief of the land forces in Great Britain, in October, 1757. He had won great distinction as a soldier, under the Duke of Marlborough, and afterward in Germany. He fought in the battles of Blenheim, Oudenarde, Ramilies and Malplaquet. In the last named battle, it is said that twenty-two balls passed through his clothes without injuring him. Sir John was born in France, and his father was a Huguenot of noble family. In 1770, the old soldier died at the great age of ninety-one years.

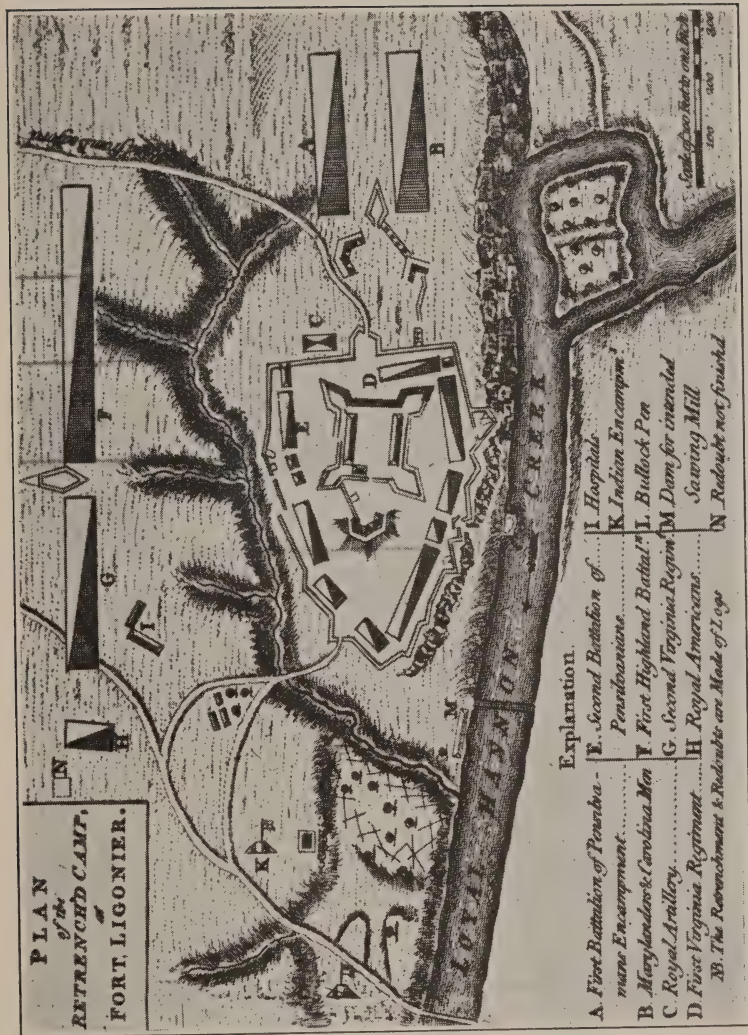
The stockades and fortifications at Loyalhanning continued to be enlarged and strengthened after the arrival of Colonel Bouquet and also after the arrival of General Forbes as well. In fact, in the spring of 1759, the fort was still in process of construction. In our next chapter, we shall describe a tragic event that

had its inception at the "Camp at Loyal Hannon" before the arrival of General Forbes.

The Fort Proper

"The Fort proper was but a part of the post, which with its outward retrenchments, fascine batteries and redoubts, was really the harborage for a small army. The situation of the Fort, with its appurtenances, was, from a military point of view, excellent. It stood on an elevated ground within easy distance of the Loyalhanna Creek, being on the north or eastern bank, the stream here flowing northward. Eastward the ground was nearly level, but on all sides it declined rapidly. At its highest point, it was probably more than forty feet above the level of the creek, but where the passage way was made for access to the stream, the bank was such as to make the approach easy. A steep ravine extended along the side marked by the small stream as indicated in the plan. There is some traditional evidence, supported by circumstances of a probable character, that on the bank opposite this ravine, which is now partly built upon by the town, was the burying ground used by the garrison and by the first settlers near the Fort. On the side of this sloping land within range of the guns of the Fort, were the cabins of the settlers and those who had business at the post. The buildings which are referred to in the accounts of the siege during Pontiac's War, were likely in this quarter. [See Page 176 of this volume.] Many relics have been gathered about the ground, such as bayonets, gun-barrels, hatchets, knives, pieces of wagon-tire, flints and arrow-heads". ("Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania", Vol. 2, pages 250 and 251.)

The above was written for the "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania" by the noted Westmoreland County



Plan of the "Camp at Loyal Hannon," later called Fort Ligonier. From "A Set of Plans and Forts in America in 1763," M. A. Rocque, Publisher.

—Courtesy The William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mich.

historian, George Dallas Albert; and to it we add the following from his "History of Westmoreland County":

"Fort Ligonier had cabins erected in the inside of the stockade; and while the colony was under the proprietary government, especially after Pontiac's War of 1764, a garrison of from eighteen to thirty soldiers were quartered here. The cabins for the soldiers were on the outside, about one hundred yards from the fort, and within the walls were the officers' quarters, the magazines, the munitions and supplies. When it was garrisoned by provincial troops, there were a couple of howitzers mounted at the angles of the bastions and the walls were pierced for musketry. A covered way led to a spring on the hillside near the fort. The fort stood on the northern bank of the Loyalhanna, now [1882] within the limits of the present borough, between the main street and the creek in the upper part of the village."

It is suggested that the reader keep in mind the above quotation from "Albert's History of Westmoreland County" when reading the closing paragraph of Chapter XIII of the present volume.

CHAPTER III

The Forbes Campaign (Continued) —Grant's Defeat

While the advance of Forbes' army lay at the "Camp at Loyal Hannon" awaiting the arrival of the General, occurred the most disastrous event connected with the campaign—the defeat of Major James Grant, of the Highlanders. Grant had begged Colonel Bouquet for permission to make a reconnoissance in force to Fort Duquesne, and having been given permission to do so, he was given special orders not to approach too near the fort if there were any indications of resistance, and in no event to hazard a battle with the French and Indians, if it could be avoided. With a force of Scotch Highlanders, Virginians, Marylanders and Carolinians, consisting of thirty-seven officers and eight hundred and five privates, Major Grant left the "Camp at Loyal Hannon" on September 9, and marched through the silent wilderness towards Fort Duquesne. Colonel Bouquet, in a letter written from Ligonier on September 17, 1758, to General Amherst, says the following concerning the inception of this fatal expedition:

"I begged them to give me their opinion upon a project, of which I had spoken several times to Maj. Grant at Raystown, which was to attack during the night the Indians camped round the Fort in huts, and that the disposition should be made thus: Lieut.-Col. Dagworthy should march with 900 men to the post which was known to be 10 miles distance, there construct an entrenchment and remain with 300 Highlanders. [By this "post", Bouquet meant the redoubt

known as Breast Work Hill, mentioned in Chapter II]. On the 9th he [Grant] departed, and I joined him on the 10th at the post where Lieut-Col. Dagworthy should have stopped. I remained here all night, and saw him depart on the 11th with his detachment in good order. This post being nearly ready for defense, I returned to camp [at Loyalhanning].”

The wilderness between Loyalhanning and Fort Duquesne was full of Indians, yet Grant succeeded in coming within sight of the fort without being discovered. On September 13, his forces had reached a point about eleven miles from Fort Duquesne. Here they halted until three o'clock in the afternoon; then marched to within two miles of the fort. At this point Grant left the baggage in charge of Captain Bullit, two subalterns and fifty men. Late at night, Grant appeared with his troops on the brow of the hill which bears his name, in the city of Pittsburgh. Not having met with either French or Indians on the march, and believing from the stillness of the enemy's quarters that the forces in the fort were small, Grant at once determined to attack the place. Accordingly, he directed two officers and fifty men to approach the fort and fall upon the French and Indians that might be lying out, if not too numerous. These fifty troops and their officers approached the fort, but saw no French and Indians, nor were they challenged by sentinels. As they were returning, they set fire to a large storehouse near the fort. The fire was discovered and extinguished, but Grant's forces were not discovered.

At daybreak on the morning of September 14, Grant sent Major Andrew Lewis with two hundred men, principally Royal Americans and Virginia volunteers, to take a post about half a mile back and lie in ambush in the road on which the baggage had been left. Grant

pretended that his purpose in thus sending Major Lewis to the rear was his fear that the enemy would make a bold attempt to capture the baggage; but his real purpose, arising from his jealousy of Major Lewis, was that he wished to have the glory of capturing the French and Indians without the aid of Lewis. As the first streaks of dawn floated over the valley and when the fog lay on the river, Grant posted four hundred troops along the hill facing the fort, while Captain McDonald's Company of Highlanders, with drums beating and bagpipes playing, marched towards the French stronghold in order to draw out the garrison. The music of the drums and bagpipes aroused the French and Indians from their slumbers, and they rushed out in great numbers, the latter likely led by Guyasuta. The enemy's forces were divided into three divisions. The first two were sent under the cover of the banks of the Monongahela and Allegheny to surround the main body under Grant. The third was delayed for a short while in order to give the others time, and then displayed themselves before the fort, as if exhibiting the whole strength of the enemy. Neither the French nor the Indians were aware of the presence of the English forces until the drums and bagpipes broke the stillness of the autumn morning. Colonel James Smith, who was then a prisoner among the Delawares, says in his Narrative: "The French and Indians knew not that Grant and his men were there, until they beat the drum and played upon the bagpipes just at daylight."

Captain McDonald's company, as soon as the attack began, was obliged to fall back upon the main body. Grant then received and returned a very destructive fire, but at this moment he found himself flanked on all sides by the two divisions of the enemy which had run up under cover of the banks of the Monongahela

and Allegheny for some distance and then sallied out from the protection of the banks of the rivers and took possession of the hill above him. Thus he found himself surrounded within sight of the fort. The Provincial troops, concealing themselves behind trees, made a good defense; but the Highlanders, who stood in ranks and in very close order, exposed to the enemy's fire, fell in great numbers, and at last gave way and fled. The Provincials, not being supported and being vastly outnumbered, were compelled to follow. Major Lewis had pushed forward with his Virginians, on the sound of the first firing, but in the woods he missed the retreating Highlanders. Lewis engaged in a hand-to-hand struggle with an Indian warrior, whom he killed, but was obliged to surrender to a French officer. After having finished the plunder of the battlefield, the Indians hastened in pursuit of the fugitives. They attacked Bullit's small force, who, refusing to accept quarter, opened a destructive fire upon them from behind baggage wagons. This checked them for a time, but they soon came with greater numbers. Then Bullit and his men held out the signal of surrender and advanced as if to lay down their arms; but when within eight yards of the Indians, Bullit's troops suddenly leveled their rifles, poured in a destructive fire, and charged with the bayonet. Once more the Indians retreated in order to get reinforcements, and Bullit took advantage of this check in order to collect some of the wounded and fugitives, with whom he hastened back to the "Camp at Loyal Hannon." Near the place where Bullit made his courageous stand, Major Grant was captured.

In the meantime, Grant's Highlanders were slaughtered without mercy. Many were tomahawked as they floundered in the swamp which, at that time, spread over a large part of what is now the heart of Pitts-

burgh. Many were driven into the Allegheny and drowned. Some escaped by swimming the river, only to be pursued and captured and later tortured to death. Grant's total loss was, as nearly as can be determined, two hundred and seventy-three killed, forty-two wounded and a large number taken prisoners. Among the latter, besides Grant and Lewis, were about nineteen other officers. The Highlanders and the Virginians suffered the most in this bloody engagement. Six officers and sixty-two privates of the Virginia forces lay dead on the field. The road back to Loyalhanning was strewn with the dead.

A boy twelve years of age, who had been two years a prisoner among the Indians, made his escape from Fort Duquesne on November 2, then succeeded in reaching Forbes' army, and gave the information that five of the prisoners taken at Grant's defeat had been burned to death by the Indians on the parade ground at Fort Duquesne and that several others had been tomahawked. (Pa. Archives Vol. 12, page 428). Another captive at Fort Duquesne who witnessed the slaughter of Grant's troops, was young David Boyd, whom the Indians had captured in Cumberland County in the summer of 1756 and who remained among the Indians until liberated by Colonel Bouquet, in 1764. David later moved to Washington County. (See the author's "Indians Wars of Pennsylvania," second edition, page 812; also Forrest's "History of Washington County," pages 248 to 250).

At this point a few more words as to the torture of the prisoners taken at Grant's defeat. One of the Highlanders, after witnessing the burning of several of his comrades, planned a stratagem to avoid his being tortured to death. He told one of the Indians, who understood English, that he could make a concoction of the

juices of herbs that, when applied to any part of the body, would render that part invulnerable. He begged for permission to prove the truth of his statement. Permission was granted. Then, gathering some leaves and roots of plants, he squeezed out their juices, smeared his neck with the same, lay down with his neck across a log, and asked a warrior to attempt to cut off his head with an axe. The warrior swung the axe with all his might, and the Highlander's head was severed from his body. Seeing the trick that had been played upon them, the Indians praised the cunning of the Highlander.

Major Grant's expedition was a monstrous blunder. General Forbes, with the main body of the army, was as far in the rear as Bedford; and neither he nor Colonel Bouquet had any definite knowledge of the strength of the French and Indians at Fort Duquesne. In view of these facts, it seems strange, indeed, that Colonel Bouquet permitted Grant to advance into a death trap. Grant himself showed lack of judgment in exceeding his orders, and, especially, in beating the drums and playing the bagpipes at daylight, which had only the effect of telling the enemy of his advance. How Grant's conduct impressed the Indians was expressed by one of the Delaware chiefs, Tecaughretango, in a conversation with Colonel James Smith, above mentioned, Smith saying in his Narrative:

"When Tecaughretango had heard the particulars of Grant's defeat, he said he could not well account for his contradictory and inconsistent conduct. He said, as the art of war consists in ambushing and surprising our enemies, and in preventing them from ambushing and surprising us, Grant, in the first place, acted like a wise and experienced officer in artfully approaching in the night without being discovered; but, when he

came to the place and the Indians were lying asleep outside the fort, between him and the Allegheny River, in place of slipping up quietly and falling upon them with their broadswords, they beat the drums and played the bagpipes. He said he could account for this inconsistent conduct in no other way than by supposing that he had made too free with spiritous liquors during that night, and became intoxicated about daylight."

At this point, it will be no serious digression to quote what Colonel Smith says about the character of Tecaughretango—a statement which shows how the virtues of the early Indians were broken down by the vices of the whites. Says Smith:

"I remember that Tecaughretango, when something displeased him, said, God Damm it. I asked him if he knew what he then said. He said he did, and mentioned one of their [the Indians'] degrading expressions, which he supposed to be the meaning, or something like the meaning, of what he said. I told him that it did not bear the least resemblance to it; that what he had said was calling upon the Great Spirit to punish the object he was displeased with. He stood for some time amazed, and said: 'If these be the meaning of these words, what sort of people are the whites? When the traders were among us, these words seem to be intermixed with all their discourse.' He told me to reconsider what I said, for he thought I must be mistaken in my definition; if I was not mistaken, he said, the traders applied these words not only wickedly, but sometimes very foolishly and contrary to sense or reason. He said he remembered once of a trader's accidentally breaking his gun-lock, and on that occasion calling out aloud, 'God damm it!' Surely, said he, the gun-lock was not an object worthy of punishment for Owananeeyo, or the Great Spirit; he also observed the

traders used this expression when they were in a good humor, and not displeased with anything. I acknowledged that the traders used this expression very often in a most irrational, inconsistent and impious manner; yet I still asserted that I had given the true meaning of these words. He replied, if so, the traders are as bad as Oonasharooka, or the underground inhabitants, which is the name they give the devils, as they entertain a notion that their place of residence is under the earth."

But to return to Grant's defeat. "It was," says Washington in a letter to the Governor of Virginia, "a very illconcerted, or a very ill executed plan, perhaps both; but it seems to be generally acknowledged that Major Grant exceeded his orders, and that no disposition was made for engaging."

And General Forbes, in a letter written from Bedford to Colonel Bouquet, on September 23, says the following of Grant's defeat:

"There are two wounded Highland officers just arrived, who give so lame an account of how matters proceeded, or any kind of description of the ground, that one can draw nothing from them—only that my friend Grant had most certainly lost the *tra mon tane*, and, by his thirst for fame, brought on his own perdition, and run a great risque of ours, which was far wide of the promises he made me at Carlisle when soliciting to command a party, which I would not agree to; and, very contrary to his criticisms upon Gen. Abercromby's late affair, has unhappily fallen into the individual same error, by his inconsiderate and rash proceeding." (Darlington's Fort Pitt and Letters from the Frontier," page 71.)

Grant was exchanged soon after his capture. It has been said by at least one authority—McClung—that

while Grant and Major Lewis, whom he tried to make the scape-goat of the expedition which ended so disastrously in what is now the heart of the city of Pittsburgh, were on parole at Fort Duquesne, a quarrel broke out between them, much to the amusement of the French. Grant, in his dispatches captured by the Indians, says McClung, had put all the blame for the defeat upon Lewis, whereas the Virginians and other Provincials were about the only troops that effected any execution. Leaving the fort, Lewis went on search of Grant, and, drawing his sword, directed his former commander to defend himself on the spot. Grant contemptuously refused to comply, whereupon Lewis cursed him for a liar and coward, and, in the presence of two French officers, actually spat in his face.

Rage of the Highlanders

We anticipate events somewhat at this point by stating that, when Forbes' army arrived at the ruins of Fort Duquesne on November 25, 1758, they found the mutilated bodies of the Highlanders who had fallen at Grant's defeat. One of the Provincial Captains related the following relative to the arrival of the army of Forbes:

"Upon their arrival at Fort Duquesne, they entered upon an Indian race path (likely where prisoners ran the gauntlet), upon each side of which a number of stakes, with the bark peeled off, were stuck into the earth, and upon each stake was fixed the head and kilt of a Highlander who had been killed or taken prisoner, at Grant's defeat.

"The Provincials, being in front, obtained the first view of these horrible spectacles, which, it may be readily believed, excited no very kindly feelings in their breasts. They passed along, however, without any

manifestations of their violent wrath. But as soon as the Highlanders came in sight of the remains of their countrymen, a slight buzz was heard in their ranks, which rapidly swelled and grew louder and louder. Exasperated, not only with the barbarous outrages upon the persons of their unfortunate fellow-soldiers, who had fallen only a few days [weeks] before, but maddened by the insult which was conveyed by the exhibition of their kilts, and which they well understood, as they had long been nick-named 'petti-coat warriors' by the Indians, their wrath knew no bounds.

"Directly a rapid and violent tramping was heard, and immediately the whole corps of the Highlanders, with their muskets abandoned and broad swords drawn, rushed by the Provincials, foaming with rage, swearing vengeance and extermination upon the French troops who had permitted such outrages. But the French had fled, and the wrath of the exasperated Highlanders at the escape of the French subsided into a sullen and relentless desire for vengeance." (*Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*, Vol. 2, page 98.)

*French Accounts of Grant's Defeat**

The French accounts of Grant's defeat do not agree with those of the English as to losses or other particulars. In the French Archives is a report from M. Daine to Marshall de Belle Isle, sent from Quebec on November 3, 1758, in which appears the following as to this conflict where the Allegheny County Court House now stands:

"We learn by a courier sent from the Beautiful River to the Marquis de Vandreuil that the vanguard of the English, consisting of one thousand of their best troops, destined for the attack on Fort Duquesne, would have surprised M. de Lignery, Commandant of

* It so happened that a few days before Grant's defeat the French had received reinforcements from the Illinois.

that fort, the detachment having taken an unexpected route, had not some Englishmen in advance made a noise and set fire to a barn at a distance. The sentries having heard that noise and seen the fire, awoke our men, who were sleeping, crying out 'Aux Armes!' In a moment they proceeded against the enemy and pressed them so vigorously that the action lasted scarcely half an hour. The English having taken to their heels, were pursued during two hours; the English lost at least six hundred to seven hundred men; four hundred massacred by our Indians, who have brought off a great many scalps, which makes it to be presumed that very few escaped.

"We have taken prisoners, the Commandant, four officers and one hundred soldiers, and have lost only eight men and eight wounded, who fortunately, have not fallen into their hands."

In another French dispatch it is reported:

"A detachment of eight hundred English, partly Regulars, partly Militia, had marched very secretly from Pennsylvania to within a quarter of a league of Fort Du Quesne, by a very different road from General Braddock's. Their object was to attack, in the night, the Indians encamped around the fort, guiding themselves by the fires the latter are accustomed to have in front of their huts. But these fires being extinguished, and the night already advanced, when the English arrived, they could not execute that attack; they posted themselves at day-break on a mountain near Fort Duquesne, and made arrangements to facilitate its reconnoissance by an engineer whom they had brought along.

"But the troops of the Marine and the Canadians, to the number of seven to eight hundred men, did not give them time. They pounced suddenly and from all

sides on the English, and immediately threw them into disorder. Our Indians, who at first had crossed the river, fearing to be surprised, then returned and also charged right vigorously. It was nothing but a rout on the part of the enemy. Five hundred of them have been killed or taken, and almost all the officers. On our side, only 8 men have been killed or wounded."

And Montcalm says:

"We have just received news from Fort Duquesne of the 23rd of October. Captain Aubry, of the Louisiana troops has gained a somewhat considerable advantage there on the fifteenth. The enemy lost on the occasion one hundred and fifty men, killed, wounded and missing; they were pursued as far as a new fort called Royal Hannon, which they built at the head of the River d'Attique. We had only two men killed and seven wounded." (For French account of Grant's defeat, see Pa. Archives, Sec. Series, Vol. 6, pages 423 to 425.)

The French regarded the Loyalhanna as the Kiskiminetas which they sometimes called the River d'Attique.

Grant's Own Account of His Defeat

At this point, in justice to Major Grant, we give his own account of his defeat—a letter which he wrote to General Forbes, from Fort Duquesne while he was a prisoner there.

"Sir:—If it had been in my power to write sooner, you will do me justice to believe that I should have troubled you long before this time with an account of the detachment which marched the 9th of September from the Camp of Loyal Hanna.

"We were lucky enough not to be discovered in our march though several scouting parties passed very near

us. We got to an advantageous post on the 12th, about three in the afternoon, which, according to the information of all our guides, was ten to twelve miles from the French Fort. I thought it was a proper place to encamp in, as I did not think it advisable to go nearer, for fear of being discovered; but I afterward found that our guides were much mistaken about the distance, for, as near as I can judge, the camp is about sixteen miles from the top of the Hill, where we were to take post. The 13th, at break of day, I sent Major Lewis, with 200 men, and our Indians, with orders to post men in ambuscade, about five miles from the fort, which was all the precaution I could take to prevent our being discovered in the camp. I flattered myself that, if a reconnoitering party was sent out, it might possibly fall into the ambuscade, and, in that case, in all probability they must have been killed or taken; and, if they had sent, in the event our plans succeeding, a second party from the fort, would have found the whole party ready to receive them. I ordered Mr. Chew to march with a party of fifteen or twenty men to reconnoitre the ground and to try, without exposing himself or the men, to draw a party of the enemy into the ambuscade.

“He only went with three Indians, who soon left him, and by that means, in place of returning to Major Lewis’ about ten o’clock as I expected, he was obliged to conceal himself till night came on, and he joined me upon the march about eleven o’clock at night. But I would not be understood to reflect upon him; he is a good, brisk young lad. About three in the afternoon I marched forward to the rest of the detachment, and I found Major Lewis advantageously posted about four miles from our camp. The post, I was assured, was not seven miles from the fort, though I found it was

about twelve. After giving orders to the troops, and particular instructions to the captains, I proceeded about six in the evening towards the fort, expecting to get to the top of the Hill about eleven at night; but, as the distance was so much greater than I imagined, it was after two in the morning before we got there. The instructions, when I left Loyal Hanna, were that a particular party should be sent to attack each Indian fire, but, as their fires had not been made, or were burnt out before we got to the ground, it was impossible to make any disposition of that kind. Major Lewis was informed of every particular of our project before we marched from Loyal Hanna, and was told there that he was to command the troops that were to be sent upon the attack. As I was to continue upon the height to make a disposition for covering his retreat (which we did not desire to be made in good order) and for forming the rear guard in our march from the fort, you will easily believe that he and I had frequent conversations upon the march about our plan of operations. I sent for him the moment the troops arrived upon the hill opposite the fort, and told him that, as we had been misinformed by the guides in regard to the distance, and had got there much later than we expected, it was impossible to make the projected disposition of a party of men for the attack on each fire; but that it was possible to continue another day without being discovered, and that as the night was far advanced there was no time to be lost. I therefore ordered him to march directly, with 100 Americans (Royal Americans, 60 Regiment), 200 Highlanders and 100 Virginians and to attack anything that was found about the fort. I gave orders that no attention should be paid to the sentries, who probably would challenge, and, in case they were fired upon they were not to return it upon

any account—but to march on as fast as possible, and were not to fire a shot until they were close to the enemy; and that after they discharged their pieces they were to use their bayonets without loading a second time. I told the Major that I would order all our drums and pipes to beat the retreat, that I was indifferent what order they came back in, that it was the same thing to me if there was not three of them together, provided they did the business they were sent upon. The Major had not half a mile to march into the open plain where the fort stands; the 400 men under his command had a white shirt over his clothes to prevent mistakes and they might even at a distance distinguish one another. I saw the Americans and Highlanders march off and gave directions that the Virginians should fall in the rear. Sending a greater number of men might possibly, I thought, occasion confusion, and I was of opinion that 400 men were quite sufficient to carry the service into execution. I was absolutely certain we were not discovered when the troops marched from the hill. I thought our loss must be inconsiderable, and never doubted but that everything would succeed our most sanguine expectations.

“After posting the remaining part of the troops in the best manner I could, I placed myself and the drums and pipes at the head of the Highlanders who were in the centre and exactly opposite the fort. During the operation the time passed. The day advanced fast upon us, I was turning uneasy at not hearing the attack begin, when to my great astonishment Major Lewis came up and told me that it was impossible to do anything, that the night was dark, that the road was bad, worse than anything I have ever seen, that there were logs of wood across it, that there were fences

to pass, that the troops had fallen into confusion, and that it was a mercy they had not fired upon one another, that they had made so much noise he was sure they must be discovered and that it was impossible for the men to find their way back through those woods. These were really the words he made use of; this behavior in an officer was new to me; his conduct in overturning a long projected scheme and in disobeying such positive orders was so unaccountable that I could not speak to him with common patience, so that I just made answer to his last words, that the men according to the orders that had been given would have found their way back to the drums when the retreat beat. So I left him and went as fast as I could to Major McKenzie and Mr. Fisher to see what the matter was and to give directions for the attack if the thing was practicable. I found the troops in the greatest confusion I ever saw men in, which in truth was not surprising, for the Major had brought them back from the plain when he returned himself and everybody took a road of their own. I found it was impossible to think of forming them for an attack, and the morning was too far advanced to send for the other troops from the other places where they were posted; thus I was reduced, after all my hopes of success, to this melancholy situation. That some thing at least might be attempted, I sent Lieutenants Robinson and McDonald with fifty men, to make an attack at a place where two or three fires had been burning the night before. I desired them to kill a dozen of Indians if possible, and I would be satisfied. They went directly to the place they were ordered, and finding none of the Indians they set fire to the house, but it was daylight before they could return. I mention this last circumstance that it might appear clearly to you, it was not in my power to send

a greater number. The surprise was complete, the governor knew nothing of us or our march, and in all probability the enterprise must have succeeded against the camp as well as against the Indians if the attempt had been made. So favorable an opportunity, I dare say, never was lost.

"The difficulties which Major Lewis had represented to me to be insurmountable appeared to me, as they certainly were, absolutely imaginary. I marched about twelve miles that night with an advance guard and flanking parties before it without the least confusion. The Major had not a mile to march to the fort and above two-thirds of that was in an open plain, and I can safely declare that there was no part of the road in getting into the plain worse than what I had passed without any great difficulty in coming up the hill. I made no secret to the people who were then about me that I was so much dissatisfied with the Major's conduct that I was determined to carry him back to the camp in arrest, that he might answer to you for his behavior. Several officers heard me say so. Mr. Bentinck, if he escaped, has no doubt informed you that such was my intention. However, I did not think it advisable to take any step of that kind till we were out of reach of the enemy. I therefore sent Major Lewis the 14th, at break of day, with the American and Virginians to reenforce Captain Bullet, whom I had left with about fifty men as a guard upon our horses and provisions within two miles of the fort, directly upon the road by which we were to return to our camp. I was afraid the enemy might possibly send a detachment that way to take possession of some passes to harass us in our march or perhaps to endeavor to cut us off in case we were forced to make a retreat, and I directed the Major to place these troops

in ambuscade that he might have all the advantage possible of any party that could be sent out. About 7 in the morning after the fog was gone and the day cleared up, it was found impossible to make a plan of the fort from the height where the troops were posted, and as Col. Bouquet and I had settled that a plan should be taken 'à la barke de la Garrise' in case an attempt did not succeed in the night.

"I sent Mr. Rhor with Captain McDonald and a hundred men to take the place, with directions not to expose himself or the troops. About the same time, being informed that some of the enemy's Indians had discovered Captain McKenzie, who was posted upon the left, almost facing the Monongahela, in order to put on a good countenance and to convince our men they had no reason to be afraid, I gave directions to our drums to beat the Reveille. The troops were in and advantageous post, and I must own I thought we had nothing to fear. In about half an hour after, the enemy came from the fort in different parties without much order, and getting behind trees, they advanced briskly and attacked our left, where there were 250 men. Captain McDonald and Lieutenant Campbell were soon killed; Lieutenant McDonald was wounded at the same time, and our people, being overpowered, gave way where those officers had been killed. I did all in my power to keep things in order, but to no purpose; the 100 Pennsylvanians who were posted upon the right at the greatest distance from the enemy, were off without orders, without firing a shot; and in short, in less than a half an hour all was in confusion, and as soon as that happened we were fired upon from every quarter.

"I endeavored to rally the troops upon every rising ground, and I did all in my power in that melancholy

situation to make the best retreat I could. I sent an officer to Major Lewis to make the best disposition he could with the Americans and Virginians till I could come up, and I was in hopes to be able to make a stand there, and at least make a tolerable retreat. Unfortunately, upon hearing the firing, the Major thought the best thing that could be done was to march to our assistance; unluckily they did not take the same road by which I marched the night before and by which they had passed that morning, and as I retired the same way I had advanced, I never saw them when I found Captain Bullet and his fifty men alone. I could not help saying to him that I was undone. However, though there was a little or rather no hopes left, I was resolved to do the best I could, and whenever I could get any body to stay with me, made a stand, sometimes with 100 and sometimes with 50, just as the men thought proper, for orders were to no purpose. Fear had then got the better of every other passion, and I hope I shall never see again such a panic among troops —till then I had no conception of it.

“At last, inclining to the left with about fifty men, where I was told a number of the Americans and Highlanders had gone, my party diminished insensibly, every soldier taking the road he liked best, and I found myself with not a dozen men and an officer of the Pennsylvanians who had been left with Captain Bullet. Surrounded on all sides by the Indians, and when I expected every instant to be cut to pieces, without a possibility of escaping, a body of the French with a number of their officers came up and offered me quarters, which I accepted of. I was then within a short league of the fort; it was then about 11 o’clock, and, as far as I can judge, about that time the French troops were called back and the pursuit ended. What

our loss is you best know, but it must be considerable. Captains McDonald and Monroe, Lieutenants Alex. McKenzie, Collin Campbell, Wm. McKenzie, Lieutenants Rider and Ensign Jenkins and Wollar are prisoners—Ensign J. McDonald is prisoner with the Indians; from what I hear they have got two other officers, whose names or corps I know not. Mr. Rhor and the officer who conducted the Indians were killed. Major Lewis and Captain McKenzie are prisoners. I am not certain that Lieutenant McKenzie was killed, but I have seen his commission, which makes it very probable. I spoke to Lieutenant McDonald, senior, after he was wounded and I think he could hardly make his escape. I wish I may be mistaken. This is the best account I can give you of our unlucky affair. I endeavored to execute the orders which I had received to the best of my power; as I have been unfortunate, the world may possibly find fault in my conduct. I flatter myself that you will not. I may have committed mistakes without knowing them, but if I was sensible of them I most certainly should tell you in what I thought I had done wrong. I am willing to flatter myself that my being a prisoner will be no detriment to my promotion in case vacancies should happen in the army, and it is to be hoped that the proper steps will be taken to get me exchanged as soon as possible.

“P. S.—As Major Lewis is prisoner, I thought it was right to read to him that part of this letter which particularly concerns him. He says when he came back to speak to me, that he gave no orders for the troops to retire from the plain. That Captain Saunder who was the next officer to him, can best account for that step; for they did retire, and I took it for granted that it was by the Major's orders, till he assured me of the contrary. Mr. Jenkins, of the Americans, is a pretty

young lad, and has spirit. He is the oldest ensign, and is much afraid that being a prisoner will be a detriment to his promotion. He begs that I may mention him to you, and could not think of refusing him." (Darlington's "Fort Pitt," above cited).

Here ends the sad story of Grant's defeat. In our next chapter, we shall describe scenes of blood and death at the "Camp at Loyal Hannon."

CHAPTER IV

The Forbes Campaign (Continued) Attack on the "Camp at Loyal Hannon"

The victory of the French and Indians over Major Grant had the usual result with the Indians. That is, many of the Shawnees, Delawares, Mingoes, Wyandots and Ottawas in alliance with the French, left Fort Duquesne, and returned to their villages, laden with the spoils of the battlefield, it being the custom of the Indians to return home after a battle, especially a battle in which they were victorious. Furthermore, owing to the peace missions of Christian Frederick Post to the Western Delawares—missions to be described in Chapter V, these Delawares and their allies were becoming dissatisfied with the French.

Colonel James Smith, at that time a prisoner among the Delawares as pointed out in Chapter III, says in his Narrative that, after Grant's defeat, the Indians held a council and were divided in their opinions, some saying that General Forbes would now retreat, and others saying that he would come on. Many of the Delawares then went back to their villages, according to Smith, not wanting to be absent from their squaws and children at this season of the year.

The French account of Grant's defeat, quoted in part in Chapter III, also makes mention of the fact that many of the Indians went back to their villages after their victory, as follows:

"This fortunate adventure has, however, produced an unfortunate and inevitable effect; the Indians, im-

mediately on returning from the pursuit, having quitted Fort Duquesne, to return to their villages. It was found impossible to retain them; yet the Beautiful River is almost certain of being attacked."

It is thus seen that the French were practically deserted by their Indian allies soon after Grant's defeat; and this explains why they did not pursue their immediate advantage with the zeal which their victory over Grant would have justified. Yet, emboldened by the crushing defeat of Grant, having full knowledge of the movements of Forbes' army, and knowing that only a part of it had arrived at the "Camp at Loyal Hannon," Captain De Ligneris (Lignery), then commandant at Fort Duquesne, determined that, notwithstanding the defection of most of his Indian allies, he would attack Colonel Bouquet's troops at Loyalhanning before the main part of the forces of General Forbes would arrive at that place. De Ligneris hoped that by attacking Bouquet's forces, he could compel him to retreat, as did Colonel Dunbar after the defeat of General Braddock.

Accordingly, the French and the remnant of their Indian allies, uniting their forces, sallied forth from Fort Duquesne, and attacked Colonel Bouquet's "Camp at Loyal Hannon" with great desperation. After a bitter engagement, on October 12, 1758, they were repulsed. The following letters give some of the particulars of this attack:

1. Colonel Bouquet was not at the camp at the time of the attack, being back at Stoney Creek (Stoyestown) with seven hundred men and a detachment of artillery. Colonel James Burd, who was in command at Loyalhanning during the absence of Bouquet, sent him the following account of the engagement on the day that the same took place:

“To Co. Bouquet at Stoney Creek on the Laurel Hill:

I had the pleasure to receive your favors of this date this evening at 7 P. M. I shall be glad to see you. I send you, through Lieut. Col. Lloyd (who marches to you with 200 men), the 100 falling axes, etc., you desire.

“This day, at 11 A. M., the enemy fired 12 guns to the southwest of us, upon which I sent two partys to surround them; but instantly the firing increased, upon which I sent out a larger party of 500 men. They were forced to the camp, and immediately a regular attack ensued, which lasted a long time; I think about two hours. But we had the pleasure to do that honour to his Majesty’s arms, to keep his camp at Loyal Hannon. I can’t inform you of our loss, nor that of the enemy. But must refer to for the particulars to Lieut. Col. Lloyd. One of their soldiers, which we have mortally wounded, says they were 1200 strong and 200 Indians, but I can ascertain nothing of this further, I have drove them off the field; but I don’t doubt of a second attack. If they do I am ready.”

In a postscript he adds: “Since writing we have been fired upon.”

The above letter is quoted in Darlington’s “Fort Pitt and Letters from the Frontier,” page 81.

2. On page 82 of Darlington’s “Fort Pitt,” is a letter written by Colonel Bouquet, dated at “Ray’s Dudgeon, Oct. 13, 1758, 10 P. M.,” in which he says:

“After having written to you this morning, I went to reconnoitre Laurel Hill, with a party of 80 men, some firing of guns around us made me suspect that it was the signal of an enemy’s party. I sent to find out, and one of our party having perceived the Indians, fired on them. We continued our march and have

found a very good road for ascending the mountain, although very stony in two places. The old road is absolutely impracticable.

"I have had this afternoon a second letter from Colonel Burd. The enemies have been all night around the entrenchments, and have made several false attacks. The cannon and the cohorts (14) have held them in awe, and until the Colonel had sent to reconnoitre the environs he was not sure that they had retired. At this moment is heard from the mountains several cannon shots which makes me judge that the enemies have not yet abandoned the party, and at all events I am going to attempt to reenter this post before day. The 200 men which Colonel Burd sent to me, have eaten nothing for two days. I received this moment provisions from Stoney Creek and will depart in two hours.

"I have not any report on our loss, two officers from Maryland have been killed, and one wounded. Duncannon of Virginia mortally wounded, also one officer in the first battalion of Pennsylvania, and nearly fifty men.

"The loss of the enemy must be considerable to judge by the reports of our men and the fire which they have already wasted. Without this cursed rain we would have arrived in time with the artillery and 200 men, and I believe it would have made a difference.

"As soon as it is possible, I will send you word how we are. Be at rest about the post. I have left it in a state to defend itself against all attacks without cannon, and I learn that they have finished all that remains to be done."

3. The following letter, written at Loyalhanning, on October 14, and found in Pa. Archives, Vol. 12, page 392, also describes this attack:

"We were attacked by 1,200 French and 200 Indians, commanded by M. de Vetri, on Thursday, 12th current, at 11 o'clock, A. M., with great fury until 3 P. M., when I had the great pleasure of seeing victory attend the British arms. The enemy attempted in the night to attack us a second time; but in return for their most melodious music, we gave them a number of shells, which soon made them retreat. Our loss on this occasion is only 62 men and 5 officers, killed, wounded and missing. The French were employed all night in carrying off their dead and wounded, and, I believe, carried off some of our dead in mistake."

4. Also in Pa. Archives, Vol. 12, page 392, is an extract from a letter written at Raystown, on October 16, as follows:

"Yesterday the troops fired on account of our success over the enemy, who attacked our advanced post at Loyal Hanning the 12th inst.; their number, by the information of a prisoner taken, said to be about 1100. The engagement began about 11 o'clock A. M., and lasted till 2. They renewed the attack thrice, but our troops stood their ground and behaved with the greatest bravery and firmness at their different posts, repulsing the enemy each time, notwithstanding which, they did not quit the investment that night, but continued firing random shots during that time. This has put our troops in good spirits. The accounts are hitherto imperfect, which obliged the General to send a distinct officer yesterday to Loyal Hanning to learn a true account of the affair. By the General's information, they only took one wounded soldier, and say nothing of the killed, though it was imagined to be very considerable, if they attacked in the open manner it is reported they did. Colonel Bouquet was at Stony Creek, with 700 men and a detachment of artillery.

He could get no further on account of the roads, which, indeed, has impeded everything greatly. Tonight or tomorrow a sufficient number of wagons will be up with provisions. Killed 12, wounded 18, missing 31. Of the missing 29 were on grass guards when the enemy attacked."

5. Colonel James Burd, as has been seen, was in command of the "Camp at Loyal Hannon" at the time of the attack, and to this Pennsylvanian is justly given the credit of repulsing the French and Indians on that occasion, Colonel Bouquet having written him on October 16 that "General Forbes had fired a *feu de joie* for your affair" [the repulse of the French and Indians]. Then, on November 6, 1758, Colonel Burd's father-in-law, Judge Edward Shippen, of Lancaster, wrote him from that place, as follows:

"Dear Mr. Burd: About the 15th or 16th ultimo, Johnny Gibson, Messers Hans Barr & Levi Andrew Levi wrote us from Raystown that an acc't had just arrived there from Loyallhanning of your being attacht by a large party of French & Indians from Fort Duquesne, & that you had killed three or four hundred and taken as many prisoners & beat off the rest. This now, you may be sure, gave us great cause of rejoicing, as it did the people of Philadelphia, to whom Mr. Barnabas Hughes carryed copy's of these letters. Nay, I sent down two or three copies of them to cousin Allen & Neddy. In two days afterwards, we had the pleasure to see your letter to Sally [Colonel Burd's wife], of the 14th ulto., with a confirmation of the repulse you had given the enemy; and tho' you were quite silent as to the number killed, &c., yet our joy was greatly increased. I make no doubt you have slain a considerable number of the enemy, and I don't care afarthing whether I ever know the quantity, nor do I

care whether you have killed more than a half a dozen of them; it is enough for me to be convinced that you have driven off the enemy, & have bravely maintained the Post you were sent to sustain.....I make no question but y'r General will pronounce you a good & faithful servant & will entrust you another time. I suppose he is with you by this time, considering the season of the year, the badness (now) of the road and the quantity of Provisions now at Raystown and Loyal Hanning, and the difficulty, or rather, (if ye winter should shut in immediately) the impossibility of getting ye any more before the spring."

The bearer of this letter was Colonel George Gibson, father of Hon. John Bannister Gibson, renowned Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and brother of Colonel John Gibson, who translated the immortal speech of Logan, Chief of the Mingoës, and was the reputed father of the child of Chief Logan's sister. Colonel George Gibson has a firm place in the early history of Western Pennsylvania as the commander of the company of 100 riflemen and sharpshooters at Fort Pitt during the Revolutionary War, known as "Gibson's Lambs." With fifteen of these rangers, he and William Linn went from Fort Pitt to New Orleans, in the summer of 1776, to procure a supply of powder from the Spaniards. He was killed at General St. Clair's defeat, November 4, 1791.

6. On the side of the French, is a letter from Vaudreuil to Massiac, referring to "two advantages" gained over the English, by which is probably meant Grant's defeat and the "advantage" the French "gained" at the attack on the Camp at Loyal Hannon reported in the French Archives and Pa. Archives, Sec. Series, Vol. 6, page 553, as follows:

"The English suppose us to be very numerous at

Fort Duquesne. I am not sure whether the enemy will organize an expedition this fall, or wait until spring; the advanced season and the two advantages we have gained in succession over them would lead me to hope that they will adopt the latter course. 'Tis much to be desired, for 'twould not be profitable for M. de Ligneris [commander of Fort Duquesne] to resist the superiority of the enemy's forces. Meanwhile, he will use all means in his power to annoy them, embarrass their communications and intercept their convoys. It is a great pity that he has been absolutely obliged, by the scarcity of provisions, to reduce his garrison to 200 men."

The above letters plainly show that the battle at the "Camp at Loyal Hannon" was one of magnitude and desperation. Furthermore, its results were most momentous. The more we know of the actual condition of affairs at the time, the more apparent it becomes that, if the troops at Loyalhanning (mostly Provincials at that time) had been defeated by the French and Indians, the Forbes campaign would have been a failure, and Fort Duquesne, the coveted goal of the British for more than three years, would likely have become a "gateway to the West" for the French, and there would have been no ascendancy of the Anglo-Saxon in the Western World.

We end the account of the attack on Bouquet's forces at Loyalhanning with a quotation from the Narrative of Colonel James Smith. After stating that many of the Indian allies of the French returned to their villages soon after Grant's defeat, Smith says the following:

"After this, the remainder of the Indians, some French regulars and a number of Canadians marched off in quest of General Forbes. They met his army

near Fort Ligonier, and attacked them, but were frustrated in their design. They said that Forbes' men were beginning to learn the art of war, and that there were a great number of American riflemen with the red-coats, who scattered out, took trees, and were good marksmen; therefore they found they could not accomplish their design, and were obliged to retreat. When they returned from the battle to Fort Duquesne, the Indians concluded that they would go to their hunting. The French endeavored to persuade them to stay and try another battle. The Indians said if it was only the red-coats they had to deal with, they could subdue them, but they could not withstand Ashalecoa, or the Great Knife, which was the name they gave the Virginians."

The terms, "Long Knives," "Big Knife," "Great Knife," applied probably first to the Virginia militia and later to the Provincial troops generally, by the Indians, had reference to the long knives carried by the early white hunters and the swords carried by militia officers.

Washington's Narrow Escape From Death

As stated in a former chapter, General Forbes arrived at Loyalhanning about November 1, and about a week later his entire army had reached that place. Fifty days had elapsed between the time of the General's arrival at Bedford and the time of his arrival at the "Camp at Loyal Hannon." It was while his entire army was at this historic camp that one of the most thrilling events of the entire campaign took place—one of the most memorable things that can be narrated about Fort Ligonier. We refer to an incident in the life of Washington, in which he narrowly escaped death. We give three accounts of this incident:

1. Washington related the incident to Hon. William Findley, first Congressman from Westmoreland County. Nearly twenty years after Washington's death, Mr. Findley put his recollections on paper—a letter which he wrote from Youngstown, near his home, on March 27, 1818, to the editor of Niles' Register. While Mr. Findley's account is not accurate as to all details, yet it must be borne in mind that he was writing only from memory after the lapse of many years. Here is his letter:

“Since I am in the way of writing about Washington, I will add one serious scene through which he passed, which is little known and with which he concluded this conversation. He asked me how near I lived to Loyalhanna Old Fort [Fort Ligonier], and if I knew a run from the Laurel Hill that fell into the creek near it. I told him the distance from my residence, and that I knew the run. He told me that a considerable distance up that run his life was in as great hazard as ever it had been in war. That he had been ordered to march some troops to reinforce a bullock-guard on their way to the camp—that he marched his party in single file with trailed arms, and sent a runner to inform the British officer in what manner he would meet him. The runner arrived and delivered his message, but he did not know how it was that the British officer paid no attention to it, and the parties met in the dark and fired on each other till they killed thirty (30) of their own men; nor could they be stopped till he had to go between the fires and threw up the muzzles of their guns with his sword.”

2. The following, which has been called the “best account” of this incident, appeared in the “Pennsylvania Gazette,” November 30, 1758:

“On the 12, Col. Washington being out with a scout-

ing party, fell in with a number of the enemy about 3 miles from our camp, whom he attacked, killed one, took 3 prisoners (an Indian man and woman, and one Johnson, an Englishman, who, it is said was carried off by the Indians some time ago from Lancaster county), and obliged the rest to fly. On hearing the firing at Loyal Hanning, Colonel Mercer, with a party of Virginians, was sent to assistance of Colonel Washington, who arriving in sight of our people in the dusk of the evening, and seeing them about a fire the enemy had been drove from, and the two Indians with them, imagined them to be French; and Colonel Washington being under the same mistake, unhappily a few shots were exchanged, by which a lieutenant and 13 or 14 Virginians were killed. That Johnson being examined, was told he had forfeited his life by being found in arms against his king and country, and the only way to save it and make atonement, was to give as full an information of the condition of Fort Du Quesne, and of the enemy, as he could, which being found to be true, his life should be spared, and in case of success he should be well rewarded; but if he should give any false intelligence, or not so full as he had it in his power then to do, he should certainly be put to death in an extraordinary manner. That upon this threatening and promise Johnson said that the Canadians who had been with Mons. Vetri at Loyal Hanning were all gone home; that the Ohio Indians had also returned to their several towns; that the attempt made by Vetri at Loyal Hanning was only to make us apprehend their strength at Fort DuQuesne to be very great, whereas they are very weak there, and added that our army would certainly succeed. That the Indian man being likewise examined, his relation, we are told, agreed with that of Johnson; and they both said the French

were very scarce of provisions, as well as weak in men, and that upon this information Colonel Armstrong, with 1,000 men and part of the train, was ordered to march next day, and the General designed to have followed the next day, after with the whole army, but was necessarily detained till the 17th when he certainly marched, and we hope is now in possession of Fort DuQuesne."

3. But, in our opinion, the "best account" of this thrilling and dangerous incident that happened as night was settling down over the hills of "Old Westmoreland," is an article in "Scribner's Magazine" for May, 1893 containing a reproduction of a manuscript written by Washington himself describing the incident. Mr. Henry G. Pickering, in whose family the original manuscript was preserved, states that it was the purpose of Colonel David Humphreys, a member of Washington's military staff in the latter part of the Revolutionary War, to write a life of Washington; that it would seem that, at his request, Washington prepared the narrative, the connected part of which is given in the article referred to. There are frequent interlineations and erasures in the manuscript, and the initials, "G. W.," are substituted where "I" and "me" occur. Here, then, is Washington's own account:

"But the war by this time raging in another quarter of the continent, all applications were unheeded till the year 1758, when an expedition against Fort Duquesne was concerted and undertaken under the conduct of Genl. Forbes; who though a brave and good officer, was so much debilitated by bad health, and so illy supplied with the means to carry on the expedition, that it was November before the troops got to Loyalhanning fifty or sixty miles from Fort Duquesne, and even then was on the very point of abandoning the expedi-

tion when some seasonable supplies arriving, the army was formed into three brigades—took up its march—and moved forward; the brigade commanded by G. W. being the leading one. Previous to this, and during the time the army lay at Loyallhanning, a circumstance occurred which involved the life of G. W. in as much jeopardy as it has ever been before or since.

“The enemy sent out a large detachment to reconnoitre our camp, and to ascertain our strength; in consequence of intelligence that they were within two miles of the camp a party commanded by Lieut. Col. Mercer, of the Virginia Line (a gallant and good officer) was sent to dislodge them, between whom, a severe conflict and hot firing ensued, which lasting some time and appearing to approach the camp, it was conceived that our party was yielding the ground, upon which G. W. with permission of the Genl. called (per dispatch) for volunteers and immediately marched at their head, to sustain, as was conjectured, the retiring troops. Led on by the firing till he came within less than half a mile, and it ceasing, he detached scouts to investigate the cause, and to communicate his approach to his friend, Col. Mercer, advancing slowly in the meantime. But it being near dusk, and the intelligence not having been fully disseminated among Col. Mercer’s corps, and they taking us for the enemy who had retreated, approached in another direction, commenced a heavy fire upon the relieving party which drew fire in return in spite of all the exertions of the officers, one of whom and several privates were killed and many wounded before a stop could be put to it, to accomplish which G. W. never was in more imminent danger, by being between two fires, knocking up with his sword the presented pieces.”

Washington’s attack on Jumonville in one of the

mountain valleys of Fayette County, on May 28, 1754, was the opening conflict of the French and Indian War; and his skirmish of November 12, 1758, was the last clash of arms between the British on one side and the French and Indians on the other, in the valley of the Ohio. Both conflicts took place in settings very much alike—secluded, forest-covered ravines.

Forbes Ready to Advance

It will be recalled that the captive, Johnson, taken with two Indians in the skirmish of November 12, gave the information that the Canadians who had taken part in the attack on the "Camp at Loyal Hannon" on October 12, had gone home; that the Ohio Indians had returned to their villages, and that the French were short of provisions. Christian Frederick Post was the influence back of the returning of the Indian allies to their villages, as will be seen in the following chapter. The following extract from a letter, quoted in part in "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania," Vol. 2, page 270, sheds some light on the shortness of provisions among the French after their attack of October 12:

"It is said that Vetri and his people, on their return from Loyal Hanning, were obliged to kill and eat several of our horses, whose skins and bones were afterwards found by some of our people."

It was because of the information given by Johnson, the captive, that General Forbes decided to press on against Fort Duquesne at once rather than to go into winter quarters at the "Camp at Loyal Hannon." His army is now ready to advance. His march from Loyalhanning to Fort Duquesne will be described in Chapter VII. In the meantime, other matters at Loyalhanning will claim our attention in Chapters V and VI,

CHAPTER V

The Forbes Campaign (Continued) Christian Frederick Post at Loyalhanning

At this point, while the army of General Forbes is at the "Camp at Loyal Hannon" and before describing its march from this place to Fort Duquesne, it is fitting to give a short account of the peace missions of the gentle Moravian missionary, the true Knight of the Cross, Christian Frederick Post,—missions that contributed very largely to the success of the Forbes campaign and the consequent ascendancy of the Anglo-Saxon in the Western World.

During the summer of 1756, Canachquasy, the great peace apostle among the Indians, succeeded in persuading Teedyuscung, the wise and able chief of the Eastern Delawares, the Delaware "King," the last of their great chiefs, to bury the hatchet and make peace with the English. Following this, many councils were held between the Colonial Authorities and Teedyuscung, principally the Easton conference of July and August, 1757, in which the great Delaware showed his profound desire for peace and suggested means for winning the Western Delawares from allegiance with the French, now that the Eastern Delawares were at peace with the English.

Post's Missions to Teedyuscung

From his home at Wyoming, the present Wilkes-Barre, Teedyuscung came to Philadelphia on March 13, 1758, and advised Governor Denny and the Pro-

vincial Council that, in compliance with his promise at the third Easton conference of July and August, 1757, he had given the "Big Peace Halloo," and had secured the alliance of eight nations of the Western Indians, who had taken hold of the peace belt, in addition of the ten for whom he had spoken at the Easton treaty. Among these eight nations were the Ottawas, Twightwees and Chippewas. The calumet which these new allies sent to Teedyuscung was smoked by Teedyuscung, the Governor, and members of the Provincial Council and Assembly during the councils which followed Teedyuscung's arrival.

During the conferences that attended the above visit of Teedyuscung to the Governor and Provincial Council, the old chief urged that the Provincial Authorities should not neglect the opportunity to do anything possible to strengthen the alliance with the eight western nations who had agreed to his peace proposal. He urged that a messenger should be sent to his friends on the Ohio, warning them to sever their allegiance with the French. He said: "I have received encouragement from the Indian nations. Now, brother, press on with all your might in promoting the good work we are engaged in. Let us beg the God that made us to bless our endeavours, and I am sure if you assert yourselves, God will grant a blessing, and we shall live." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 8, pages 30 to 35.)

Governor Denny then, on March 24th, instructed Teedyuscung to see that the peace belt and calumet pipe were carried to the Western Indians, especially the Delawares and Shawnees on the Ohio. Teedyuscung then appointed five Indians, led by his son, Hans Jacob, to carry the peace message to the Ohio.

At this time, the Cherokees were coming to join the expedition of General Forbes against Fort Duquesne,

much to the displeasure of the friendly Delawares and Shawnees; and Teedyuscung, during the above conferences, requested that a messenger be sent to stop these Southern Indians from coming further. (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 8, pages 29 to 56.) The friendly Shawnee chief, Paxinosa, of Wyoming, was especially wrought up over the presence of the Cherokees at Carlisle, Fort Littleton and other places, and threatened to leave Wyoming and join the French on the Ohio. Finally, on account of his fear of the Cherokees and Catawbas, he left for the Ohio Valley early in May, saying he was going back to "Ohio where he was born."

Fearing that the peace efforts would be frustrated by the actions of the wise and able Paxinosa, the Governor and General Forbes decided to send the Moravian Missionary, Christian Frederick Post, on a mission to Wyoming to explain the situation concerning the Cherokees and to request the Indians on the Susquehanna to call all friendly Indians east of the mountains while the General advanced against Fort Duquesne. Post and Charles Thompson, a Pennsylvania Quaker and later secretary of the Continental Congress, left Philadelphia on June 7, and arrived at Bethlehem on the following day, having engaged the friendly Delaware chief, Moses Tatemy, and the Moravian Delaware, Isaac Still, on the way, to accompany them to Wyoming. At Bethlehem, they engaged three other friendly Indians to accompany them. From that place they went to the Nescopeck Mountain, about fifteen miles from Wyoming, where they met a party of nine Indians on their way to Bethlehem, who warned them not to go to Wyoming, as the woods were full of strange Indians. It was then decided to go back to the east side of the mountain, and to send two messengers forward to invite Teedyuscung to meet them.

The next day Teedyuscung came from his residence at Wyoming. Post complained to him that the path to Wyoming was closed, and that it was his (Teedyuscung's) business to keep it open. The Delaware "King" replied that the road had been closed by the Six Nations, explaining that a war party of about two hundred Senecas had recently passed through several towns on the Susquehanna to attack some Virginians who had treacherously killed a party of Senecas three years previously, as they were going against the Catawbias.

Post gained much valuable information from Teedyuscung as to the situation among the Indians on the Ohio. The old chief told him that his son, Hans Jacob, one of the five messengers he had sent to carry the peace message to the Ohio, had killed a French soldier a short distance from Fort Duquesne; that the commander of this fort then called the Senecas of the Ohio together, and told them the Catawbias had killed the soldier, whereupon the Senecas told the commander that the Delawares committed this deed; and that a heated argument then took place between the commander and the Senecas, in which the leader of the Senecas told the commander that "the English are coming up, and as soon as they strike you on the one side, I will strike you on the other." Many other reports from the Ohio were made to Post by Teedyuscung, tending to show that the time was ripe for authoritative peace overtures to be made by Pennsylvania to the Indian allies of the French on the Ohio. Post and Thompson then returned to Philadelphia, on June 16, and delivered the report of their journey. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 3, pages 412 to 422).

On June 20, a peace message and accompanying belts from the Cherokees to the Eastern Delawares

were delivered to Governor Denny. This message, coming from two of the principal chiefs of the Cherokees, assured the friendly Delawares that the Cherokees had no intention of harming such Delawares or any other Indians in alliance with the English. It also contained the request that the Eastern Delawares should cause all friendly members of their tribe on the Ohio to come east of the mountains, so as not to be in danger of being harmed by the Cherokees in attacking the Indian allies of the French. (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 8, pages 135, 136).

Governor Denny deemed the peace message from the Cherokees so important that he decided to send the same at once to Teedyuscung at Wyoming. Post was the messenger selected for this purpose, who set out for Wyoming over the same course that he had recently traveled, at which place he arrived on June 27, and delivered the message to Teedyuscung. At Wyoming, Post met a number of Delaware chiefs from the Allegheny, to whom he explained all about the peace measures that were under way. An old sachem from the Allegheny, named Katuaikund, upon hearing the good news, "lifting up his hands to heaven wished that God would have mercy upon them, and would help them to bring them and the English together again, and to establish an everlasting ground foundation for peace among them. He wished further that God would move the Governor and the people's hearts toward them in love, peace, and union . . . He said further that it would be well if the Governor sent somebody with them at their return home, for it would be a great consequence to them who lived above the Allegheny to hear from the Governor's mind from their own mouths." At Wyoming, Post learned that the garrison at Fort Duquesne consisted of about eleven hundred French,

almost starved, who would have abandoned the fort, had not the Mohawks sent them assistance, and that the commander had recently said that, "if the English come to strong upon me, I will leave." Two of the messengers who had come from the Allegheny with news concerning the situation of the French, were Keevuscung and Pisquetomen, the latter a brother of Shingas and King Beaver. (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 8 pages 142 to 145).

At this point, a word as to Pisquetomen's brothers—King Beaver and Shingas. They were two of the principal leaders of the Delawares of the Ohio, Allegheny, Beaver and other western valleys, who were in alliance with the French. From Kittanning, from Logstown (on the north bank of the Ohio, about 18 miles below Pittsburgh); from Sauconk (at the mouth of the Beaver); from Kuskuskies (at the site of the present New Castle, Lawrence County); and even from the valleys of the Muskingum and Tuscarawas, these able Indian chiefs had led many a bloody expedition against the Pennsylvania frontier in 1755, 1756, 1757 and 1758. No tongue can tell, no pen can describe the horrors of the crimson tide, the horrors of the flood of death, which King Beaver and Shingas caused to flow down from the Blue Mountains into the Scotch-Irish and Pennsylvania-German settlements during the tragic and awful period of the French and Indian War. If they and their warriors could be persuaded to sever their allegiance with the French, the Forbes campaign would likely be successful in dislodging the French from the charming valleys of Western Pennsylvania.

Post's First Mission to the Western Delawares

Post then returned to Fort Allen (Weissport) on June 30, accompanied by fifty Indians. After the

Governor heard his report and had talked with Pisquetomen and Keekyuscung, it was decided to send these two Indians to the Ohio, in order to gain information as to the situation among the Indians there, and to advise them of the peace measures. Post was requested to accompany these messengers, and he agreed to do so, if Charles Thomson were permitted to go with him. The Governor replied that, "he might take any other person." Post then left Philadelphia on July 15, reaching Bethlehem on the 17th, at which place he made preparations for his journey to the Ohio. On the 19th he reached Fort Allen, where Teedyuscung tried to dissuade him from going on his dangerous mission. Post says: "He [Teedyuscung] was afraid I should never return, that the Indians would kill me." Post replied to Teedyuscung that he was obliged to go, even if he should lose his life. On the 22nd, when Post again prepared to set out, Teedyuscung again protested, saying that he was afraid that the Indians would kill Post, or that the French would capture him. Post then made the final reply to Teedyuscung that he would go on this peace mission to the Ohio, even if he died in the undertaking, and that, if, unhappily, he should die before completing the mission, he hoped that his death would be the means of saving many hundreds of lives. Without further delay, he therefore set forth on his first mission to the Ohio, accompanied by Pisquetomen, Keekyuscung and Shamokin Daniel.

Before narrating Post's mission to the Western Delawares, we call attention, at this point, to the fact that no more suitable person could have been found in all the colonies for carrying the peace proposal to these Indians than the gentle and honest Moravian missionary. Weiser's influence was waning. He was an Iroquois at heart; Teedyuscung disliked him; he was a

Colonel in the armed forces of the Province. Most of the Delawares and Shawnees disliked him. For these reasons, he was not the proper person to send on this important mission. Nor would George Croghan have been the proper person, at the time of which we are writing. He was a trader, bent on personal gain. But Post was not a military man. He had no selfish interest and the Delawares knew this. Born in Germany, he came to America and labored as a Moravian Missionary among the Delawares, being located for some time at Wyoming. He knew Shingas, King Beaver and all the other important Delaware chiefs. The Delawares loved and trusted him. For years he had lived among them in all the intimacy of friends and companions. His first wife, Rachel, was a Delaware convert, whom he married in 1743, and who died at Bethlehem in 1747. In 1749, he chose as his second wife, Agnes, a dusky Daughter of the Delawares, who was baptized by Bishop Cammerhof on March 5 of that year and who died at Bethlehem in 1751. So that, in dealing with Post, the Delawares looked upon him as one of their own flesh and blood.

We shall now follow Post on his journey to the Western Delawares. He arrived at Fort Augusta (Sunbury), on July 25, having passed many devastated and deserted plantations on the way. From this point, he followed the trail the Delawares used in their first migration from the region of Sunbury to the Allegheny, as far as a point near the town of Punxsutawney in the southern part of Jefferson County. Here the trail branched, one branch leading in a north-western direction across Jefferson, Clarion and Venango Counties to Venango (Franklin) at which place he arrived on August 7. The next morning, while hunting his horses, he passed within ten yards of Fort

Machault. He then set out for Kuskuskies, but proceeded too far to the southward, and on the 10th, his party met a renegade English trader and an Indian, who told them they were then within twenty miles of Fort Duquesne. Thus having lost their way, they spent almost two days in trying to find the right trail to Kuskuskies. Reaching an Indian town on Conoquenessing Creek, about fifteen miles from Kuskuskies, Post sent Pisquetomen on ahead to let the chiefs know that he was coming with a message from the Governor and people of Pennsylvania and the King of England. Shortly after Pisquetomen left, Post met some Shawnees, who formerly lived at Wyoming. They recognized him and treated him very kindly.

Arriving at Kuskuskies that same day (August 12), Post was kindly welcomed by King Beaver, and ten other chiefs saluted him. They had long conversations with Post around the council fire until midnight. Post was now among the leaders of the bloody raids into the Pennsylvania settlements—King Beaver, Keckenepaulin and Shingas, the last of whom was the terror of the frontier, for whose head Governor Denny, in 1756, set a price of two hundred pounds. Other chiefs with whom Post held councils at Kuskuskies until August 20, were Delaware George, who was his former disciple at the Moravian mission, and Killbuck. He made known to all the chiefs the peace between Pennsylvania and the eastern Delawares, brought about at the treaty with Teedyuscung at Easton. After one of the councils, lasting far into the night, Delaware George was unable to sleep, so affected was he by the peace message of his former teacher and mentor. A French Captain and fifteen soldiers came to Kuskuskies to build houses for the Indians, and they used every art to get possession of Post, but to no avail. Even the

bloody Shingas loved the gentle Moravian, and protected him.

On August 20, Post, accompanied by twenty-five horsemen and fifteen footmen, went to Sauconk at the mouth of the Beaver. Here he was not well received, being surrounded by Indians with drawn knives. Finally recognizing a few and talking with them, their manner suddenly changed. Post went from here to Logstown, at which place he arrived on the evening of August 23. Here he met many English captives, and was permitted to shake hands with them—a thing he was not permitted to do at Kuskuskies, where he saw Marie le Roy and Barbara Leininger, as well as other captives. Leaving Logstown on August 25, Post's party arrived on the right bank of the Allegheny, just opposite Fort Duquesne, in the afternoon. Here King Beaver introduced him to the Indians who came over from the fort. All were glad to see him except "an Old Deaf Onondaga Indian who rose up and signified his displeasure." He apologized, however, the next day, when some Delawares and Shawnees, friends of Post, gave him a roll of tobacco.

Post's situation was now most critical. French officers demanded that he be taken to the fort, but his Indian friends would "not suffer him to be blinded and carried into the Fort." The next day, the Indians told him the French had offered a reward for his scalp and that he should "not stir from the Fire." "Accordingly," he says in his journal, "I stuck constantly as close to the fire as if I had been charm'd there." The Indian to whom the French offered a reward for Post's scalp, was Shamokin Daniel, one of his own party, and from this time on, Post had much trouble with this Delaware, to whom the French had given a string of wampum "to leave me there."

Here, on August 26, on the bank of the Allegheny, under the guns of Fort Duquesne, in the presence of French officers, who with paper and pen, took down every word he spoke, and in the presence of three hundred Indians—Delawares, Shawnees, Mingoes, and Ottawas,—this heroic knight of the Cross, Christian Frederick Post, delivered the peace message of the Governor of Pennsylvania and the King of England to the assembled warriors, and pleaded that they accept the message and withdraw from their allegiance with the French. After he ended his plea for peace, the French held a council with their most devoted Indian allies, at Fort Duquesne, and urged that, inasmuch as the Delawares accompanying Post were wavering in the allegiance and inclining to the English interest, they should all be killed, to which proposal the Ottawas objected and prevented its being carried into execution.

Realizing that it was too dangerous for Post to remain longer so near Fort Duquesne, a party of his Indian friends left with him for Sauconk before daylight, on August 27, by a different trail than the one over which they had come. They passed through three Shawnee towns on the way, at all of which Post was well received, and arrived at Sauconk in the evening, where he was gladly welcomed.

In the Shawnees towns, Post saw many Indians he became acquainted with at Wyoming.

On August 28, Post and a party of twenty Indians set out from Sauconk for Kuskuskies. One of the party was Shingas. "On the road" says Post, "Shingas addressed himself to me, and asked if I did not think that, if he came to the English, they would hang him, as they had offered a great reward for his head. He spoke in a very soft and easy manner. I told him that was a great while ago; it was all forgotten

and wiped clean away; that the English would receive him very kindly." At this point, Shamokin Daniel interrupted and told Shingas not to believe Post; that the English had hired hundreds of Cherokees to kill the Delawares; and that both he (Daniel) and Post had seen an Indian woman lying dead in the road, murdered by the Cherokees. "D-n you," said Daniel, "why do not you [the English] and the French fight on the sea? You come here only to cheat the poor Indians, and take their land from them." That night Post and his party arrived at Kuskuskies.

Post remained at Kuskuskies until September 7, holding many councils with Shingas, King Beaver, Pisquetomen, Delaware George and other leaders of the Western Delawares. In these councils Shingas told him that the English and French were fighting for lands that belonged to neither, but to the Indians, and that this fighting was taking place "in the Land that God has given us." Said this Delaware chief, in a speech as patriotic as ever fell from the lips of Daniel Webster:

"The English intend to destroy us, and take our lands, but the land is ours, and not theirs. . . It is you [the English] that have begun the war . . . We love you more than you love us; for, when we take any prisoners from you, we treat them as our own children. We are poor, and we clothe them as well as we can, though you see our children are as naked as at the first. By this you may see that our hearts are better than yours . . . Why do not you and the French fight in the old country, and on the sea? Why do you come to fight on our land? . . . You want to take the land from us by force, and settle it. The white people think we have no brains in our heads."

Shingas and his associate chiefs "had brains in their

heads." They saw through the schemes and plans of both the English and the French. Like all races, primitive and civilized, the Indians had their faults—faults that were increased by the white man's rum and vices—but no close student of Indian history will say that they did not have an intelligence far beyond that of other primitive races. Furthermore, no citizen of old Rome loved his country more than these children of the American forests loved the mountains, the valleys, the streams, the hunting grounds, for which they were fighting and dying—the beautiful and loved region which Shingas described as "the Land that God has given us."

From what Post told them and from what was promised in various conferences to be discussed in a subsequent chapter, the Western Delawares and Shawnees believed that, as soon as the English would succeed in driving the French from the Ohio and Allegheny valleys, they (the English) would withdraw east of the Allegheny Mountains and leave the western lands to the Indian. It was this understanding that caused Shingas, King Beaver, Delaware George and other chiefs with whom Post held his conferences, to accept the peace message of which he was the bearer.

On September 3, Post was given a peace belt of eight rows of wampum. It was delivered by King Beaver, Delaware George, Pisquetomen, John Hickmen, Killbuck, Keckenepaulin and eight other chiefs, representing the three clans of the Delawares.

On September 4, two hundred French and Indians came to Kuskuskies on their way to Fort Duquesne. They staid all night. During the middle of the night, King Beaver's daughter died, "on which" says Post, "a great many guns were fired in the town."

Just before Post left, September 7, King Beaver

and Shingas referring to the fact that Governor Denny and Teedyuscung had entrusted Post to their brother, Pisquetomen, addressed their brother as follows:

“Brother, you told us that the Governor of Philadelphia and Teedyuscung took this man out of their bosoms, and put him into your bosom, that you should bring him here; and you have brought him here to us; and now we give him into your bosom, to bring him to the same place again, before the Governor; but do not let him quite loose; we shall rejoice when we shall see him here again.”

Post and his companions then hastened on their way over the mountains to Eastern Pennsylvania, bearing the peace belt of the Western Delawares. During the night of September 13, at a point near Punxsutawney, rustling was heard in the bushes near their camp, whereupon Post's Indian companions kept watch, one after another, all the rest of the night. “In the morning,” says Post, “I asked them what made them afraid. They said I knew nothing; the French had set a great price on my head; and they knew there was gone out a great scout to lie in wait for me.”

Arriving at the Great Island (Lock Haven) on September 19, Post met a war party of twenty Delawares and Mingoes, returning from the settlements with five prisoners and one scalp. Post informed them where he had been and what he had accomplished, whereupon the warriors said that, if they had known this, they would not have gone to war.

Post arrived at Fort Augusta on September 22. At Harris' Ferry, he sent Pisquetomen and Thomas Hickman, a friendly Delaware, on to Philadelphia to deliver the peace belt and message of the Western Delawares, while he went on to see General Forbes, who was then at Raystown (Bedford) with the main part

of his army. (Thomas Hickman, friendly Delaware Indian that he was, was brutally murdered by a white man, in the Tuscarora Valley, in 1761). Pisquetomen and Thomas Hickman went to the "Grand Council," which convened at Easton, on October 8, where the former delivered the peace belt and message, and where Governor Denny prepared a reply to the same, and directed Pisquetomen and Hickman to carry his reply back to the Western Delawares. Then, on October 22, just as Pisquetomen and Hickman were leaving, Post arrived at the Council with the news from General Forbes that twelve hundred French and two hundred Indians had attacked his advance guard at the "Camp at Loyal Hannon," on October 12. (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 8, pages 187, 188, 212.)

For Post's journal of his missions, see Pa. Archives, Vol. 3, pages 520 to 544.

Post's Second Mission to the Western Delawares

Governor Denny's message in reply to the message and peace belts brought by Post from the western Delawares, contained assurance of pardon for past hostile acts of these Indians and their allies, upon their agreeing to withdraw from the French allegiance. It also contained a request that the chiefs of the Western Delawares come to Philadelphia for a conference with the Colonial authorities.

As stated above, Pisquetomen and Thomas Hickman were ready to start from Easton with the Governor's message when Post arrived at the "Grand Council" at that place, on October 22. These messengers were to be accompanied by Togenontawly, a Cayuga chief, the youngest son of Shikellamy, Captain John Bull, William Hays and the Delaware, Isaac Still, the last being a Moravian convert, the first two being ap-

pointed by the Six Nations' chiefs and the rest by the Governor.

On October 25, Post received orders from Governor Denny, at Easton, to go once more to Kuskuskies, carrying the Governor's reply. He left Easton that day, going to Bethlehem, where he prepared for his journey. On the 27th, he arrived at Reading, where he met Captain John Bull, William Hays, and the other Indians, who were to accompany him. At the house of Conrad Weiser, at Reading, he read the Governor's letter of instructions in which he was requested to go on this journey by the same route that the army of General Forbes was following, instead of the route he had followed on his first mission. Pisquetomen and the other Indians were at first unwilling to travel by the route followed by Forbes' army, as it led through the Scotch-Irish settlements in Cumberland and Franklin Counties, where so many atrocities had been committed since the beginning of the war. The Indians feared they might be harmed by the inhabitants of these counties, but finally gave their consent to travel by this route. The party arrived at Carlisle on the evening of October 29, where the Indians spent the night in a house just outside of Fort Lowther. The next day, the party arrived at Shippensburg, where all spent the night in Fort Morris.

While Post and his companions were passing Chamber's Fort, now Chambersburg, on October 31, some Scotch-Irish settlers, recognizing the Indians, "exclaimed against them in a rash manner." Post had some difficulty in getting his Indian companions through this neighborhood, but reached Fort Littleton the next day, where he and his party remained until November 3, when they set out for Raystown (Bedford), arriving there that night and remaining there

until November 6. On November 7, they arrived at Loyalhanning (Ligonier), where they were received by General Forbes, who gave them a message and a belt of wampum for the Western Delawares.

*Forbes Meets Post at Loyalhanning and Sends Message
to Western Delawares and Shawnees*

At this point, we quote from Post's journal his account of his meeting with General Forbes at the "Camp at Loyal Hannon":

"Nov. 7th. We arose early, and made all the haste we could on our journey; we crossed the large creek, Rekempalin [Pickings Run], near Lawrel Hill. Upon this hill we overtook the artillery, and came, before sun set, to Loyal Hanning. We were gladly received in the camp by the general, and most of the people. We made our fire near the other Indian camps; which pleased our people. Soon after some of the officers came, and spoke very rashly to our Indians, in respect to their conduct to our people; at which they were much displeased, and answered as rashly, and said, 'they did not understand such usage; for they were come upon a message of peace; if we had a mind to war, they knew how to help themselves; and they were not afraid of us.'

"Nov. 8th. At eleven o'clock the general called the Indians together, the Cherokees and Catawbias being present; he spake to them in a kind loving manner, and bid them heartily welcome to his camp, and expressed his joy to see them and desired them to give his compliments to all their kings and captains: He desired them that had any love for the English nation, to withdraw from the French; for if he should find them among the French, he must treat them as enemies,

as he should advance with a large army very soon, and cannot wait longer on account of the winter season. After that he drank the King's health, and all that wish well to the English nation; then he drank King Beaver's, Shingas' and all the warrior's healths, and recommended us (the messengers) to their care; and desired them to give credit to what we should say. After that we went to another house with the general alone; and shewed them the belt, and [he] said, he would furnish them with a writing, for both the belt and string; and after a little discourse more, our Indians parted in love, and well satisfied. And we made all necessary preparations for our journey.

“Nov. 9th. Some of the colonels and chief commanders wondered how I came through so many difficulties, and how I could rule and bring these people to reason, making no use of gun or sword. I told them, it is done by no other means than by faith. Then they asked me, if I had faith to venture myself to come safe through with my companions. I told them, it was in my heart to pray for them, ‘you know that the Lord has given many promises to his servants, and what he promises, you may depend upon, he will perform.’ Then they wished us good success. We waited till almost noon for the writing of the general. We were escorted by an hundred men, rank and file, commanded by captain Haselet; we passed through a tract of good land, about six miles on the old trading path, and came to the creek again, where there is a large fine bottom, well timbered; from thence we came upon a hill, to an advanced breast-work [Breastwork Hill, mentioned in Chapter II] about ten miles from the camp, well situated for strength, facing a small branch of the aforesaid creek; the hill is steep down, perpendicular about twenty feet,

on the south side; which is a great defense; and on the west side the breast-work about seven feet high, where we encamped that night."

The following is the message which General Forbes gave Post at the "Camp at Loyal Hannon" to convey to the Western Delawares and Shawnees and their chiefs:

"General Forbes to the Shawanese, and Delawares, on the Ohio: "Brethren, I embrace this opportunity by our brother, Pesquitomen, who is now on his return home with some of your uncles, of the Six Nations, from the treaty of Easton, of giving you joy of the happy conclusion of that great council, which is perfectly agreeable to me; as it is for the mutual advantage of our brethren, the Indians, as well as the English nation.

"I am glad to find that all past disputes and animosities are now finally settled, and amicably adjusted; and I hope they will be forever buried in oblivion, and that you will now again be firmly united in the interest of your brethren, the English.

"As I am now advancing, at the head of a large army, against his majesty's enemies, the French, on the Ohio, I must strongly recommend to you to send immediate notice to any of your people, who may be at the French fort, to return forthwith to your town; where you may sit by your fires, with your wives and children, quiet and undisturbed, and smoke your pipes in safety. Let the French fight their own battles, as they were the first cause of the war, and the occasion of the long difference, which hath subsisted between you and your brethren, the English; but I must entreat you to restrain your young men from crossing the Ohio, as it will be impossible for me to distinguish them from

our enemies; which I expect you will comply with, without delay; lest, by your neglect thereof, I should be the innocent cause of some of our brethren's death. This advice take and keep in your own breasts, and suffer it not to reach the ears of the French.

"As a proof of the truth and sincerity of what I say, and to confirm the tender regard I have for the lives and welfare of our brethren, on the Ohio, I send you this string of wampum. "I am, brethren and warriors,

"Your friend and brother,

"John Forbes."

"Brethren, kings Beaver and Shingas, and all the warriors, who join with you:

"The many acts of hostility, committed by the French against the British subjects, made it necessary for the king to take up arms, in their defense, and to redress their wrongs, which have been done them; heaven hath favoured the justice of the cause, and given success to his fleets and armies, in different parts of the world. I have received his commands, with regard to what is to be done on the Ohio, and shall endeavour to act like a soldier by driving the French from thence, or destroying them.

"It is a particular pleasure to me to learn, that the Indians, who inhabit near that river, have lately conclude a treaty of peace, with the English; by which the ancient friendship is renewed with their brethren, and fixed on a firmer foundation than ever. May it be lasting and unmoveable as the mountains. I make no doubt but it gives you equal satisfaction, and that you will unite your endeavours with mine, and all the governors of these provinces, to strengthen it: The clouds,

that for some time, hung over the English, and their friends, the Indians on the Ohio, and kept them both in darkness, are now dispersed, and the cheerful light now again shines upon us, and warms us both. May it continue to do so, while the sun and moon give light.

“Your people, who were sent to us, were received by us with open arms and they were kindly entertained while they were here; and I have taken care that they shall return safe to you; with them come trusty messengers, whom I earnestly recommend to your protection; they have several matters in charge; and I desire you may give credit to what they say; in particular, they have a large belt of wampum, and by this belt we let you know, that it is agreed by me, and all the governors, that there shall be an everlasting peace with all the Indians, established as sure as the mountains, between the English nation and the Indians, all over, from the sun rising to the sun setting; and your influence on them is great; so you will make it known to all the different nations that want to be in friendship with the English; and I hope, by your means and persuasions, many will lay hold of this belt, and immediately withdraw from the French; this will be greatly to their own interest and your honor, and I shall not fail to acquaint the great king of it: I sincerely wish it, for their good; for it will fill me with concern to find any of you joined with the French; as in that case, you must be sensible I must treat them as enemies; however, I once more repeat, that there is no time to be lost; for I intend to march with the army very soon; and I hope to enjoy the pleasure of thanking you for your zeal, and of entertaining you in the fort ere long. In the mean time I wish happiness and prosperity to you, your women and children.

"I write to you as a warrior should, that is, with candour and love, and I recommend secrecy and dispatch.

"I am, kings Beaver and Shingas,

"And brother warriors,

"Your assured friend and brother,

"John Forbes."

"From my camp at Loyalhannon,

November 9, 1758."

It will be noted that Post says in his journal that he was escorted from Loyalhanning to the fortified place known as Breastwork Hill, by Captain Haselet and one hundred troops. This was Captain John Haselet, or Haslett, of the Pennsylvania provincial troops. The next day, November 10, after traveling for about five miles from Breastwork Hill, Captain Haselet and his company proceeded towards Fort Duquesne by the old trading path leading to the Forks of the Ohio, while Post and his party, accompanied by Lieutenant William Hays, of the Royal Americans, and fourteen troops, went down the Loyalhanna to the Shawnee and Delaware town, called Keckenepaulin's Town, then deserted, at the mouth of the Loyalhanna and just opposite the present town of Saltsburg; thence to Kiskemeneco, or Kiskiminetas Town, also then deserted, located on the south bank of the Kiskiminetas River, about seven miles from its mouth, where they encamped the night of November 11. Here Lieutenant Hays and his party of fourteen troops left Post's party. We shall learn the fate of Lieutenant Hays presently. Leaving Kiskiminetas Town, Post and his companions arrived at the Allegheny River on the after-

noon of November 12, at that part of Chartier's Old Town lying on the east side of this stream, opposite the present town of Tarentum, the principal part of this Shawnee town being on the west bank of the river. Here, on the east bank of the Allegheny, Post spent the night in the deserted Shawnee village. "The wolves and owls made a great noise in the night," he wrote in his journal. Crossing the Allegheny the next day. Post and his party proceeded through the northern end of Allegheny County, the south-central part of Butler County, and into Lawrence County, to Kuskuskies, consisting, at that time, of four Indian villages whose center was at the site of the present city of New Castle.

Post arrived at Kuskuskies on November 16, where he found only two men, the rest of the warriors being away. On November 17, Post held a conference with Delaware George, to whom he delivered the wampum and message sent by General Forbes. That evening the Delawares chief, Keckenepaulin, returned to Kuskuskies, and brought the sad news that his party of Indians had attacked the party of Lieutenant Hays, about twelve miles from Fort Duquesne, killing the Lieutenant and four of his soldiers, and capturing five others, one of whom, Henry Osten, then at Sauconk, was to be burned at the stake. The Indians attacking Lieutenant Hays and his party, had first attacked the scouting parties of Colonel George Washington and Colonel Hugh Mercer, near Ligonier, on November 12, and had been repulsed. As account of this event was given in Chapter IV. Post at once sent an Indian to Sauconk with the message that the prisoner, Henry Osten, was one of the party guarding him on his mission of peace, whereupon the prisoner was not burned, but was sent to Kuskuskies on November 20, where he ran the gauntlet. He later returned to

Ligonier, where he personally thanked Post for saving his life.

Post says in his journal under date of November 17, that the warriors gave the following explanation as to how the attack on Captain Hay's party took place: That the Indians were on their way to see General Forbes and hold a conference with him, when some French with them "made a division among them;" that the Delawares chief, Kekeuscung, told the others that he would go on and meet the General, if the others would follow him; "but the others would not agree to it; and the French persuaded them to fall upon the English at Loyalhanning; they accordingly did, and as they were driven back, they fell in with that party that guided us, which they did not know. They seemed sorry for it."

The next three days filled the heart of Post with dread. The warriors who had been repulsed at Loyalhanning had returned, "possessed with a murdering spirit." They had a French captain with them, who endeavored to get possession of Post. Post and his companions were warned not go from the house. Finally in conference with the French captain, in which he endeavored to get the support of the Indians, they refused to accept his wampum belt, whereupon he "looked pale as death."

On November 22, Kittiuskund (Kekeuscung) returned to Kuskuskies with the information that General Forbes was only fifteen miles from Fort Duquesne, and that the French had taken the roofs off the buildings near the fort and placed them around it, so as to be able quickly to set the place on fire rather than let it fall into the hands of the English. On this day, also, some of the Indians told Jost that Shamokin Daniel, who accompanied him on his former mission,

"had fairly sold me [Post] to the French; and the French had been much displeased that the Indians brought me away."

Under date of November 24, Post wrote in his journal: "We hanged out the English flag in spite of the French; on which our prisoners folded their hands, in hopes that their redemption was nigh; looking up to God, which melted my heart in tears, and prayers to God to hear their prayers, and change the times, and the situation, which our prisoners are in, and under which they groan."

That day King Beaver returned to Kuskuskies and saluted the heroic peace messenger in a very friendly manner.

Shingas returned on November 25, whereupon Post called the chiefs and warriors together, told them of the Grand Council at Easton, delivered the peace belt and strings of wampum, and read the letter of General Forbes. Says Post: "The messages pleased and gave satisfaction to all the hearers except the French captain. He shook his head with bitter grief, and often changed his countenance." On that very day, as we shall see in Chapter VII, the English flag was raised above the smouldering ruins of Fort Duquesne.

On November 28, all the chiefs and warriors at Kuskuskies met in council to frame an answer to the letter of General Forbes and the peace belt and message from Governor Denny. Their deliberations lasted long into the night and the greater part of the next day. The matter that disturbed the chiefs was fear that the English would not withdraw east of the Allegheny Mountains after having driven the French from the valleys of the Ohio and Allegheny. Kittiuskund, one of the principal chiefs, secretly told Post this day:

"That all the nations had jointly agreed to defend

their hunting place at Allegheny, and suffer nobody to settle there; and as these are very much inclined to the English interest, so he begged us very much to tell the Governor General, and all other people not to settle there. And if the English would draw back over the mountains, they would get all the other nations into their interest; but if they staid and settled there, all nations would be against them; and he was afraid it would be great war, and never come to peace again."

As we have already pointed out and as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, the reason why the Delawares and their allies, the Shawnees, accepted the peace message of Governor Denny, carried over the mountains to them by the heroic Moravian missionary, was their belief and understanding that the English would withdraw from the valleys of the Ohio and Allegheny after they had driven the French from this region. We shall see also, in a subsequent chapter, that the failure of the English to keep their many promises to withdraw from this region after the expulsion of the French therefrom, was the prime cause of Pontiac's War—mis-named "Pontiac's Conspiracy."

Thus ends the account of the historic missions of Christian Frederick Post to the Western Indians—missions whose importance it would indeed be difficult to over estimate. If Shingas and his associate chiefs had not welcomed the peace message of the gentle Moravian missionary, who can tell how different would have been the result? Would the Anglo-Saxon have the ascendancy in the Western World today? Would America be speaking English today? Logstown and Sauconk were filled with warriors, and in the villages in the valleys of the Tuscarawas and Muskingum were hundreds of others. One word from Shingas or King Beaver, and they would have risen in savage wrath.

But that word was not spoken, because Post, whom they loved and in whom they had confidence, held them silent and kept them from assisting the French, as the army of General Forbes marched over the mountains and through the wilderness to dislodge the French from the beautiful and fertile valleys of the Ohio and Allegheny, and to end the French and Indian War in Pennsylvania.

Let us pay due tribute to the memory of Christian Frederick Post. Let us admire his sublime courage. At Pittsburgh, the "Gateway to the West," at New Castle and at Ligonier, there should be monuments proclaiming to future generations the deeds and worth of this honest, courageous and noble character of the early days of Pennsylvania. He was born in 1710, and died at Germantown, Pennsylvania, on April 29, 1785. Here his dust reposes in the "Lower Graveyard" at Germantown.

CHAPTER VI

The Forbes Campaign (Continued) Some Noted Soldiers at the “Camp at Loyal Hannon”

Before the army of General Forbes begins its march from the “Camp at Loyal Hannon” to Fort Duquesne, let us become better acquainted with some of the principal officers whose troops encamped at historic Ligonier in the autumnal days of 1758.

General John Forbes

General John Forbes, whose memory will linger in the vale of Ligonier throughout the ages, was born in Dunfermline, Scotland, in 1710. In young manhood, he studied medicine and was admitted to the practice of the healing art; but, preferring the military profession, he enlisted in the Second Royal North British Dragoons, the Scots Greys. He saw service in the war of the Austrian Succession, and, in 1745, was made a Lieutenant-Colonel in the army. He was Lieutenant-Colonel of his regiment in 1757, and, in February of that year, was made Colonel and accompanied the regiment to Halifax. In December, 1757, he became a Brigadier-General in America, and was assigned by General Abercrombie, at the orders of William Pitt, Prime Minister, to command the expedition against Fort Duquesne. The principal events of this expedition, prior to the march of the army from Loyalhanning to Fort Duquesne, have already been described; and the major event of the campaign, the taking of Fort Du-

quesne, will be described in the following chapter. It was General Forbes who gave the name, Pittsburgh, to site of Fort Duquesne and the adjacent lands at the Forks of the Ohio, in honor of William Pitt. A sick man during the whole campaign, General Forbes returned to Philadelphia soon after taking possession of the ruins of Fort Duquesne, and was welcomed with great enthusiasm and joy. He died in that city on March 11, 1759. His body was buried with military honors in the chancel of Christ Episcopal Church.

Sir John Sinclair (St. Clair)

Sir John Sinclair (also written St. Clair) was Quartermaster-General of Forbes' army, and he had the same position in Braddock's army. Petulant and irritable, he was a good type of the regular professional soldiers of his day, who had their training in European wars. It was his official duty to secure the transportation for the army. He would discharge volleys of oaths at all who met his disapproval. He was consequently not popular with the troops, and even Forbes lost patience with him, and wrote confidentially to Colonel Bouquet that Sinclair's only talent was for throwing everything into confusion. Among the requisitions which he made after he had gone forward with the Virginians and other advance troops to make the road over the Alleghenies, is the following memorandum: "Pickaxes, crowes, and shovels; likewise more whiskey. Send me the newspapers, and tell my black to send me a candlestick and half a loaf of sugar."

Especially the Provincials disliked Sir John on account of his arrogant ways, and considered him inefficient. But he had no better opinion of the Provincials than they had of him. To Colonel Bouquet, he wrote: "The greatest curse that the Lord can pronounce

against the worst of sinners is to give them business to do with provincial commissioners and friendly Indians." At Loyalhanning, just before Major Grant marched on his unfortunate expedition, Sinclair had hot words with Colonel Adam Stephen of the Virginia forces. Colonel Stephen said that he would break his sword rather than submit to the Quartermaster-General's arrogant orders, and Sinclair ordered him under arrest. But it does not appear that a court martial was held on the affair, and one authority makes the statement that Sir John was censured. Concerning his trouble with Colonel Stephen, Sinclair wrote: "As I had not sufficient strength to take him by the neck from among his own men, I was obliged to let him have his own way, that I might not be the occasion of bloodshed."

Major James Grant

Major James Grant, whose overwhelming defeat where the Allegheny County Court House now stands was described in Chapter III, was born in the Parish of Inveravon, Banffshire, in the Highlands of Scotland, about 1720. After studying law, he entered the British army in 1741, and on October 24, 1744, he became Captain of the First Battalion, First Royal Scots. In 1747, he was appointed aid to General James St. Clair, Ambassador at the Courts of Vienna and Turin. He also served in the wars in the Netherlands. In January, 1757, he was commissioned Major of the new Seventy-seventh Regiment, First Battalion, known as Montgomery's Highlanders and commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Montgomery, later Earl of Eglintown. Montgomery's Highlanders were ordered to America, and arrived at Halifax in August, 1757, and then sailed to Charleston, South Carolina, in ap-

prehension of an attack upon that place by the French from the West Indies. In 1758, the Highlanders arrived at Philadelphia from Charleston to become a part of the army of General Forbes.

Notwithstanding his defeat at the hands of the French and Indians, Grant, in 1772, became Brevet-Colonel, the following year, he was returned to Parliament for Wick boroughs, and in 1774, for Sutherlandshire. In December, 1775, he was appointed Colonel of the Fifty-fifth Foot, and in 1776 was sent as a Brigadier-General to America, with the reinforcements under General Howe. He commanded two British brigades at the battle of Long Island and also two at the battles of Brandywine and Germantown.

Noted for his love of good living, Grant became immensely corpulent. He died at Bandlindalloch, April 13, 1806.

Colonel John Armstrong

Colonel John Armstrong, a Scotch-Irishman, commander of the First Pennsylvania Battalion in the Forbes campaign, was a noted soldier of the French and Indian War, Pontiac's War and the Revolutionary War. In the Forbes campaign, he was next in command to Colonel Bouquet. His most noted achievement as a soldier was as leader of the small army of Scotch-Irish troops from the Cumberland Valley which destroyed the Delaware Indian town of Kittanning, September 8, 1756. He was wounded in the shoulder during the attack upon Kittanning. His letters from Carlisle to the Colonial Authorities describing the Indian raids into the Cumberland Valley during the French and Indian War and Pontiac's War, fill many pages of the Pennsylvania Archives and Colonial Records. For a while during 1759, he

was in command of Fort Ligonier. In the Revolutionary War, he was commissioned a Brigadier-General on March 1, 1776. He commanded the left wing of the Continental forces below the ford at Brandywine, but was not in that battle. Three weeks later, he commanded 1,000 Pennsylvania militia at the battle of Germantown. It was intended that he should support the forces of Generals Wayne and Sullivan in this battle, but the scheme failed. Later in that same year (1777), General Armstrong resigned from the army, but he was present at a council at Valley Forge early in 1778 and was sent to Wyoming after the Massacre there on July 3, 1778. His achievements in the Revolutionary War did not measure up to his very brilliant achievements in the French and Indian War.

As a surveyor, Armstrong laid out the town of Carlisle, where he died, March 9, 1795. He was born in Brookborough Parish, County Fermanagh, Ireland, October 13, 1717.

Colonel (later General) Hugh Mercer

Colonel Hugh Mercer, commander of the Third Pennsylvania Battalion in the Forbes campaign, was born in Aberdeen, Scotland, in 1720. Educated as a physician at the University of Aberdeen, he entered the army of the Pretender, Prince Charles Edward, as a surgeon, and saw service in the battle of Colloden in 1746. Coming to Pennsylvania two years later, he began the practice of medicine near the present Mercersburg. He was a Captain in the ill-fated expedition of General Braddock in 1755. He took a very active part in the defense of the Cumberland Valley during the French and Indian War, and served as a Captain in Colonel John Armstrong's expedition against Kittanning in 1756. He was wounded in the arm during

the engagement at Kittanning, and, becoming separated from his men, he had a terrible journey over the mountains, a journey consuming an entire month and in which he became so ravenously hungry that he killed and ate a rattle-snake raw. Near Frankstown, he met a straggling soldier, who, like himself, was almost starved to death. Both would likely have perished in the wilderness, had not a band of Cherokees in the British service, coming from Fort Littleton on a scouting expedition, found them and carried them to Fort Littleton on a bier of their own making. After the Forbes campaign, Colonel Mercer was in command of Fort Pitt for a time. When the Revolutionary War broke out, he was practicing medicine at Fredericksburg, Virginia. On Washington's recommendation, he was made a Brigadier-General, and, in 1777, fought valiantly at Trenton and Princeton. In the latter battle, he laid down his life that liberty might live. Mercersburg and Mercer County are named for this noted soldier.

Colonel James Burd

Colonel James Burd, commander of the Second Pennsylvania Battalion in the Forbes campaign, was one of the most noted Pennsylvania soldiers in the French and Indian War, serving in both Eastern Pennsylvania and Western Pennsylvania. When Braddock was marching against Fort Duquesne, Colonel Burd cut a road through the wilderness from McDowell's Mill (Fort McDowell, now the village of Markes, Franklin County) to join the Braddock Road at Turkey Foot (Confluence), by which supplies, so sorely needed by Braddock's army, could be brought from Eastern Pennsylvania—a road which he had completed as far as the summit of the Allegheny

Mountains, when Braddock's defeat put an end to its construction. In Chapters II and IV, it was pointed out that Colonel Burd constructed the first works at the "Camp at Loyal Hannon" and at Breastwork Hill, and successfully defended the former place against the attack of the French and Indians on October 12, 1758. In the latter part of 1759, he was sent out with 200 men, by order of Colonel Bouquet, then in command of the King's troops at Carlisle, to open a road joining the Braddock Road at Mount Braddock and leading to the mouth of Redstone Creek, the present Brownsville, Fayette County. Here he erected Fort Redstone, often, however, called Fort Burd, in honor of its builder. He was the father of the noted Pennsylvania soldier and lawyer, Edward Burd.

Colonel James Burd was born at Ormiston, near Edinburgh, Scotland, March 10, 1726. He came to Philadelphia in 1747. After his military service, he successfully operated a large farm at Tinian, near Middletown, Dauphin County, where he died, October 5, 1793, being one of the Dauphin County judges at the time of his death.

Major Andrew Lewis

Major (later General) Andrew Lewis, who, as was seen in Chapter III, was captured at Grant's defeat, was an officer in Washington's regiment of Virginians in the Forbes campaign. He was one of Virginia's noted soldiers. He served as a Captain of the Virginia Rangers in Braddock's campaign, and had five brothers in his company. He was in the battle of the Monongahela, in which Braddock's army went down to overwhelming and inglorious defeat at the hands of the French and Indians. In Lord Dunmore's War, in 1774, he commanded the Virginia army which de-

feated the Shawnees under their able and noble leader, Cornstalk, at the battle of Point Pleasant, West Virginia, on October 10 of that year. Lewis was of commanding appearance, over six feet in height, his countenance stern and manly, expressive of that daring and energy which so distinguished him. It was said of him that he "looked like the genius of the forest, and the earth seemed to tremble beneath his footsteps."

Colonel Adam Stephen

Colonel Adam Stephen, mentioned in the sketch of Sir John Sinclair, was another of the great Virginia soldiers of his day. He fought by the side of Washington in the latter's campaign of 1754, being with him when Jumonville was surprised and slain and also when Washington was obliged to surrender at Fort Necessity. In the attack on Jumonville's camp, Stephen captured the first prisoner, Ensign M. Drouillion, whom he described as "a pert fellow." As we shall see in Chapter VIII, he was commander of Fort Ligonier during part of the year 1759. But for a single failing, Colonel Stephen would likely have been classed among the greatest of the Revolutionary Generals. In 1776, he was Colonel of a Virginia regiment, and shortly thereafter was promoted to Brigadier-General and then to Major-General. He fought at Trenton, at Princeton and at Brandywine, winning the praise of the Commander-in-Chief. "But at Germantown, where he led a division, the sins of his youth lay triumphantly in wait for him. That which neither the red skins of the Indians nor the red coats of the British had accomplished, was wrought by an enemy less honorable than either. The army was defeated; Gen. Stephen was dismissed." He was the founder of Martinsburg, West Virginia, naming it for

his friend, Martin, a relative of Lord Fairfax. His dust reposes in the soil of his beautiful estate, "Boydville," near Martinsburg, in the charming valley of the Shenandoah.

Colonel William Crawford

Captain (later Colonel) William Crawford, one of the most prominent Colonial and Revolutionary figures in Western Pennsylvania, served with the Virginia troops under Washington in the Forbes campaign. He was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, several years before the birth of George Washington, by whom he was taught the art of surveying. In 1765, he took up his residence on the Youghiogheny, just across this stream from the present town of Connellsville, bringing his family to the new home the following year. In 1767, he became George Washington's land agent, and a correspondence between the two was begun, which continued until Crawford's death. In 1770, he was appointed one of the justices for Cumberland County, and during the autumn of this year, he accompanied Washington, on a tour down the Ohio to the Great Kanawha for the purpose of exploring the lands granted the Virginia soldiers for their services in the French and Indian War. In March, 1771, he was appointed one of the justices for Bedford County, and in 1773, was appointed one of the justices for Westmoreland County. He was the first president judge of the latter county. In 1773, also, he was appointed surveyor for the Ohio Company, by the College of William and Mary, and was visited at his home on the Youghiogheny by Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, to whom he gave much information as to desirable lands in Southwestern Pennsylvania, and from

whom he obtained promises for patents for such land as he had sought out and surveyed.

As will be seen in Chapter XIV, Crawford sided with Virginia in the territorial dispute between that Colony and Pennsylvania, and took a prominent part in Lord Dunmore's War. His activity in the Virginia interest prejudiced his Pennsylvania friends against him; but when the Revolutionary War broke out, he smothered his partisan feeling, and joined hands with Pennsylvania in the cause of liberty. In 1776, he became Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fifth Virginia Regiment, and was later called to the command of the Seventh Virginia Regiment. A little later he was assigned to raise a new regiment, the Thirteenth, or West Augusta Regiment, which was recruited in the Monongahela and Youghiogheny valleys. He took part in the battles of Germantown and Brandywine. Late in 1777, he was sent to Fort Pitt to take a command under General Hand, by whom he was described as "a brave and active officer." Under General Lachlan McIntosh, who was General Hand's successor at Fort Pitt, Crawford took command of the militia of the western counties of Virginia, and accompanied McIntosh on his expedition to the Tuscarawas, in the latter part of 1778. In this campaign, he had charge of the erecting of Fort McIntosh, where the town of Beaver now stands. He also erected Fort Crawford, where the town of Parnassus now stands, this fort being named for him by direction of General McIntosh. Crawford's torture and death at the hands of the Indians will be described in a subsequent chapter. Crawford County is named for this noted man of the early days of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

Colonel Bouquet and Washington—Pennsylvania's Indian Wars the West Point of Washington and his Generals

A sketch of Colonel Bouquet was given in Chapter II, and his name will run through many more pages of this volume. So will that of Washington.

At this point, attention is called to the fact that it was in the campaigns and battles of the French and Indian War, in Pennsylvania—Washington's campaign of 1754, Braddock's campaign and the Forbes campaign—that George Washington and many of his ablest Generals, the men who were to fight side by side with him on the battlefields of the Revolution, received their military training. Many of these future Revolutionary Generals received additional military training in Pontiac's War, in Pennsylvania. In a word, the pre-Revolutionary Indian wars in Pennsylvania, were the West Point from which Washington and many of his ablest Generals were graduated. Furthermore, in these pre-Revolutionary Indian wars in Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania frontiersmen — the Scotch-Irish and the Pennsylvania Germans, principally—accustomed to the whistle of bullets and the war-whoop of the Indian from childhood, received that discipline in hardship which made them the backbone of Washington's army. Very likely, but for these pre-Revolutionary Indian wars in Pennsylvania, the Revolutionary War would have been doomed to failure.

CHAPTER VII

The Forbes Campaign (Continued) The March from Loyal Hannon to Fort Duquesne

In Chapter IV, it was pointed out that, in Washington's engagement of November 12, three prisoners were taken—an Englishman, named Johnson, who had deserted to the French, an Indian man and an Indian woman—that both Johnson and the Indian man gave information as to the weakness of the French at Fort Duquesne, in both men and provisions. It was because of this information, given by Johnson and the Indian concerning conditions at Fort Duquesne, that General Forbes decided to press forward at once, rather than to go into winter quarters at the "Camp at Loyal Hannon."

There is disagreement as to who led the advance. According to Washington's manuscript, quoted in Chapter IV, the advance was made in three brigades, Washington leading the first one, with Colonel John Armstrong following. According to the account in the "Pennsylvania Gazette," November 30, 1758, Colonel John Armstrong, who, as has been already pointed out, was next in command to Colonel Bouquet, led the advance with 1,000 troops, leaving the "Camp at Loyal Hannon" on November 13, the day following the receipt of the information given by Johnson and the Indian as to the weakness of the French. These two accounts, then, seemingly contradict each other. However, the seeming contradiction is very likely explained by the fact that Washington was already in

advance on November 13, building the road towards Fort Duquesne, and that Colonel Armstrong, when General Forbes gave the order to advance, was ordered to join Washington, and both he and Washington, with the picked brigade of 2,500 troops, to press forward to the stronghold of the French.

The troops of Washington and the troops of Armstrong, both being Provincial troops, co-operated together in the front. At times, detachments of the one body would pass detachments of the other on the road. Progress was slow, the weather being rainy and the road very bad. Friendly Indians were kept out as scouts, and every precaution was taken to guard against surprise. In order that these advance troops might be impeded as little as possible in their movements, they marched without tents or baggage and with only a light train of artillery. Expecting to meet the enemy, they were ready to give battle on the instant.

On November 17, General Forbes marched from the "Camp at Loyal Hannon" with the main body of the army, 4,300 effective troops, having left strong garrisons and supplies at both that place and Bedford. On the same day (Nov. 17), Washington was as far in advance as Bushy Run; and on November 18, Armstrong was within 17 miles of Fort Duquesne, and had thrown up entrenchments at that point. On November 19, Washington left Armstrong to wait for the Highlanders, and, taking the lead, hastened toward the fort. On November 24, Forbes' whole army was within twelve miles of Fort Duquesne, encamped a few miles west of Turtle Creek. While here, a report was brought by Indian scouts who had advanced to within sight of the fort, that the French had abandoned the place and the structures were on fire. This report was soon confirmed. Captain Haslett was then sent with

a detachment of cavalry to endeavor to extinguish the fire and save as much of the buildings and supplies as possible. But they were too late. The French, when they saw they could offer no resistance, had made ready to destroy their works; and, after setting fire to everything that would burn, they withdrew with the rest of their munitions and cannon. At midnight, on November 24, Forbes' pickets "heard a dull and heavy sound booming over the western woods." The magazine at the fort had blown up.

The entire army advanced the next morning, November 25, and took possession of the smouldering ruins of Fort Duquesne, the coveted goal of the British for more than four long and bloody years. The same day King Beaver of the Delawares arrived at Kuskuskies, with the joyful news to Christian Frederick Post that "the English had the field, and that the French had demolished and burnt the place entirely, and went off; that the commander is gone with two hundred men to Venango, and the rest gone down the river in battoes, to the lower Shawnee town [at the mouth of the Scioto]; they were seen yesterday passing by Sawcung [Sauconk, at the mouth of the Beaver]." King Beaver's account of the desertion of Fort Duquesne by the French, is unquestionably the correct one. The French commander, DeLignery, having lost the greater part of the Canadian and Louisiana troops, and having been deserted by his Indian allies owing to the success of the peace mission of Christian Frederick Post, saw that it was useless to attempt to hold the fort against the powerful army of General Forbes, which was within a day's march of the place on the day De Lignery's decision was made.

There were not more than four or five hundred troops at Fort Duquesne at the time when they set fire

to the works and fled. Supplementing King Beaver's account, we call attention to the fact that, on abandoning the fort, one party of the French went down the Ohio to the Illinois country; one hundred went by land to Fort Presqu'Isle (Erie); and two hundred went up the Allegheny to Fort Machault (Franklin), while the few remaining Indians scattered to their towns on the Ohio, Allegheny, Beaver, Shenango, Mahoning and Muskingum. Fort Machault was strengthened. The French intended to remain there and defend the place if attacked; and in the summer of 1759, Fort Machault became the rallying point for a large body of French and Indians, intending to descend the Allegheny and recapture the Forks of the Ohio. This latter fact will be more fully described in Chapter VIII.

It was a Pennsylvanian, Colonel John Armstrong, who raised the British flag over the smoking ruins of Fort Duquesne, the great stronghold of the French in the valley of the Ohio. French dominion in this valley was forever at an end. The joy in the British army was unbounded. By order of General Forbes, November 26 was observed by the army as a day of Thanksgiving to Almighty God for the success of the British arms, and the day following a grand celebration was held.

Says Bancroft: "As the banners of England floated over the waters, the place, at the suggestion of Forbes, was with one voice called Pittsburgh. It is the most enduring monument to William Pitt. America raised to his name statues that have been wrongfully broken, and granite piles of which not one stone remains upon another; but long as the Monongahela and the Allegheny shall flow to form the Ohio, long as the English tongue shall be the language of freedom in the bound-

less valley which their waters traverse, his name shall stand inscribed on the Gateway of the West."

Forbes' troops found many of the dead of Grant's defeat within a quarter of a mile of Fort Duquesne. In Chapter III, it was related that they found stakes driven into the ground on which were stuck the heads and kilts of the Highlanders who went down to death on that fateful September morning.

General Forbes reported the success of his expedition to Governor Denny, dating his letter as follows: "Fort Duquesne, or now Pittsburgh, the 26 Nov. 1758." Among other things, he said that he hoped that Pennsylvania would be "so sensible of the great benefit of this new acquisition as to enable me to fix this noble, fine country, to all perpetuity, under the dominion of Great Britain. I kiss all your hands, and flatter myself that if I get to Philadelphia, under your cares and good companys, I shall yet run a good chance of re-establishing a health that I run the risque of ruining to give your Province all the satisfaction in the power of my weak abilities." Although in this, his official report to the Governor of Pennsylvania, he speaks of his determination "to fix this noble, fine country, to all perpetuity, under the dominion of Great Britain," yet, only a little more than two months later, as will be pointed out in Chapter IX, we find General Forbes, at Philadelphia, telling a delegation of Indians from the Allegheny Valley that "the English have no intention to make settlements in your hunting country beyond the Allegheny Hills." In a post script to his report to Governor Denny, he shows the importance that he still attached to the fort at Loyalhanning as a military position: "I must beg that you will recommend to your Assembly the building of a Block House and Saw Mill upon the Kiakaminities near Loyal Hannon, as a thing

of the utmost Consequence to their Province, if they have any intention of profiting by this Acquisition." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 8, pages 232 to 234.)

On November 28, General Forbes sent a detachment to bury the bones of the soldiers slain at Braddock's defeat. Among those who went with this detachment, was the then Sir Peter Halket, son of the Sir Peter Halket who was killed at Braddock's defeat, as was also one of his sons. Young Sir Peter Halket had accompanied the Highlanders to America in the hope of finding the bones of his father and brother. By interrogating some Indians who had fought against Braddock, young Sir Peter Halket found one who stated that at the massacre he had seen an officer fall near a tree, that a young subaltern had run to his assistance, but was shot when he reached the tree, and fell across the officer's body. On hearing the Indian's story, Halket had a mournful conviction that the two officers were his father and brother.

Captain West, a brother of the famous painter, Benjamin West, piloted by Indians who had been in the battle, led the detachment to the scene of Braddock's defeat. In Galt's "Life of Benjamin West," we learn that the Indian who told young Sir Peter Halket the incident just related, accompanied the latter and the other soldiers to the scene of the battle. They found the ground covered with skeletons. Some were lying across trunks of fallen trees. Skulls and bones were scattered on the ground—a certain indication that the bodies had been torn asunder and devoured by wild beasts. In a short time, the Indian informant uttered a cry, announcing that he had found the tree near which he had seen the officers fall on the day of battle. Then the Indian removed the leaves which thickly covered the ground. Presently two

skeletons were found, as the Indian had expected, lying one across the other. Young Peter Halket then remembered that his father had an artificial tooth, and examined the jaw bones of the skeletons for this mark of identification. In a short time, he exclaimed, "It is my father!" and fell into the arms of his companions. The two skeletons, covered with a Highland plaid, were then buried together.

General Forbes left Pittsburgh on December 3, and went to Fort Ligonier, as we shall from now on call the "Camp at Loyal Hannon," where he remained, on account of illness, until December 27. He arrived at Carlisle on January 7, 1759, and from there went to Philadelphia, where he died on March 11, as was stated in Chapter VI.

Colonel Henry Bouquet remained at Pittsburgh until December 5, when he left for Fort Ligonier. Colonel Hugh Mercer, with two hundred men, was then left in command at Pittsburgh, and immediately began erecting palisades and temporary quarters—later enlarged and named Fort Pitt. By January 5, Colonel Mercer's force was increased to two hundred and eighty men. Thus began the occupation of the Ohio by the English.

Before taking up the next chapter of this volume, we call attention to the fact that the chaplain in charge of the thanksgiving services at the ruins of Fort Duquesne on December 26, was the Presbyterian clergyman, the Rev. Charles Beatty. The sermon which he preached on this occasion was the first Protestant sermon ever preached where Pittsburgh now stands. Chaplain Beatty was the grandfather of the Rev. C. C. Beatty, LL. D., of Steubenville, who induced Washington College and Jefferson College to unite by making a gift of \$50,000.00 to the merged institutions.

and for whom "Beatty Hall" at the Western (Presbyterian) Theological Seminary at Pittsburgh is named. Chaplain Beatty had also been chaplain of the body of Pennsylvania militia, which, under Benjamin Franklin, began the erection of a chain of forts from the Delaware to the Potomac, in January 1756. (See "Franklin's Autobiography)."/> Also, in the summer and autumn of 1766, he visited the frontier inhabitants of Western Pennsylvania, arriving at Fort Pitt on the evening of September 5. On Sunday, September 7, he preached to the garrison at Fort Pitt, while his companion, Rev. George Duffield, "preached to the people who live in some kind of a town, without the fort," to whom Rev. Beatty also preached in the afternoon of that day.

John Miller, who died in Somerset Township, Washington County, November 29, 1832, at the great age of 100 years, is believed to have been the last survivor of the Forbes Expedition in the United States.

CHAPTER VIII

Fort Ligonier from the Fall of Fort Duquesne to the Opening of Pontiac's War

As stated in Chapter II, the first reference to the "Camp at Loyal Hannon" as Fort Ligonier, is the statement in Christian Frederick Post's journal under date of December 4, 1758. Also, as stated in Chapter II, the actual "fort" part of the works at Loyalhanning was still in process of construction in the spring of 1759. We now bid farewell to the "Camp at Loyal Hannon" and bid welcome to Fort Ligonier.

Colonel Hugh Mercer was at Fort Ligonier on December 3, 1758, writing from that place on that day to Governor Denny, of Pennsylvania, as follows:

"I have now the pleasure of congratulating your Honour on the success attending His Majesty's Arms on the Expedition against Fort Du Quesne, and safety derived to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, by obliging the Enemy to abandon so considerable a Post. Give me leave at the same time, to Render your Honour my most grateful acknowledgements for so distinguishing a mark of Regard of the command of a Battalion in your Regiment." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 3, page 571.) It is likely that Mercer was at Fort Ligonier when Forbes took possession of Fort Duquesne.

As stated in Chapter VII, General Forbes left Pittsburgh on December 3 and came to Fort Ligonier. On December 8, Christian Frederick Post arrived at Fort Ligonier, coming from Pittsburgh on his return from his second peace mission to the Western Delawares.

He found the General very sick. Forbes expected to leave every day, but continued to be too ill to be moved. On December 14, he thought himself well enough to leave for Philadelphia, but his horses could not be found. They were not found until December 16. Both Post and Forbes were obliged to remain at Fort Ligonier until after Christmas. Under date of December 25, Post says in his journal: "The people in the camp prepared for a Christmas frolic, but I kept Christmas in the woods by myself." This was the first Christmas celebrated by the English in the region about Fort Ligonier. Finally on December 27, both General Forbes and Post left Fort Ligonier on their journey over the mountains.

As was seen in Chapter VII, Colonel Bouquet remained at Pittsburgh only a few days after the fall of Fort Duquesne, and came to Fort Ligonier early in December. Bouquet now entered upon the work of keeping the line of communication open from Pittsburgh to Carlisle and of fortifying the same. Upon the death of General Forbes, General John Stanwix succeeded him on March 15, 1759. Though Bouquet was second in command to General Stanwix, he was virtually given a free hand in the work assigned him. During the year 1759, Bouquet's letters, orders and reports show that he was at various places along the Forbes Road and frequently at Fort Ligonier.

Importance of Fort Ligonier

In Chapter VII, we saw the importance that General Forbes, in his official report to Governor Denny, attached to Fort Ligonier as a military position. But this importance was apparent to this great Scotchman of iron will before he came west of the Laurel Hill. As early as October 22, 1758, he wrote from Bedford

to Governor Denny that, whether his expedition would be successful or not, the chain of forts from the Loyalhanna to Carlisle ought to be garrisoned, and that the garrison at the Loyalhanna post should consist of at least three hundred troops. (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol 8, pages 224 and 225.) As the reader proceeds, he will continue to see the correctness of the opinion of General Forbes.

From the latter part of 1758 to the latter part of 1759, Fort Ligonier was a busy place. Being on the line of communication and the most important relay station west of Bedford, there was much military movement here. Part of the time there were detachments of Pennsylvania Provincial troops at the fort, and part of the time detachments of Virginia Provincial troops; but most of the time Fort Ligonier's garrison was composed of Royal Americans. In fact, after the regular soldiers were withdrawn from their campaign, Fort Ligonier's garrison was composed of Royal Americans all of the time up to the opening of Pontiac's War, and during this great conflict, largely of these brave and efficient soldiers.

During most of the year 1759 the senior officer who happened to be located at Fort Ligonier, was in command of the place; although the commandant at Fort Pitt was superior officer in the department. In July 1759, Colonel Adam Stephen, of the Virginia Provincials, was in command at Fort Ligonier, and in September, Colonel John Armstrong, of the Pennsylvania Provincials. Lieutenant (later Captain and Colonel) Samuel Miles, who had been wounded during the attack on the "Camp at Loyal Hanning" in the Forbes campaign says in his journal: "In the year 1759, I was stationed at Ligonier, and had 25 picked men of the two battalions, Penna. regt., under my command."

Some idea of the sufferings of the troops that kept open the line of communication from Fort Pitt to the eastern side of the Alleghenies at the time of which we are writing, is gotten from the following letter of Colonel John Armstrong, sent from Fort Ligonier to Governor Denny, on October 19, 1759:

"I thought it might not be amiss to acquaint you with the state of your regiment. The old battallions were last winter greatly distressed on the communication for want of pay, cloathing and provisions. Numbers of them paid the debt of nature in the way of scalping, and many more died of the diseases necessarily arising from cold and hunger. The extravagant price exacted for cloathing and other necessaries through the winter has left them in general not a six pence of their pay to the first of August now received." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 3, page 688.)

Attack on Fort Ligonier in July, 1759

As has already been stated, when the French abandoned Fort Duquesne, their commandant, De Lignery, retired with two hundred troops to Fort Machault where Franklin, Venango County, now stands. Fort Machault was enlarged and strengthened, as the French still entertained hopes of recovering Fort Duquesne. At Fort Machault assembled Indians from the region of the Great Lakes, still under French domination and all the French troops that could be spared from Fort Leboeuf, Fort Presqu' Isle and even from the far western posts of Kaskaskia and the Mississippi; from Kaskaskia, M. de Aubrey, commandant at the Illinois, brought to Fort Machault not only four hundred troops, but also two hundred thousand pounds of flour. The abandonment of Fort Duquesne had cut off the direct Ohio route to the Illinois country,

and so M. de Aubrey brought his supplies to Fort Machault by the route leading down the Mississippi to Ohio, thence up the Ohio to the Wabash, thence up the Wabash to the portage at Fort Miami or Fort Wayne, thence across the portage to the Maumee, thence down the Maumee to Lake Erie, thence along the southern shore of Lake Erie to Fort Presqu' Isle, thence over the portage to Fort Leboeuf, thence down French Creek to its mouth. By the middle of July there were at Fort Machault nearly one thousand French troops and an equal number of Indians of eleven different tribes. The French plan was to recover Fort Duquesne by descending the Allegheny and to capture Fort Ligoneer by descending the Allegheny to the mouth of the Kiskiminetas, thence up the Kiskiminetas to the mouth of the Loyalhanna, thence up the Loyalhanna to Ligonier. Early in the summer, hundreds of boats were built at Fort Machault to transport the troops and material down the Allegheny.

In the meantime, while troops and supplies were being assembled at Fort Machault, parties of Indians and French Canadians sallied out from the place and from Indian towns on the upper Allegheny and other streams, and made inroads on the outposts of Pennsylvania, always on the alert to waylay and harass convoys on the Forbes Road. As early as April 25, 1759, Colonel Hugh Mercer wrote from Pittsburgh that the French and Indians were making active preparations at Fort Machault; and on May 10, he wrote: "Two Scalping Parties were sent from Venango, and another consisting of 20 over Lakes Indians were to go off about that time. . . . A scalp was brought to Venango, and a prisoner, a German of Mayanslo, taken in or near the Garden at Ligonier six or seven days ago." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 3, page 625.) This information

was given Colonel Mercer by his faithful Indian scouts, Cutfingered Pete and the Delaware chief, Killbuck.

Then, under date of July 7, 1759, Colonel Adam Stephen, who was commander of Fort Ligonier at that time, reported to General Stanwix the particulars of an attack on Fort Ligonier on July 6, as follows:

"Yesterday about one o'clock the Scouts and Hunters returned to camp and reported that they had not seen the least sign of the Enemy about; upon which, in Compliance with Maj. Tulliken's request, I sent Lt. Blane with the R. Americans to Bedford, and as the party was but small, ordered a Sergt. and Eighteen chosen Woodsmen to conduct him through the Woods to the foot of Laurel Hill on the west side, with directions to return to Camp without touching the Road.

"About three Quarters of an hour after the Detachment had marched, the Enemy made an attempt to Surprise this Post. I cannot ascertain their numbers, but am certain they are considerably superior to ours.

"At first I imagined the Enemy only intended to amuse the Garrison whilst they were engaging with Lt. Blane's Party, but finding the place invested in an instant and the Enemy rush pretty briskly, I began to entertain hopes of their safety, and was only anxious for the Sergt. and Eighteen men.

"The Enemy made an effort from every Quarter, but the fire on the first Redoubt was the hottest; in it Capt. Jones was killed.

"We are extremely obliged to Lt. Mitchelson, of the Artillery, for his Vigilance and application. After a few well placed shells and a brisk fire from the Works, the Enemy retired into the skirts of the Woods, and continued their fire at a distance till night.

"The Sergt. (Packet, of the Virginians) returned about sunset without seeing an Enemy until he came

within sight of the Fort. The party behaved well, fought until they had orders to retreat and got in without the loss of a man.

"The Enemy never molested us in the night. Small Parties of them have shown themselves in the skirts of the Woods and fired at a distance without doing us any hurt.

"We are happy in saving the Bullock guard and Cattle, and all the horses employed in the public Service were luckily returned to Bedford.

"I have not heard from Pittsburgh since the first inst., where Capts. Woodward and Morgan then arrived with a detachment of 230 men, having under their care Eighty horse load of flour.

"P. S. We have only Capt. Jones killed and three men wounded, and flatter ourselves that their loss is considerable." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 3, pages 668 and 669.) This was Captain Samuel Jones who served in the Pennsylvania regiment in 1758 and 1759. (Pa. Archives, Sec. Ser., Vol. 2, page 609.)

The Lieutenant Blane, mentioned in Colonel Stephen's report, was Lieutenant Archibald Blane, of the Royal Americans, who was in command of Fort Ligonier when the Indians attacked this fort during Pontiac's War, as will be seen in a later chapter.

On July 17, Colonel Mercer sent from Pittsburgh the following report to Governor Denny, which has likely reference to the same attack upon Fort Ligonier reported by Colonel Stephen:

"Half of the party that attacked Ligonier was returned to Venango, or Fort Machault without prisoners or scalps; but they had by their own account, one Indian killed and one wounded." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 3, page 674.)

On July 11, George Croghan reported the attack on

Fort Ligonier to Colonel Bouquet; and Bouquet's letter in reply, written from Bedford on July 18, expresses the hope that the repulse at Ligonier will cool the ardor of the enemy.

Colonel Mercer, in command at Pittsburgh, was disturbed by the report that the same force that attacked Fort Ligonier, said to be 700 strong, were coming with cannon to attack Fort Pitt, then in process of construction. On July 17, Mercer wrote the letter to Governor Denny, quoted, in part, above. This letter also contained the information that the Indian scouts, sent from Fort Pitt to Venango to ascertain the truth of the rumor that the French and Indians were assembling there to descend the Allegheny to attack Fort Pitt and Fort Ligonier, had returned and reported that seven hundred French and upwards of one thousand Indians had assembled at Fort Machault before the middle of July and were ready to descend the Allegheny on July 13, when messengers arrived advising that the British were marching on Niagara, which intelligence caused the French to abandon the project against Forts Pitt and Ligonier, and hasten to the relief of Niagara. "Children," said the French commander at Fort Machault, "I have received bad news; the English are gone against Niagara; we must give over our thoughts of going down the river till we have cleared that place of the enemy. If it should be taken, our road to you is stopped up, and you must become poor."

From the fact that early settlers found breastworks on the hill on the west side of Buffalo Creek about half a mile above Freeport, also walled wells and cleared fields in what is now Clearfield Township, Butler County, it is thought that French forces remained at these places also for some time after the fall of Fort

Duquesne. (See Smith's "History of Armstrong County.")

The British, under Sir William Johnson, captured Niagara on July 24 of that year (1759). From that time until the opening of Pontiac's War in the spring of 1763, the posts at Pittsburgh, Ligonier, Bedford and elsewhere along the line of communication were not in danger. But about the middle of August, the Pennsylvania Provincial Council received the following information from Colonel Mercer at Pittsburgh: "In the evening [August 11, 1759], a Delaware Indian informed me that Nine Indians of their Nation from Venango had been in the road below Ligonier, and taken an Englishmen Prisoner, but that he had made his Escape from them in the Night." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 8, page 379.)

General Stanwix, traveling over the Forbes Road and stopping for a time at Fort Ligonier, arrived at Pittsburgh, in August, 1759; and on September 3, the work of erecting Fort Pitt proper was commenced. Hitherto the garrison at that place had only hastily constructed temporary quarters. By December 8, the work was well advanced, and a garrison was being formed of 300 Provincials, one half of whom were Pennsylvanians and the other half Virginians, and 400 of the First Battalion of Royal Americans. On December 4, General Stanwix wrote from Fort Pitt to Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, that, as the Pennsylvania Assembly had directed the disbandment of their troops, he had ordered "all the Pennsylvanians this side of the mountains, viz., at Pittsburgh, Wetherhold, Fort Ligonier, and Stoney Creek, to march immediately to Lancaster, to be paid and broke." Also, the Virginia Provincials having been sent home at the request of Virginia, in the latter part of 1759, for serv-

ice on the Virginia frontiers. Fort Pitt and Fort Ligonier were garrisoned by Royal Americans. Royal Americans continued, with very little interruption, to garrison these posts, as well as the other posts in Western Pennsylvania, until and during Pontiac's War.

Colonel Bouquet Builds Roads and Garrisons Forts

The road between Fort Ligonier and Pittsburgh had not been completed at the time of Forbes' march from Fort Ligonier to Fort Duquesne. Washington, as was seen in a former chapter, had been sent to cut the road westward from Ligonier, and had opened it for some distance. Three redoubts had been erected near Hannastown and one farther to the west; but, in fact, most of the road over which Forbes hastily marched from Fort Ligonier was not much more than the original Indian trail and traders' path. Almost a year later, the actual making of the road between Fort Ligonier and Fort Pitt was undertaken by Colonel Bouquet. Having sent Lieutenant Shelby in advance, Colonel Bouquet wrote from Bedford to General Stanwix, on September 16, 1759, informing him that shovels and spades had been forwarded and that men had been ordered to open the road from Ligonier to the three redoubts, further saying that two or three hundred men would be enough at Fort Ligonier and that Colonel John Armstrong, who was then in command at Fort Ligonier, could work at the road from the three redoubts to Fort Pitt until he should meet Lieutenant Shelby. For at least part of the way, this was an entirely new road, as is indicated by Bouquet's suggestion that someone, acquainted with the "blazes" should be sent to point out the way. By October 25, the road was completed; for on that day Bouquet wrote to Colonel James Burd that he had been on "the road opened

from the three redoubts to Pittsburgh; this proved a heavy and difficult task."

While the work of opening the road from Ligonier to Pittsburgh was going on, Colonel Bouquet had been reopening and repairing the old Braddock Road. On August 10, Colonel James Burd was at Fort Ligonier with 600 men; and Bouquet wrote on August 22 that Colonel Burd had been sent to open the road from Mount Braddock to the mouth of Redstone Creek. How Colonel Burd accomplished this task and erected Fort Redstone, was related in the sketch of this Pennsylvania soldier, in Chapter VI.

Early in 1760, Colonel Bouquet transferred his headquarters from Carlisle to Fort Pitt. On July 7, 1760, we find him leaving Fort Pitt, with 400 Royal Americans and 100 Virginians, going by way of Venango (Franklin) and Leboeuf (Waterford) to Presqu' Isle (Erie), intending to send his Royal Americans to garrison Niagara. At Presqu' Isle, he met Major Gladwin, who had brought boats to transport the Royal Americans to Niagara. Bouquet remained at Presqu' Isle with the Virginians and rebuilt the fort there also the fort at Leboeuf, and sent Colonel Stewart to build a fort at Venango. The French had destroyed Fort Machault at that place when they hastened to the relief of Niagara in July, 1759. The new fort was called Fort Venango. Bouquet returned to Fort Pitt on November 25, remaining there without interruption for two years, and from that post distributing troops and supplies to the other western posts, and keeping up a correspondence with the commanding officers of the garrisons as far west as Detroit. Examining this correspondence, we find that, on January 14, 1761, he reports that he had ordered the commanding officers of the Royal Welsh Volunteers to garrison the posts at

Juniata, Bedford, Stony Creek and Ligonier with the Welsh Volunteers and to send the Royal Americans to Fort Pitt and the Virginians to Winchester.

Christian Frederick Post Again at Ligonier

The Pennsylvania Authorities had made many efforts after Christian Frederick Post's mission to the Western Indians in 1758, to induce Shingas and King Beaver to come to Philadelphia for a conference. Shingas had declined to come, fearing that the English would retaliate upon him for the terrible atrocities he had committed upon the frontier settlements during the French and Indian War. But early in February, 1762, Governor James Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, received a letter from Shingas and King Beaver, then living on the Tuscarawas, in Ohio, through their faithful friend, Christian Frederick Post, advising the Governor that they desired to hold a treaty with Pennsylvania the following spring.

In March, the Governor sent a reply to Shingas and King Beaver, through Post, inviting these two Delaware chiefs to come to Lancaster to hold a conference at that place, inasmuch as smallpox was raging in Philadelphia. Post was appointed as the guide and escort, not only for the two chiefs and their delegation of Indians, but also for the captives which were to be returned by the Indians from the villages on the Muskingum and Tuscarawas, as well as the villages on the Beaver and the Ohio. King Beaver and other chiefs of the Delawares had already returned seventy-four of these captives to Fort Pitt. Post immediately went to the villages of Shingas and King Beaver on the Tuscarawas, and began preparations for the return of the remaining captives. Among them were: Philip Studebaker, captured in the Conococheague settlement;

Mary Stroudman, captured in the same settlement; Elizabeth McAdam, John Lloyd and Eleanor Lancestotes, captured in the Little Cove; and Dorothy Shobrian, captured in the Big Cove. (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 8, page 728.) Post was beset with many troubles. He had great difficulty in getting Shingas and King Beaver to return with him and also in keeping the captives from running away and returning to the Indian villages. The captives had been so well treated by the Indians and had grown so fond of Indian life, that they viewed their being taken back to civilization as returning from freedom to captivity. Post and his company of Indians and captives arrived at Fort Pitt on July 3. Here Post held a council with Colonel Bouquet. Leaving Fort Pitt on July 10, Post and his companions passed over the Forbes Road, through Byerly's, Hannastown, Ligonier, Bedford and Carlisle, and arrived at Lancaster on August 8. Between Fort Ligonier and Stony Creek, on July 14, Post noted in his journal: "A man & three women went back again." [to the Indians.]

Other captives that were brought by Post through Ligonier to be restored to their relatives at the Lancaster Treaty were: Thomas Moore, captured on the Potomac, in Maryland; Ann Dougherty and Peter Condon, captured somewhere in Pennsylvania; William Jackson, captured in the Tulpehocken region; Richard Rogers, Esther Rogers and Jacob Rogers, all captured on the South Branch of the Potomac; Archibald Woods and Christopher Holtomen, captured on the South Branch of the Potomac; Rebecca Walter, captured near Rankin's Mill, in the present Franklin County; and Hans Boyer, whose place of capture was unknown, though he may have been the "Frederick" Boyer, captured in the vicinity of Lehigh Gap, in the

summer of 1756. (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 8, page 728; the author's "Indian Wars of Pennsylvania," second edition, pages 293, 405, 803 and 825.)

War Clouds Soon to Gather Over Fort Ligonier

Little occurred during the years 1760, 1761 and 1762 to disturb the ordinary routine at Fort Ligonier. But, in the spring of 1763, the clouds of the storm of Pontiac's War gathered over the beautiful valley, the fort and its garrison of Royal Americans. We shall set forth the principal cause of this war in the next chapter. The author's reason for taking up several pages of this history in setting forth the principal cause of this Indian war, is the fact that Fort Ligonier played such a prominent and vital part in the war, and the fact that seemingly few historians and scholars know the real cause of this great Indian uprising.

CHAPTER IX

The Principal Cause of Pontiac's War

It is the spring of 1763. The reign of peace between Pennsylvania and the Indians, which began with the capture of Fort Duquesne and was temporarily threatened by the murder of the friendly Delaware, Doctor John, his wife and two children, near Carlisle, in February, 1760, is about to be broken. The Delawares, the Shawnees, the Senecas, the Mingoes, the Mohicans, the Miamis, the Ottawas, and the Wyandots are about to crimson the soil of Pennsylvania with the blood of the settlers in the Indian uprising known as Pontiac's War, or the Pontiac and GUYASUTA War, often mis-called "Pontiac's Conspiracy"—an Indian War in which Fort Ligonier played a prominent part.

Broken Treaties

The causes of Pontiac's War, as set forth in all histories dealing with the subject, so far as the author has been able to find, except Dr. George P. Donehoo's "Pennsylvania—A History," are about as follows: That, when the English entered the region between the Allegheny Mountains and the Mississippi River upon the expulsion of the French therefrom, the Indians of this region soon found that their new masters had a very different attitude towards them than had the French; that the English were less sociable and did less fraternizing with the Indians than did the French; that the English wanted to make settlements, whereas the French were content with trading; that the English

were less lavish in presents than were the French, and gave the Indians less for their skins and furs than did the French; and that the English let them have guns, ammunition and blankets with such a sparing hand that the Indians suffered greatly from the parsimony of the English. For these reasons, say these histories, the proud-spirited western tribes, exasperated at the patronizing air of the English, and with their indignation encouraged by the few Frenchmen still among them, rose in savage wrath, under the leadership of Pontiac, in an effort to drive the hated English into the sea. Truly, these are causes of Pontiac's War; but the principal cause is not found among them.

The purpose of this history being to tell the truth, whether it hurts or not, let us now consider the principal cause of Pontiac's War:

1. When the French invaded the valleys of the Ohio and Allegheny, in 1753, Tanacharison, the deputy of the Six Nations, ordered them to depart from these lands as the territory of the Six Nations. This warning was given three times, as was the custom of the Iroquois before declaring war.

2. The Six Nations then made an alliance with the English to assist in driving the French from the valleys of the Ohio and Allegheny, with the understanding that, upon the expulsion of the French, the English would withdraw from this region; and Tanacharison, Scarouady, Canachquasy, Seneca George, the Belt of Wampum, and other chiefs of the Six Nations, relying on the promises and agreements of the English, faithfully served the English interest.

3. From the beginning of the French invasion, in 1753, to the treaty of peace between England and France, in February, 1763, the Six Nations and their tenants in the valleys of the Ohio and Allegheny, the

Delawares and Shawnees, never for an instant wavered in their demand that both the English and the French remain east of the Allegheny Mountains.

4. The title of the Six Nations to the valleys of the Ohio and Allegheny was clearly acknowledged by the terms of many treaties, especially that of Albany, in July 1754, as stated by Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania to the Colonial Assembly, on August 7, 1754, as follows:

"You will clearly perceive that the Lands on the River Ohio do yet belong to the Indians of the Six Nations." (Col. Rec., Vol. 6, page 135.)

5. Nor in any treaty after the Albany treaty of July, 1754, did the English Crown and the English Colonies in America deny that the Six Nations were the owners of the valleys of the Ohio and Allegheny and the Shawnees and Delawares tenants thereof by permission of the Six Nations. On the contrary, these facts were acknowledged. Furthermore, Pennsylvania, at the treaty at Easton in October, 1758, after four years of outrage, blood and death, deeded back to the Indians that part of the war-provoking Albany purchase of 1754 which lay west of the Allegheny Mountains, and promised the Delawares and Shawnees to make no settlement west of the Alleghenies within the borders of their territories except with their consent. (Alvord's "Mississippi Valley in British Politics," Vol. 1, page 121; author's "Indian Wars of Pennsylvania," pages 175, 176, 373 and 374.)

6. On November 27, 1758, when Christian Frederick Post, after peace had been made with the Delawares and Shawnees at the council at Easton in October of that year, and just a few days after the fall of Fort Duquesne, was conferring with King Beaver and other Delaware chiefs at Kuskuskies, the matter of the

occupation of the Ohio came up, and King Beaver, in no uncertain terms, let Post know that the Delawares and other tribes of the western region expected the English to keep their word and withdraw their military forces from the valleys of the Ohio and Allegheny after the expulsion of the French from the region west of the Allegheny Mountains. The promise of the English to withdraw east of the Alleghenies was the condition upon which the peace message of Post was accepted.

7. When Post, a few days later, reported to Colonel Henry Bouquet, at the ruins of Fort Duquesne, these statements of King Beaver, Bouquet was much displeased, and insisted that Post endeavor to get King Beaver and his associate chiefs to change their minds about the withdrawal of the English forces. Post then asked King Beaver, Shingas and Ketiuskund whether they had any alterations to make in their statements. These three chiefs, representing the Delawares and Six Nations in the valleys of the Ohio and Allegheny, replied that they "would alter nothing." Said they:

"We have told them three times to leave the place; but they insist upon remaining here; if, therefore, they will be destroyed by the French and the Indians, we cannot help them." (See Post's journal of his second journey to the Ohio, under dates of December 3 to 7, 1758:)

Also, on December 4 and 5, 1758, Colonel Henry Bouquet, in a council held at this place with the chiefs of the Delawares, told King Beaver and his associates that the British did "not come to take possession of your hunting Country in a hostile manner." (See Pa. Archives, Vol. 3, page 572.)

8. On January 3, 1759, Colonel Hugh Mercer commandant at Fort Pitt, held a council at that place with nine chiefs of the Six Nations, Shawnees and

Delawares, in which the chiefs asked whether the English intended to keep their promise and withdraw from the valleys of the Ohio and Allegheny after the expulsion of the French, to which Col. Mercer replied:

"Our great Man's words are true; as soon as the French are gone, he will make a Treaty with all the Indians and then go home, but the French are still here." (Col. Rec., Vol. 8, page 296.)

9. On February 9, 1759, a council was held at Philadelphia between General Forbes and some Indian chiefs who had come from the Indian town of Buccaloons, on the Allegheny at the mouth of Brokenstraw Creek, in Warren County. These chiefs had first come to Pittsburgh to see the General, but finding that he had gone to Philadelphia, came to the latter place to see him. These Indians were very anxious to learn whether the English intended to keep their word and withdraw from the Ohio and Allegheny. General Forbes, to ill to speak with them personally, sent them his reply by Lieutenant James Grant, as follows:

"The General [Forbes] knows that the French have told the Indians that the English intend to cheat them out of their lands on the Ohio, but this, he assures you, is false. The English have no intention to make settlements in your Hunting Country beyond the Allegheny Hills, unless they shall be desired for your conveniency to erect some store houses in order to establish and carry on a trade, which they are ready to do on fair and just terms." (Col. Rec., Vol. 8, page 269.)

Thus General Forbes, sick unto death amid the gathering shadows of the eternal world and with the death sweat almost upon his brow, told these Indians of the Allegheny Valley that the English had "no intention to make settlements" west of the Allegheny Mountains; but only a little more than two months

before, or on November 6, 1758, in writing Governor Denny of the success of his expedition, he expressed his determination and that of the English "to fix this noble, fine country [west of the Allegheny Mountains], to all perpetuity, under the dominion of Great Britain." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 8, page 233.)

10. On July 5 to 9, 1759, at the great council at Fort Pitt, between Captain William Trent, Captain Thomas McKee and George Croghan, then Deputy Indian Agent, representing the English, and Guyasuta, King Beaver, Shingas, Captain Pipe, Delaware George, Killbuck and other chiefs of the Six Nations, Delawares, Shawnees and Wyandots, Croghan solemnly promised the chiefs as follows:

"And I assure you, as soon as the Enemy is drove out of your Country, which I expect you will be assisting in, that the General will depart your Country after securing our trade with you and our Brethren to the Westward. In confirmation of what I have said I give you this Belt." (Col. Rec. Vol. 8, page 389.)

11. On August 12, 1760, General Mockton held a council at Fort Pitt with King Beaver, Delaware George, Teedyuscung and many other chiefs of the Delawares, Shawnees, Six Nations, Ottawas, Wyandots and other tribes of the region between the Allegheny Mountains and the Mississippi River, in which he solemnly assured the assembled chiefs as follows:

"I do assure all the Indian Nations that his Majesty has not sent me to deprive any of you of your lands and property." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 3, page 745.)

12. In August, 1762, a treaty was held at Lancaster, in which Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, paid Teedyuscung two hundred Spanish dollars and goods of the value of two hundred pounds to withdraw his charge of fraud with reference to the Walking Pur-

chase of 1737. This very important treaty was attended by five hundred and fifty-seven Indians from nearly all the tribes associated with the English. During the session of August 27, Kinderuntie, the war chief of the Senecas, denied the request of Governor Hamilton to erect storehouses on the West Branch of the Susquehanna by reminding him, much to the Governor's embarrassment, as follows:

"You may remember you told me, when you was going to Pittsburgh, you would build a fort against the French, and you told me you wanted none of our Lands; our Cousins (the Delawares) know this, and that you promised to go away as soon as you drove the French away, and yet you stay there, and build Houses, and make it stronger and stronger every day; for this reason we entirely deny your request." (Col. Rec. Vol. 8, pages 766, 767.)

13. Preliminaries of peace between England and France were signed November 3, 1762. Then at the treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763, the French surrendered to the English all possessions to which they laid claim, in North America, except the territory around New Orleans. For several years prior to the signing of this treaty, the English had been marching into the lands on the Ohio, at Niagara, at Detroit and at other places, taking formal possession without purchase from the Indian occupants of the region and without their consent, and erecting stronger forts than the French had surrendered. English settlers pushed over the Allegheny Mountains from Eastern Pennsylvania and from Virginia, and laid out for themselves plantations in the valley of the Ohio, some of them even with permission from the military authorities, though the lands were not open to lawful settlement.

All these things the English did, in violation of their ten years of promising to the contrary and against the Indians' most solemn protestations.

But the Indians lived up to their agreements. Hear George Croghan a thoroughly qualified and competent witness, testifying against his own interest and therefore much more entitled to be believed than if he were testifying for his own interest:

"It may be thought and said by some that the Indians are a faithless and ungrateful set of Barbarians, and will not stand by any agreements they make with us; but it is well known that they never claimed any right to a tract of Country, after they had sold it with the consent of their Council, and received any consideration, though never so trifling." (Pa. Archives, Sec. Series, Vol. 6, page 620.)

Such is the story of British perfidy and dishonor. The British forgot their promises and treaties as soon as they made them. But the Indian never forgot a promise, a treaty, a kindness, or an injury. The strongest love of his heart was the love for the lands he considered his own, as the gift of the Great Spirit; and the fiercest passion of his heart was love of revenge. Now that the Indians' loved home and hunting grounds were invaded in violation of solemn promises and formal treaties, it is no wonder that the storm which had been brewing for ten years, broke with fury in the summer in 1763—it is no wonder that the warriors of Pontiac, Guyasuta and Custaloga rose in savage wrath in an effort to drive the English into the Sea, and that the Pennsylvania valleys ran red with the blood of the pioneers. Pontiac's uprising was, therefore, not a "conspiracy," but a war brought about by the English breaking their promises and treaties with the Indians—

a war in which the Indians attempted to drive out and destroy the perfidious invader of their homes and hunting grounds.

Should any reader object to the use of the adjective, "perfidious," in the above paragraph, the author would say to him: If it be not perfidy to break treaties of ten years standing—treaties that the white man never intended to keep, but that were relied on by the Indian; if it be not perfidy to break promises of ten years standing and ten years repetition—promises that the white man never intended to keep, but that were relied on by the Indians—, then we might as well take the word "perfidy" out of the dictionary.

From the foregoing, it will be seen that, while Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac"—a piece of splendid rhetoric—is good history as far as it goes, yet its author did not find the principal cause of this great Indian uprising. Parkman speaks of "the treachery of Pontiac" and "the dissimulation of their [the Indian] race." If he had made an intensive examination of the treaties and minutes of councils referred to in this chapter, he probably would have at least hesitated to charge Pontiac and his warriors with dissimulation and treachery—he might have concluded that at least some dissimulation and treachery found lodgement in white bosoms.

Pontiac, Guyasuta and Custaloga

At this point it will be well to record a few facts about Pontiac and two of his assistants, in Pennsylvania—Guyasuta and Custaloga—the first of which assistants is closely connected with the history of Fort Ligonier.

Pontiac, the great chief of the Ottawas, was born

on the Maumee River, in Ohio, about 1720. It seems that his father was an Ottawa chief and his mother a member of the Chippewa tribe. He is said, by some authorities, to have led the Ottawas at Braddock's defeat; but this may well be doubted, it being quite probable that the Ottawas were led, on this occasion, by Charles de Langlade, whose father was French and whose mother was an Ottawa. (The Author's "Indian Wars of Pennsylvania," Sec. Edition, page 801, and authorities there referred to.) Pontiac's first prominent appearance in history was his meeting with Major Robert Rogers, in 1760, at or near where Cleveland, Ohio, now stands, as the latter was on his way to take possession of Detroit for the British—if, indeed, the chief whom Rogers met on this occasion, was really the great Ottawa. (Work quoted above, pages 826 and 827, and authorities there referred to.)

In forming the great confederation of the Delawares, Shawnees and all the important members of the Algonquian tribes and one tribe of the Six Nations—the Senecas—in an effort to drive the English into the sea, Pontiac passed from tribe to tribe, winning them to his plan by his magnetic eloquence. To others, he sent messengers, late in 1762 and early in 1763, bearing a red-stained tomahawk and a wampum belt. At a grand council which he attended, near Detroit, on April 27, 1763, his plans took definite form. In arranging the time of the attack, which was to be made on all the English forts in the latter part of May, 1763, a bundle of sticks was given each tribe at the grand council, each bundle containing as many rods as there were days until the general attack should be made. One rod was to be withdrawn every morning, and when a single one remained, the outbreak was to begin. Some authorities say that a Delaware woman, prompt-

ed by her love for the whites and hoping to disarrange the whole plan, extracted several rods from the bundle given her tribe.

The Senecas, as stated above, were the only tribe of the Six Nations that joined in Pontiac's uprising. However, so great was the indigation of the other members of the Iroquois Confederation, against the English for the breaking of solemn promises and formal treaties, that it required the utmost exertions of Sir William Johnson, Indian Agent of the Crown, to keep them, too, from taking up arms against the English. The Senecas were more directly affected by the action of the English in invading the valleys of the Ohio and Allegheny in violation of treaties than were the other Iroquois tribes, as a large part of the Seneca habitat was, at that time, in the valleys of these rivers, especially the valley of the Allegheny.

So effective was the carrying out of Pontiac's plans—plans that were bold in their conception and masterful in their execution—that every English post of importance fell into the hands of his allied forces, except Detroit, Niagara, Fort Pitt and Fort Ligonier. Niagara was but feebly attacked.

Being unsuccessful in his first attempt to drive the English into the sea, Pontiac made an attempt to incite the tribes along the Mississippi to join in another effort. Not succeeding in this attempt, he made peace, at Detroit, August 17, 1765. In 1769, this Napoleon of the wilderness attended a carousal at Cahokia, Illinois, just across the Mississippi from St. Louis, at which he was killed by one of his own race. Says Parkman: "Thus basely perished the champion of a ruined race. The murdered chief lay on the spot where he had fallen, until St. Ange, mindful of former friendship, sent to claim the body, and buried it with warlike honors, near

his fort of St. Louis. Neither mound nor tablet marked the burial place of Pontiac. For a mausoleum, a city has risen above the forest hero; and the race whom he hated with such burning rancor, trample with unceasing footsteps over his forgotten grave."

Guyasuta (Kiasutha) has generally been called a Seneca chief; but he was probably of the mongrel Iroquois known as the Mingoes, who inhabited the Allegheny Valley and the region to the westward. His first prominent appearance in history is when he accompanied George Washington from Logstown to Fort Leboeuf, in November, 1753. As we saw in Chapter III, he was very likely the leader of the Indians at Grant's defeat, September 14, 1758. We shall meet him again in this history as the leader of the Indians in the burning of Hannastown, on July 13, 1782. He died in the closing years of the eighteenth century, on the estate of General James O'Hara, near Sharpsburg, on the banks of his long-loved Allegheny. General O'Hara had built a cabin for Guyasuta on his estate, and furnished the old chief with the necessities of life in his declining years. He buried Guyasuta's body in the Indian burial mound on his estate; but the chief's bones were removed a number of years ago, when the Pennsylvania Railroad got title to the ground, and are now in the Carnegie Museum, Pittsburgh. Guyasuta Station, on the Pennsylvania Railroad, near Sharpsburg, is named for this chief who led and sent so many bloody expeditions against the Westmoreland County frontier.

The claim has been made, however, that Guyasuta died at Custaloga's Town, on French Creek, about twelve miles above its mouth and near the mouth of Deer Creek, in French Creek Township, Mercer County, and was buried at that place. (See "Frontier

NEAR THIS SPOT WAS BURIED BY HIS FRIEND ACTING GOVERNOR ST. ANGE

— PONTIAC —

THE GREAT
CHIEF OF THE
OTTAWAS
KILLED AT
CAHOKIA ILL
APRIL 1760

THIS MEMORIAL TABLET ERECTED BY THE ST. LOUIS CHAPTER OF
THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN THE YEAR 1900

Tablet to the memory of Pontiac, erected on the old Southern Hotel, St. Louis, Mo., in 1900, by the St. Louis Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The inscription on the tablet is as follows:

NEAR THIS SPOT WAS BURIED BY HIS FRIEND
ACTING GOVERNOR ST. ANGE, PONTIAC, THE
GREAT CHIEF OF THE OTTAWAS, KILLED AT
CAHOKIA, ILL., APRIL, 1763.

—Courtesy St. Louis Public Library

Forts of Pennsylvania," Vol. 2, pages 322 and 323; also the author's "Indian Chiefs of Pennsylvania," page 408.)

Custaloga (Gustaloga) was chief of the Munsee or Wolf Clan of Delawares. He was living at Venango when John Frazer, the Scotch trader, was driven from that place by the French, in the summer of 1753. His principal seat, in Pennsylvania, was Custaloga's Town, mentioned in the preceding paragraph. He also ruled over the Delawares at Cussewago, or Cassewago, on the site of the present town of Meadville, the county seat of Crawford County, to which the name "Custaloga's Town," was also often applied. Custaloga took a leading part in the raids into the Pennsylvania settlements during both the French and Indian War and Pontiac's War, and attended many treaties at Fort Pitt and on the Muskingum. When Colonel Bouquet led his army to the Tuscarawas and Muskingum in the latter part of 1764 to recover the white captives taken in the Indian wars, Custaloga was the only chief of the Munsee Delawares to sign the treaty or agreement with Bouquet; and for so doing, he was called "an old woman" by the Senecas at a conference held at Fort Pitt in March, 1765, with George Croghan and Major William Murray, the commandant. Custaloga's successor was Captain Pipe, or Hopocan, of the Wolf Clan.

CHAPTER X

Pontiac's War - The Storm Moves Towards Fort Ligonier

As was seen in Chapter VIII, the English, after the fall of Fort Duquesne, not only strengthened Fort Ligonier and Fort Bedford, erected Fort Pitt and posts at Stony Creek, Bushy Run and Redstone, but also erected forts on or near the sites of Fort Presque Isle, Fort LeBoeuf and Fort Machault, the last of which they called Fort Venango. As was seen in the same chapter, Colonel Bouquet, who had charge of keeping the line of communication open, left Fort Pitt late in November, 1762, and went to Philadelphia. He remained in Philadelphia throughout the winter, and was there with a remnant of his Royal Americans when Pontiac's War broke out in the spring of 1763.

Before describing the attack upon Fort Ligonier by the warriors of Pontiac, Guyasuta and Custaloga, we shall view the breaking of the storm of blood and death to the westward, and follow its course towards the "Old Westmoreland" hills.

Capture of Fort Presqu' Isle

When Pontiac's War broke out, Ensign John Christie was in command of Fort Presqu' Isle with a garrison of twenty-seven Royal Americans. Early one June morning, the fort was attacked by about two hundred Indians and a few French. After defending the place for two days, Ensign Christie surrendered, and such soldiers as were left alive were taken to Detroit, except Benjamin Gray who, upon hearing the piercing screams of a Sergeant's wife, the only woman

in the garrison, as the Indians began their work of plunder, escaped, and arrived at Fort Pitt on June 26, with the erroneous report that the entire garrison had been massacred. We shall let Ensign Christie tell, in his own words, the details of the capture of his fort, in a letter written from Detroit, on July 10, now among the Bouquet papers in the British Museum:

"On the 20th of June at break of day I was surrounded at my post by about two hundred Indians; a quarter of an hour after, they began to fire on the Block House and continued all that day very smartly. Likewise Fire Arrows were thrown into the roof of the Block House and Bastians. I received my greatest hurt from the Two Hills, the one ascending from the Lake, the other from the bottom, they having made holes in the night to secure themselves. Notwithstanding two or three did their endeavor to get in, the French were killed, which made them cease firing for some hours, at which time they was employed in digging passes through the earth in order to get at the bottom of the house.

"21st. They commenced firing as hot as ever and also with Fire Arrows which set the house a second time on fire; the same day the barrels of water I had provided was spent in extinguishing said Fires and found it impossible to get at a well which was sunk on the Parade; therefore was obliged to sink one in the house by hard labour. Whilst we were digging to get at the well, we again set on fire, but got it extinguished by throwing some shingles from the roof. At the same time they had approached as far as the Commanding Officers room on the parade; they set it on fire and communicated it to the rushes around the Fort. We continued our firing till midnight, when one of them who spoke French informed me it was in vain

to pretend to hold out, for they could now set fire to the house when they pleased; if I would not surrender, we may expect no quarters, finding they had made their approaches aforesaid. That they could set me on fire above and below. My men being fatigued to the greatest extremity and not being able to extinguish such fireing and resist their numbers, I asked them in English if there was amongst them any which understood that language. An Englishman then called up to me that if I ceased my fireing, he would speak with me; he told me they were of the Urin Nation that had been compelled to take up arms by the Ottawas against Detroit, that there was part of other Nations with him, that they only wanted the house and that they would have now soon, that I might have liberty to go with my Garrison where I pleased. I desired them to leave off their fireing and I would give them an answer in the morning early. After considering my situation and of the impossibility of holding out any longer, I sent out two soldiers as if to treat with them that they may find out their disposition and how they had made their approaches, and to give me a signal if they found what I imagined to be true, finding that if it be so and the vessel Hovering Between the points all the while I was engaged could give me no assistance. I came out with my people. They then took us prisoners; myself and four soldiers and a woman was brought to the Wiandotte Town; the rest of my garrison was taken by the other Nations. I was delivered up to Detroit with one soldier and a woman; the other two they killed at their town the night I arrived there, I was delivered up to Fort Detroit the 9th instant.

I am sir your most humble Servant

John Christie

"P S All the Forts beyond this have met with the same fate. Captain Campbell, Lieut. Tammet and Ensign Holmes is killed; the rest of the gentlemen is prisoners." (See Mary C. Darlington's "History of Colonel Henry Bouquet," pages 176 to 178; also "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania," Vol. 2, pages 547 to 551.)

Destruction of Forts LeBoeuf and Venango

On the outbreak of Pontiac's War, Fort LeBoeuf was commanded by Ensign G. Price, of the Royal Americans, and its garrison was composed of two corporals and eleven privates, Pennsylvania-Germans, as their names indicate—Fisher, Dogood, Nash, Nigley, Dortinger and Trunk. There were only about twenty rounds of ammunition to each man, and the powder was in a damaged condition, when, on June 18, the place was attacked by Indians. About the middle of the forenoon of that day a soldier reported to Price that he saw Indians approaching from the direction of Fort Presqu' Isle, which was only about sixteen miles north of Fort LeBoeuf. Running to the door, Price saw one of his men, very much frightened, shaking hands with five Indians. Price held the door open for the soldier to enter. The Indians followed near, after having left their arms behind in obedience to a sign from the Ensign. The five Indians explained to the commander that they were on their way to fight the Cherokees of the South, and asked for a supply of powder and bullets. Refused this request, they then asked permission to sleep on the ground of the blockhouse. (The fort was merely a strong blockhouse.) The commandant assented to this, and then one of them went away but soon returned with thirty more who crowded before the window and asked for a kettle

to cook their food. Price tried to give them a kettle through the window, but the window proving too small, the Indians grew clamorous and insisted that the door be opened. Price refused. Then they went to a neighboring storehouse, and dug through the foundation of the same into the cellar, from which they could fire on the garrison with safety. They remained in the cellar for some hours, making their preparations, while the garrison waited in suspense.

Towards evening, the Indians opened fire, shooting such a number of fire arrows against the side of the little fort that it was set on fire three times, every time the fire being extinguished by the heroic defenders. A fourth time the fort was set on fire, whereupon Price's men came down from the roof in great despair, exclaiming that they could not extinguish the flames and calling on the commandant to let them leave the place to avoid being burned alive. Said the courageous Ensign: "We must fight as long as we can, and then die together." In the meantime, the fire spread beyond all hope of extinguishing it, and the garrison kept imploring the young commandant to let them go. Then Price gave his consent. By this time night had fallen and all the inmates of the fort were almost suffocated. In the back of the fort was a small window, through which, with the help of their axes, the entire garrison escaped in the darkness to a neighboring pine swamp, the Indians, in the meantime, being unaware of their escape and continuing to fire on the fort.

Ensign Price judged that Fort Presqu' Isle had been captured, and so he resolved to hasten to reinforce Fort Venango, commanded by Lieutenant Gordon. A soldier named John Dortinger, who had been sixteen months at Fort Le Boeuf, thought he could guide Price and the garrison through the night-wrapped wilderness

to Fort Venango. But, after wandering all night and several of the men having become separated from the rest, Price and his companions found themselves back within two miles of Fort LeBoeuf. Weak, almost exhausted, and with only three biscuits to a man, they pushed on through the wilderness, and reached Venango at one o'clock on the following night, only to find the fort a pile of smoking embers, among which lay the charred bodies of Lieutenant Gordon and the garrison. Of those who had straggled from Price's party, all eventually appeared but two, who no doubt died of starvation in the wilderness, or were slain.

Price and his companions then continued their journey down the Allegheny. On the third night their last biscuit was consumed. Finally, half dead with hunger and exhaustion, they found refuge within the walls of Fort Pitt. From this place Ensign Price wrote Colonel Bouquet, on June 26: "I arrived here this morning from Fort Le Boeuf, which I abandoned the 18th at night. . . . The 18th instant I was attacked and the Indians, taking possession of the lower store, fired my House with their Arrows, so that I was obliged to retreat out of it in the night, which I did unseen and brought in with me to Fort Pitt seven men. Six are still in the woods, but I hope will get in safe some where. We arrived at Venango the 20th at one at night and found the blockhouse burned to the ground."

As has been seen in this chapter, not a man remained alive to tell the fate of Fort Venango. But an Indian who was present at its destruction, some years afterward described the scene to Sir William Johnson, Deputy Indian Agent of the Crown. He said that the attacking force was composed of a large body of Senecas, that the Indians gained entrance under pretense of friendship, and then butchered the entire gar-

rison except Lieutenant Gordon, whom they tortured over a slow fire for several nights until death ended his agony. They had first compelled Lieutenant Gordon to write from their dictation a statement of the grievances which had led them to take up arms. This statement was later given to Sir William Johnson. Burning the fort to the ground, the Senecas departed to commit other acts of outrage, horror and death. Guyasuta, who had charge of Pontiac's operations in this quarter, was very likely the leader of the Seneca band that destroyed Fort Venango and massacred its garrison.

In the "History of Venango County" is a letter, written to the Rev. S. J. M. Eaton, by Mrs. M. A. Irvine, of Erie, Pa., under date of January 20, 1876, when she was over ninety-two years of age, in which she describes the stratagem of the Indians in obtaining entrance to Fort Venango, and makes the statement that a woman escaped torture and death on that fateful day in June. The following is an extract from the letter:

"I must now tell you all I know about the old forts at Franklin. The French fort [Fort Machault] was nearly obliterated, and where the pickets stood was grown up with blackberry bushes and grape vines. Both forts were near the bank of the Allegheny river; the British fort [Fort Venango], a little farther up. There was a little stream running between them, which supplied the British garrison with water. They had an underground passage to it in order to be protected against Indians, in the same way. The Indians in playing football, would roll the ball inside the enclosure, as if by accident, and were allowed to go in and get it. Having done this several times, at last, when the garrison was off its guard, they rushed in in a body

and killed every soul except one woman, whom they carried to Canada. A sister of mine saw this woman afterwards at Fort Erie, she then told her of the massacre."

Fort Pitt Attacked and Besieged

The storm now moves nearer to the hills of "Old Westmoreland." Its sullen clouds gather over the Forks of the Ohio.

The destruction of forts Presqu' Isle, Le Boeuf and Venango cut off all communication northward from Fort Pitt and the Ohio. Around the fort clustered, at the time of which we are writing, the village of Pittsburgh, remote in the western wilderness, composed mostly of traders and their families. The first information as to the size of the town is the census of the same, made by Colonel James Burd, on June 21, 1760:

"Number of houses	146
Number of Unfinished houses	19
Number of Hutts	36
	<hr/>
	201
Number of Men	88
Number of Women	29
Number of Male Children	14
Number of Female Children	18
	<hr/>
	149

N. B.—The above houses Exclusive of those in the Fort; in the Fort five long barracks and a long casimitt." (Pa. Archives, Second Series, Vol. 7, page 422.)

In the spring of 1763, Fort Pitt was garrisoned by a force of three hundred and thirty soldiers, traders and backwoodsmen, commanded by Captain Simeon Ecuyer, of the Royal Americans, a brave and energetic

officer of the same nationality and blood as Colonel Bouquet. He had received warnings of danger early in May, writing to Colonel Bouquet, then at Philadelphia, on the 4th of that month: "Major Gladwin writes me that I am surrounded by rascals. He complains a great deal of the Delawares and Shawnees."

Later, on the evening of May 27, a party of Indians camped on the shore of the Allegheny opposite the fort. On the next morning they came to the fort with a great quantity of furs, which they sold to the traders, demanding, in exchange bullets, hatchets and gunpowder. Their conduct excited suspicion. On the same day (May 28) Colonel William Clapham, his wife, his three children and another woman were killed at their home on George Croghan's tract near West Newton by The Wolf, Kekusung and three other Delaware Indians, one of whom was named Butler. The women were treated with shocking indecency. The men who were working near the Clapham home escaped, and brought the news to Captain Ecuyer. It would seem that others were killed in this same raid, as Colonel James Burd entered in his journal, on June 5, that, "John Harris gave me an account of Colonel Clapham and twelve men being killed near Pittsburgh and two Royal Americans at the saw-mill." These soldiers, killed near the saw-mill, were shot down within a mile of Fort Pitt. Captain Ecuyer at once sent express to Venango to warn the little garrison there, but the messenger returned in a short time having been shot at twice and severely wounded. At the same time, Ecuyer sent three men who informed him of the Clapham murder to the assistance of Andrew Byerly at his plantation at Bushy Run, having been advised that the Indians had "told Byerly to leave his place in four days, or he and his family would be murdered." These

murders gave Captain Ecuyer great concern. He wrote to Colonel Bouquet: "I am uneasy for the little Posts: as for this, I will answer for it."

Colonel William Clapham, above mentioned, was one of the prominent military officers on the Susquehanna frontier during the French and Indian War. In 1762, he brought his family over the mountains and settled on the large tract of land near West Newton, purchased by George Croghan from Tanacharison and Scarouady, at Logstown, early in August, 1749—the first land conveyed by the Indian to the white man in the valley of the Ohio.

Andrew Byerly, above mentioned, was a Pennsylvania-German, who, coming from Lancaster County with his family, in 1759, settled near Harrison City, Westmoreland County. He had been a baker in the army of General Braddock, in 1755. He loved to relate that, in the Braddock campaign, he, with George Washington as his backer, won a wager of 20 shillings in a foot race with a Catawba Indian warrior. He was the founder of the Pennsylvania-German settlement in the Brush Creek Valley—if not the first settlement, at least one of the first within the limits of the present Westmoreland County. He died just before the Revolutionary War, while on a visit to Lancaster County, and his dust reposes at Strasburg. In Chapters XI and XII, we shall learn much more about this Westmoreland pioneer who has numerous descendants in Western Pennsylvania.

On May 30, Captain Ecuyer moved the inhabitants of the frontier village of Pittsburgh into the Fort, and leveled the cabins and houses outside the rampart to the ground. According to Captain Ecuyer's report to Colonel Bouquet, the total population of the town and fort was 540—330 men, 104 women and 106 children.

On June 26, Ecuyer wrote Colonel Bouquet: "We are so crowded in the fort that I fear disease; for, in spite of every care, I cannot keep the place as clean as I should like. Besides, the small-pox is among us; and I have therefore caused a hospital to be built under the drawbridge, out of range of musket shot." Such was the situation at Fort Pitt in the opening days of the Pontiac and GUYASUTA War.

On June 1, the trader, Thomas Calhoun, arrived at Fort Pitt from the Tuscarawas with the information that King Beaver, Shingas, Wingenund and several other Delaware chiefs had come to his trading house on the Tuscarawas at eleven o'clock on the night of May 27, told him of the murder of a number of English traders, and warned him to leave at once. Said these Delaware chiefs to Calhoun: "Out of regard to you and the friendship that formerly subsisted between our grandfathers and the English, we request you may think of nothing you have here, but make the best of your way to some place of safety, as we should not desire to see you killed in our town. Be careful to avoid the road and every place where Indians resort." These chiefs then sent three Indians to conduct Calhoun and his men, fourteen in all, to Fort Pitt. On May 29, as they were crossing Beaver Creek, they were fired upon by Indians, and all were killed except Calhoun and two others. He reported to Captain Ecuyer that, when the firing began, the Indian guides immediately disappeared, which caused him to believe that they had purposely led him and his party into an ambush. Upon Calhoun's leaving Tuscarawas, or King Beaver's Town, he and his men were not permitted to take their guns with them, Shingas and King Beaver telling them that the three Indian guides would conduct them through the wilderness in safety. The leader of the

Indians who ambushed Calhoun and his party was the Delaware, Turtle Heart.

About the time of the attack on Calhoun and his party, the trader, John Gibson, later the famous Colonel Gibson of the Revolutionary War, at one time commander of Fort Pitt, and uncle of the renowned Chief Justice John Bannister Gibson of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, was taken prisoner near the mouth of the Beaver, along with two companions. One of these companions was soon tortured to death, and the other met the same fate when the party reached the Kanawha. Gibson was saved by an aged squaw, who adopted him in the place of a son who had been killed in battle. Gibson was among the captives surrendered to Colonel Bouquet at the close of Pontiac's War, when he again settled at Pittsburgh and resumed his trading business.

The desultory outrages, with which the Pontiac and Guyasuta War began in the neighborhood of Fort Pitt, kept the garrison in a state of restless alarm. Indians fired at the sentinels both by day and by night. Of eight messengers sent from the fort in an effort to warn Fort Venango, four were killed, two were wounded, and two returned unhurt. At length, on the afternoon of June 22, a party of Delawares drove off the horses and cattle which were grazing in the cleared field near the fort, and then opened a general fire on the garrison, killing two soldiers. The garrison replied with a discharge of howitzers, the bursting of whose shells disconcerted the Indians for a time. Throughout the night, they fired on the fort at intervals. At nine o'clock on the following morning, several of their chiefs approached the fort for a parley, Turtle Heart and, possibly, Shingas, being among them. Turtle Heart was their speaker, and addressing the garrison,

told them that six nations of Indians were on their way to destroy Fort Pitt after having already destroyed all the other English posts, and that, if the garrison, women and children would withdraw and go to the English settlements east of the mountains, they should be spared. Captain Ecuyer was equal to the occasion, replying that an army of six thousand soldiers was on the march to relieve Fort Pitt and another army of three thousand on the march against the Ottawas and Ojibways of the Great Lakes. This politic invention on the part of Captain Ecuyer had an excellent effect upon the Indians, and the next morning most of them withdrew.

Several weeks elapsed without a determined attack on the fort. Then, on July 26, Shingas, Turtle Heart and a few other Delaware chiefs approached, one of them displaying a flag which, some months before, he had received as a present from Captain Ecuyer. On the strength of this token, the chiefs were admitted to the fort. Shingas was the speaker, addressing Captain Ecuyer thus:

“We wish to hold fast the chain of friendship—that ancient chain which our forefathers held with their brethren, the English. You have let your end of the chain fall to the ground, but ours is still fast within our hands. Why do you complain that our young men have fired at your soldiers and killed your cattle and horses? You yourselves are the cause of this. You marched your armies into our country and built forts here, though we told you again and again that we wished you to remove. My brothers, this land is ours and not yours.”

Captain Ecuyer, in his reply, did not deny the Indian title to the region, but urged the very shallow pretense

that the English had erected the forts west of the Alleghenies for the purpose of supplying the Indians with clothes and ammunition. He absolutely refused to leave the place. He said to Shingas:

"I have warriors, provisions and ammunition to defend it [Fort Pitt] three years against all the Indians in the woods; and we shall never abandon it as long as a white man lives in America. . . . This is our home. . . . I tell you that, if any of you appear again about this fort, I will throw bombshells, which will burst and blow you to atoms, and fire cannon among you, loaded with a whole bag full of bullets."

Thus ended the conference between Shingas and Captain Ecuyer, and the chiefs departed with much displeasure. Shingas had repeated the position and point of view of the Delawares and Shawnees, which had for its foundation the treaties and promises set forth in Chapter IX; and Captain Ecuyer's reply had at least the virtue of frankness. The English never intended to keep the promises they had formally and solemnly made to Shingas, King Beaver and other great chiefs of the valleys of the Ohio and Allegheny—promises to withdraw east of the Allegheny Mountains upon the expulsion of the French from these valleys. Shingas, King Beaver, Turtle Heart and other leaders of the Delawares, Shawnees and other tribes of these valleys and the valleys to the westward had for years been demanding that the English live up to their promises—promises which were the conditions upon which these Indians agreed to withdraw, and did withdraw, from the French in the latter days of the French and Indian War. In the words of King Solomon, "Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter": In Pontiac's War, the Delawares and Shawnees took up arms against the English to enforce the treaty of peace to which

these Indians had agreed and which the English had broken.

Thus far this sketch of the happenings at Fort Pitt during the early days of Pontiac's War, has been based almost entirely on the journal of Captain Ecuyer. We shall now let Parkman tell what happened after Shingas, Turtle Heart and their associate chiefs withdrew from their conference with Captain Ecuyer:

"Disappointed in gaining a bloodless possession of the fort, the Indians now, for the first time, began a general attack. On the night succeeding the conference, they approached in great multitudes, under cover of the darkness, and completely surrounded it; many of them crawling beneath the banks of the two rivers, which ran close to the rampart, and, with incredible perseverance, digging with their knives, holes in which they were completely sheltered from the fire of the fort. On one side, the whole bank was lined with these burrows, from each of which a bullet or an arrow was shot out whenever a soldier chanced to expose his head. At daybreak, a general fire was opened from every side, and continued, without intermission until night and through several succeeding days. Meanwhile, the women and children were pent up in the crowded barracks, terror-stricken at the horrible din of the assailants, and watching the fire-arrows as they came sailing over the parapet and lodging against the roofs and sides of the buildings. In every instance, the fire they kindled was extinguished. One of the garrison was killed, and seven wounded. Among the latter was Captain Ecuyer, who freely exposed himself, received an arrow in the leg. At length, an event hereafter to be described, put an end to the attack, and drew off the assailants from the neighborhood of the fort, to the unspeakable relief

of the harassed soldiers, exhausted as they were by several days of uninterrupted vigilance."

The event, mentioned by Parkman as "hereafter to be described," was the battle of Bushy Run, about half a mile east of Harrison City, Westmoreland County, August 5 and 6, which battle will be described in Chapter XII of this volume. It was on August 1 that the Indians gave up the siege of Fort Pitt, and then marched, most likely under the leadership of Guyasuta, to attack Colonel Bouquet who was then marching to the relief of this stronghold, and to meet his heroic band in the bloody and historic battle of Bushy Run. Many other Indians assembled at Kittanning, and marched from that place to oppose Bouquet's advance. On August 2, Captain Ecuyer wrote Colonel Bouquet, describing the siege of Fort Pitt. Among other things, he said in this letter:

"They were well under cover, and so were we. They did us no harm; nobody killed, seven wounded, and I myself slightly. Their attack lasted five days and five nights. We are certain of having killed and wounded twenty of them, without reckoning those we could not see. I left nobody fire until he had marked his man; and not an Indian could show his nose without being picked off with a bullet, for we have some good marksmen here. Our men are doing admirably, régulars and the rest. All they ask is to go out and fight. I am fortunate to have the honor of commanding such brave men. I only wish the Indians had ventured an assault. They would have remembered it to the thousandth generation. They threw fire arrows to burn our works, but they could not reach the buildings, nor even the ramparts. Only two arrows came into the fort, one of which had the insolence to make free with my leg."

So confident of success were the more than 400 Dela-

wares, Shawnees, Wyandots and Mingoes that besieged Fort Pitt that they had brought their women and children with them, to carry off the plunder.

This chapter is being written on the one hundred and sixty-ninth anniversary of the last day of the siege of Fort Pitt. Today as one walks the streets of downtown Pittsburgh, it requires an effort to call to mind the scenes and events of that siege—the painted, yelling Indians, the terror-stricken women and children in the fort, the flying fire arrows by day and by night, the red uniforms of the Royal Americans, the gray homespun of the keen-eyed border rifleman, Captain Ecuyer passing among his troops, directing, encouraging and applauding them in German and broken English.

But——

Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis.

Attempt to Inoculate the Indians with Smallpox

With the first news of the hostilities against Fort Pitt and the other posts west of the Alleghenies, Colonel Bouquet, then at Philadelphia, was ordered to assemble as large an army as possible, and cross the mountains with a convoy of provisions and ammunition for the western forts. We shall describe his march over the Alleghenies in Chapter XII. At this point, however, we call attention to a suggestion made to him while he was assembling his army—a suggestion made by General Sir Jeffrey Amherst, then commander-in-chief of the British forces in America. Amherst wrote to Colonel Bouquet:

“I wish to hear of no prisoners, should any of the villains be met with in arms. Could it not be contrived to send the smallpox among those disaffected tribes of Indians?” To this letter, Bouquet replied: “I will try to inoculate them with some blankets, and take care not

to get the disease myself. As it is a pity to expose good men against them, I wish we could use the Spanish method to hunt them with English dogs, who would, I think, effectually extirpate or remove that vermin." Then Amherst replied: "You will do well to try to inoculate the Indians by means of blankets, as well as to try every other method that can serve to extirpate this exorable race."

Parkman calls attention to the fact that, while there is no direct evidence that Bouquet himself carried into effect the shameful and horrible plan of infecting the Indians with smallpox, yet a few months after Amherst's suggestion, this disease made havoc among the tribes of the Ohio. But, on June 24, Captain Simeon Ecuyer, commandant at Fort Pitt, after narrating the fact that he and Alexander McKee held the parley with Turtle Heart and another Delaware chief, who had come to the fort for the purpose of terrifying the garrison by reports of great numbers of Indians marching against the place—the parley of June 23, mentioned earlier in this chapter—noted the following in his journal: "Out of our regard to them (Turtle Heart and his associate chief), we gave them two blankets and a handkerchief out of the Small-pox hospital. I hope it will have the desired effect." (*Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*, Vol. 2, pages 275 and 276; also *Journal of Captain Simeon Ecuyer*.)

Now other scenes beckon us, and we hasten over the templed hills and through the wilderness of "Old Westmoreland" to see what is happening at Fort Ligonier.

CHAPTER XI

Pontiac and Guyasuta's Warriors Attack Fort Ligonier

At the time of the outbreak of Pontiac's War, there were only a few very small settlements in that part of Pennsylvania lying west of the Alleghenies, and Bedford may be regarded as the extreme verge of the Pennsylvania frontier. In the summer of 1753, Christopher Gist, as the agent of the Ohio Company, had settled eleven Virginia families at the present Mount Braddock, Fayette County; but this settlement was broken up by the French and Indians during Washington's campaign of 1754. The Eckerlin (Eckerling) brothers, Samuel, Israel and Gabriel, Pennsylvania-Germans from Ephrata, Lancaster County, had established a small settlement, a few years before the French and Indian War, near the mouth of Dunkard Creek, Greene County, and upon the outbreak of the French and Indian War, had removed with their companions to a safer position near the mouth of the Cheat River, at which place the settlement was broken up by the French and Indians in August, 1757. And there is authority for the statement that, a year or two before the opening of the French and Indian War, Robert Reed, Sr., and Chillian Green settled near Ligonier, but fled back to the Cumberland Valley about the time of Braddock's defeat.

Following the Forbes campaign in 1758, some pioneers who had been in that expedition, and some who had been in the Braddock campaign, settled in Westmoreland County. Andrew Byerly, as was seen in

Chapter X, settled near Harrison City in 1759. Christopher Rudebaugh and John Herlod and several others followed closely and took up lands. John Herlod, as early as 1760, sold lands near Greensburg to the Detars. As was seen in Chapter X, Colonel William Clapham settled on George Groghan's tract near West Newton about a year before the opening of Pontiac's War. Robert Reed, mentioned in the first paragraph of this chapter, came to the Ligonier Valley and settled several miles from Fort Ligonier, in the spring of 1759. Robert Means settled about a mile from Fort Ligonier, probably at the time when Robert Reed settled there. Reed had persuaded a number of his fellow soldiers of the Forbes campaign to accompany him to the Ligonier Valley. Among these were Charles Clifford, James Clifford, Isaac Stimble and James F. Flack (Flock), all of whom will be mentioned later.*

Around Fort Pitt, in the spring of 1763, were the cabins of traders' families, mentioned in Chapter X, and perhaps a small forest farm here and there, as well as "Small's plantation" on Turtle Creek, eighteen miles away. Around Fort Ligonier were the cabins of a few traders and of the settlers, mentioned in the above paragraph. From Bedford to Fort Pitt, a distance of 100 miles, with Fort Ligonier about midway, stretched the vast, interminable forest. The fort and the little clearings adjacent thereto, as well as Byerly's clearing at Bushy Run, were mere specks in the wilderness.

Byerly's clearing at Bushy Run was the largest between Fort Pitt and Fort Ligonier, being about midway between these forts. At least as early as a date prior to March 18, 1761, a block house, or station, was erected at Byerly's, as on that date, Colonel Bouquet wrote to General Monckton, who had succeeded

* The Cliffords lived on Mill Creek. Robert Reed settled near the present Reed schoolhouse in Fairfield Township.

General Stanwix at Fort Pitt on June 29, 1760, as follows: "I received yesterday by the express, Mr. Boyle, your letter of the 27th of February, in consequence of which Col. Vauhn's detachment is to march tomorrow to Philadelphia. As they have no men detached beyond this, I have only to relieve Bushy Run, Ligonier and Stony Creek—one sergeant and six privates at Bushy Run; Lieut. Blane, one sergeant and one corporal and eighteen at Ligonier; one sergeant and six at Stony Creek." Also, in a letter written on December 2, 1761, Bouquet says that he had sent small forces of Royal Americans to Bedford, Stony Creek and Fort Ligonier and one sergeant and two men to Bushy Run. Also, on June 10, 1762, Lieutenant Blane, commander at Fort Ligonier, wrote to Colonel Bouquet explaining arrangements he had made for relieving the posts at Stony Creek and Bushy Run. In Chapter X, we saw that Captain Ecuyer reported to Colonel Bouquet about June 1, 1763, that the Indians had "told Byerly to leave his place in four days, or he and his family would be murdered." On June 2, he reported that the men at Bushy Run had retreated to Fort Ligonier.

Pontiac, Guyasuta, Custaloga, Shingas, Turtle Heart and their warriors well knew that the destruction of Fort Pitt would not crown their efforts with success unless Fort Ligonier, also, were destroyed. This post-commanded by Captain Archibald Blane, of the Royal Americans, with a small garrison of these troops, contained stores and munitions which would be of much use to the Indians. If Fort Pitt and Fort Ligonier could be destroyed and their garrisons massacred, every white person west of the Alleghenies could be killed, and the Indians could sweep unmolested into the settlements beyond. Therefore, early in June, the Indians appeared before Fort Ligonier. In the meantime, the

posts at Redstone and Bushy Run were abandoned for want of soldiers to defend them; and the few settlers in "Old Westmoreland" except Colonel William Clapham and his family whose sad fate was described in Chapter X, abandoning their plantations, took refuge within the protecting walls of Fort Ligonier.

Cyrus Cort, in his "Henry Bouquet," gives a thrilling account of the flight of Andrew Byerly's family to Fort Ligonier, as follows:

"As Ecuyer states, Byerly had received warning; but his family was in no condition to be moved. Mrs. Byerly had just been confined and the departure was delayed as long as possible, indeed until certain death was imminent, if the flight should be any longer postponed. Byerly had gone with a small party (perhaps Clapham's men referred to above) to bury some persons who had been killed at some distance from his station. A friendly Indian who had often received a bowl of milk and bread from Mrs. Byerly, came to the house after dark, and informed the family that they would all be killed, if they did not make their escape before daylight. Mrs. Byerly got up from her sick couch and wrote the tidings on the door of the house for the information of her husband when he should return. A horse was saddled on which the mother with her tender babe three days old in her arms, was placed, and a child not two years old was fastened behind her.

"Michael Byerly was a good sized lad, but Jacob was only three years old and had a painful stone bruise on one of his feet. With the aid of his older brother who held him by the hand and sometimes carried him on his back, the little fellow, however, managed to make good time through the wilderness to Fort Ligonier, about thirty miles distant. But although he reached his ninety-ninth year, he never forgot that race for life in his

childhood, nor did he feel like giving quarter to hostile Indians, one of whom he killed on an island in the Allegheny in a fight under Lieutenant Hardin in 1779, although the savage begged for quarter.

“Milk cows were highly prized by frontier families in those days, and the Byerly family made a desperate effort to coax and drive their small herd along to Fort Ligonier. But the howling savages got so close that they were obliged to leave the cattle in the woods to be destroyed by the Indians. Byerly in some way eluded the Indians and joined his family in the retreat. They barely escaped with their lives. The first night they spent in the stockade, and in the morning the bullets of the pursuers struck the gates as the family pressed into the fort.”

Lieutenant Blane Describes Attacks on Fort Ligonier

The following letters written from Fort Ligonier by Lieutenant Blane describe the attacks on this fort. On June 4, he wrote to Colonel Bouquet:

“By the two Expresses from Capt. Ecuyer, which I hope you have received, you would be informed of the proceedings of the Indians; therefore, I shall only inform you of what relates to my garrison, which, Thursday last, was attacked by a body of Indians, about five in the Morning, but as they only fired upon us from the skirts of the Woods, I contended myself with giving them three Cheers, without spending a single shot upon them; but as they still continued their popping upon the side next the Town, about five P. M. I sent the Sergt. of the Royal Americans with a proper detachment to Fire the Houses, which, I believe, effectually disappointed them in their plan, for, soon after, they all disappeared, nor has any shewn themselves since. [See page 44 of this volume.] All the inhabit-

ants from Bushy Run to Stony Creek are safe here, and by promises I have also prevailed upon a number of Pack Horse men till we hear from you, and I hope that will be soon and effectual. You will easily perceive the great and unavoidable losses the People whom I have kept here will certainly be exposed to, which I hope the General, when he considers the service their stay is of here, will make as easy to them as possible, particularly as I have taken the properest methods to ascertain it, by having all the Cattle they could produce appraised. I have heard nothing later than you from above, only a number of Pack Horse men who left Fort Pitt when the Express did, five are missing."

"I am so hurried with my medley that I hope you'll excuse the incorrectness of my Letter."

The date of the above attack was June 3. A few days later, one of the settlers who lived near Fort Ligonier and who had been missing since the day of the attack, arrived at Fort Bedford and reported to Captain Lewis Ourry (Uhrig), the commandant there, that the Indians had burned Fort Ligonier and massacred the garrison, saying that he "saw the fire burning on Friday about dusk on the spot where the fort stood." He added that he had seen a party of fifty Indians near the top of the Allegheny Mountains when he was fleeing to Fort Bedford. The refugees at Fort Bedford were greatly alarmed by the startling news. In the meantime, Lieutenant Blane had written Captain Ourry and told him of the attack on Fort Ligonier and of his having burned the houses near the fort so that they might not be used as a cover by the enemy. "As soon as he came," wrote Captain Ourry, "I asked him a few questions, and so on comparing circumstances, I found and convinced the People that the Fire he saw was from the houses Lieut. Blane had caused to be

burnt, as his letter to me was dated the 3d at 8 o'clock P. M., which was an hour later than the Man had seen the Fire, and the Express that brought it did not set out from Ligonier till Saturday the 4th, and brought with him two letters dated the 4th. As to the 50 Indians, upon asking him if he had counted any number, even 20 or 10 or 6, he said No, but that they seemed to be a great many sitting down and only one stood up which he saw very plain, and by the Description of the Dress, paint, time and place, they were my Indian Scout who set out from hence that morning and were to lay there that night."

Before quoting more letters from Lieutenant Blane, reporting attacks on Fort Ligonier, we call attention to the fact that he and Captain Ourry, who was also an officer of the Royal Americans, kept up a very precarious correspondence with each other by means of express riders—a service dangerous to the last degree. Parkman thus describes the perils that beset these men whose duty it was to carry the messages from one commander or post to another:

"They were usually soldiers, sometimes back-woodsmen, and occasionally a friendly Indian, who, disguising his attachment to the whites, could pass when others would infallibly have perished. If white men, they were always mounted [Parkman should have said 'usually mounted']; and it may well be supposed that their horses did not lag by the way. The profound solitude; the silence, broken only by the moaning of the wind, the caw of the crow, or the cry of some prowling tenant of the waste; the mystery of the verdant labyrinth, which the anxious wayfarer strained his eyes in vain to penetrate; the consciousness that in every thicket, behind every rock, might lurk a foe more fierce and subtle than the cougar or the lynx; and the

long hours of darkness, when stretched on the cold ground, his excited fancy roamed in nightmare visions of a horror but too real and imminent—such was the experience of many an unfortunate who never lived to tell it. If the messenger was an Indian, his greatest danger was from those who should have been his friends. Friendly Indians were told, whenever they approached a fort to make themselves known by carrying green branches thrust into the muzzles of their guns; and an order was issued that the token should be respected. This gave them tolerable security as regards soldiers, but not as regards the enraged backwoodsmen, who would shoot without distinction any thing with a red skin.”

Nowhere else on the Pennsylvania frontier, was the danger to express riders, red and white, greater than along the line of communication, the Forbes Road, between Fort Pitt and Fort Bedford, during the tragic and awful period of Pontiac's War. Especially was this true as regards the road between Forts Ligonier and Bedford. Tier after tier of mountain ranges, covered with mighty forests in which unseen and imminent danger lurked on every hand, lay between these posts. Captain Ourry, in a letter written from Fort Bedford to Colonel Bouquet, on June 9, 1763, thus describes the token given his Indian scouts: “The signal of our Indian Scouts is a piece of our Regimental White Lace around the head of one of the party, and on seeing friends, they all display a yard or two of it in their hands. I have made this as public as possible.”

Also before quoting additional letters from Lieutenant Blane, we call attention to the fact that General Jeffrey Amherst, then commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, did not understand the Indians

or Indian warfare, and was constantly finding fault with his officers. He found fault with Lieutenant Blane for burning the houses near Fort Ligonier, under cover of which "so despicable an enemy" fired on the garrison. He also found fault with Captain Ecuyer for "condescending" to fire cannon at the Indians besieging Fort Pitt.

But to return to Lieutenant Blane's letters. On June 10, he wrote to Colonel Bouquet:

"I sent you an Express last Saturday to make you acquainted with my situation, when I acquainted you that I forwarded an Express from Capt. Ecuyer upon the 30th of May and another the 31st. I hope all reached you in safety. In the Express which I sent you, I mentioned that the Indians had fired upon this post, and since I find they have killed and carried off a great number of Horses and I am likewise afraid one, Richard Shannon, who unluckily straggled off by himself that morning, has also fallen into their hands.

"This express I send you for two reasons: first to acquaint you that I have heard nothing from Pittsburgh since the Express mentioned above, as well as to satisfy the Garrison of this place, and to request that you would use your endeavour to throw in Succors by the 16th Inst. at farthest. You no doubt can guess the reason of my request.

"I can ascribe no reason for Capt. Ecuyer's silence, unless it be the watchfulness of the Indians, who I doubt not keep a sharp lookout; perhaps it may due to his having nothing new to inform you of, but whatever may be his reasons, I beg you won't look upon this to proceed from any disposition in me to give you additional trouble, but that I am with the most fixed resolve to do my utmost, whatever may happen."

Richard Shannon, mentioned in the above letter as

having "straggled out by himself" on the morning of the first attack upon Fort Ligonier, was, very probably, the man who fled from Fort Ligonier to Fort Bedford and gave Captain Ourry the erroneous report that the Indians had burned Fort Ligonier and murdered its garrison.

On June 17, Lieutenant Blane wrote Colonel Bouquet:

"I hope soon to see yourself, and live in daily hopes of a reenforcement. Sunday last, a man straggling out was killed by Indians, and Monday night three of them got under an outhouse, but were discovered. The darkness secured them their retreat. I believe the communication between Fort Pitt and this is entirely cut off, having heard nothing from them since the 30th of May, though two expresses have gone from Bedford by this post."

On June 28, Lieutenant Blane wrote Colonel Bouquet that he had not been able to send reports for some time owing to the fact that the road was completely closed by the Indians. In this letter, he describes another attack on Fort Ligonier, as follows:

"On the 21st, the Indians made a second attempt in a very serious manner, for near two hours, but with like success as the first. They began with attempting to cut off the retreat of a small party of fifteen men who, from their impatience to come at four Indians who showed themselves, in a great measure forced me to let them out. In the evening, I think about a hundred lay in ambush by the side of the creek, about four hundred yards from the fort; and just as the party was returning pretty near where they lay, they rushed out, when they undoubtedly would have succeeded, had it not been for a deep morass which intervened. Immediately after, they began their attack; and I dare say

they fired upwards of one thousand shot. Nobody received any damage. So far, my good fortune in dangers still attends me."

Col. Bouquet's Letters to Lieut. Blane

Lieutenant Blane's letter of June 4 to Bouquet, quoted earlier in this chapter, got through to the Colonel. He replied to it from Philadelphia on June 14, as follows:

"I rec'd your letter of the 4th with the Account of the Indians attacking your Post which can in no wise be in Danger with the prudent Measures you have taken. I have recommended to his Excellency, Sir Jeff. Amherst, the Case of the People you have detained to reinforce your Garrison who will soon be at liberty to come down, as there are Troops on their March for your Relief. Be as saving of your Provisions as possible, and continue to keep your Ammunition till it can do Execution.

"You may well be sure that all the Indians on the continent would not dare to attack you in Earnest. Surprise is their only Shift, and that will always fail with you. I go up myself as soon as I can forward the Convoy, but you know the Distance and the Difficulties attending a March, so don't be uneasy. You will be supported in good time. If you cannot well protect your Horses, could you not send them to Bedford?"

And to Lieutenant Blane's letter of June 28, Colonel Bouquet, then on his march to relieve forts Ligonier and Pitt, replied from Carlisle, on July 4, as follows:

"I received last night your Letter of 28th June. The contents of which I transmitted to the General. You may depend upon his approbation of the wise Measures you have taken, and that the brave men who have agreed to stay with you to I come to your Relief

will be Punctually paid for all the time they will remain with you. I have Branded with Infamy the wretches whom I discovered here to have deserted your Post, and if you can send me the Names of all those who so treacherously abandoned you, I shall publish it in the Newspapers to cover them with that shame so justly due to all Traytors and Cowards. On the other hand, I shall recommend in the Strongest manner those Pack horse men who produced your leave to come down. The vigorous Steps you have taken to Secure to yourself a Reinforcement so Necessary, does you as great Honour as your good Disposition and Courage. Had Christie and Gordon behaved with such Spirit, their important Posts would not have been lost and Christie and his Garrison massacred after a Scandalous Capitulation, as if the Example of Fort Loudon in the Cherokee Country ought not to be a Sufficient warning never to Trust one's Self alive with faithless Savages. [At Carlisle, on July 3, Colonel Bouquet had received Captain Ourry's message that Presqu' Isle, Leboeuf and Venango had fallen. On July 4, when he wrote the letter now being quoted, he did not know the true details of the surrender of Presqu' Isle. As was seen in Chapter X, Ensign Christie was not killed.] The great importance of your Post for the support of Fort Pitt has given me the utmost anxiety, knowing in what Condition you were left, and all my dependence was in your Prudence and Firmness, in which I have not been disappointed. Be as Saving of provisions and particularly of Ammunition as if you had no Relief to Expect, and after the Risk you Exposed yourself to, by Suffering any men to go out of the Fort, I need not give you Warning never to be allured to any appearing Advantage to Expose your Post to the least danger."

“The bad Success of the Savages have met with in attacking Fort Pitt and your Post, will soon make them sick of attempting them. Don’t permit a Musket to be fired but where you are sure of doing Execution. I sent you a Reinforcement, which I shall soon follow with a Sufficient Force to clear the roads of that Bloody race.”

As has been seen, Lieutenant Blane, by some means, got word through to Captain Ourry at Bedford of the fall of forts Presqu’ Isle, Leboeuf and Venango. But this news contained the erroneous report of the soldier, Gray, who had arrived at Fort Pitt on June 26, to the effect that Presqu’ Isle and its entire garrison had been massacred. It must have been about the latter part of June that Lieutenant Blane’s messenger arrived at Fort Bedford. Then Captain Ourry’s messenger took the word to Colonel Bouquet, then at Carlisle, at which place the messenger arrived on July 3. Bouquet then sent the word to General Amherst. It was, therefore, the erroneous report of the soldier, Gray as to what had happened at Fort Presqu’ Isle, that was the basis of the statement in Colonel Bouquet’s letter of July 4 to Lieutenant Blane, which letter has been quoted in this chapter. (See report of Benjamin Gray, in third paragraph of Chapter X.)

Woodsmen and Highlanders Reinforce Blane

Knowing the straits in which Lieutenant Blane and his garrison were, and fearing that the Westmoreland fort would not be able to resist the attacks of the Indians, Captain Ourry sent a relief party from Fort Bedford, consisting of twenty, all good woodsmen and fine marksmen, who arrived at Fort Ligonier in safety, about July 1. A few days later Colonel Bouquet sent a relief party from Carlisle, consisting of thirty High-

landers, with keen-eyed backwoodsmen to lead them over the mountain trails instead of the Forbes Road. They made their way through the Indian-infested wilderness, using every precaution, traveling mostly by night, and arrived at the fort without the loss of a man.

On July 11, Lieutenant Donald Campbell, the leader of the detachment of Highlanders sent by Colonel Bouquet to the assistance of Lieutenant Blane, wrote Bouquet from Fort Ligonier as follows:

"Enclosed I send you a return of this Garrison. The detachment I brought up with me, I did not include as you know their numbers.

"I left Bedford the 7th Inst. at night and arrived here the 9th in the morning without seeing any of the Enemy, tho' I believed they followed us very close, as that evening they fired several shots at the Fort. There is one of our men wounded by the enemy, and I believe a Surgeon would be very necessary, in case any more accidents should happen."

Lieutenant Campbell was the bearer of Colonel Bouquet's letter of July 4. Replying to this letter on July 11, Lieutenant Blane wrote:

"I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 4th Instant by Mr. Campbell who got safely here the 9th in the morning, and who being my Senior, I have delivered all your orders relating to the Post to him, as well as the advice and other informations my long stay at this Place makes me capable of. I have likewise communicated to him your letter of the 4th. As Mr. Campbell writes you by this opportunity and informs you of the affairs of the Post, I have only to return you my thanks for the satisfaction you express with my conduct and care you promise to take of those men that have suffered so much by their stay here for the safety of this place. The Bedford Volunteers (Mr. Recker

excepted) are far from meriting anything besides the wages promised, but I have no occasion to say more, as when you receive this by them, you can judge of their merit yourself, but, I hope their going will make no great odds.

"I must now beg leave to inform you for your and Army's safety, that it is more necessary now than ever I knew it, to be very watchful, for the 58 and 9 appeared only diversion to these times, for they exert themselves to the utmost; indeed they will have occasion for their utmost dexterity in a short time."

Then, on July 15, Lieutenant Blane wrote Bouquet the last communication he was to send his Colonel before the latter's arrival at Fort Ligonier, as follows:

"Your orders concerning the ammunition will be as strictly complied with as possible, as also the provisions. Nothing would induce more to the saving of the latter than the getting down the women and children, who, as their husbands have in a manner preserved the Post, have a good title to be fed while they stay; but as that can't be done without an escort, I imagine the best way would be to send 20 men from Bedford along with the first party of Highlanders who would serve to flank the one up, the other down. Tho the Indians have tried all the little arts their cunning could invent, they have as yet found them useless, and I believe I may venture to assure you that they in all probability still will. . . .

"I wish I knew the day you would be here, as the Lamb I have so long preserved would then be properly prepared for your reception.

"I believe the scoundrels are returned, for one of them had the impudence to come into the pasture and chase a horse for some time. No doubt he expected to be pursued, but he soon got into the woods."

Happily Lieutenant Blane, who had been stationed

at Fort Ligonier ever since the Forbes campaign, succeeded in holding the fort until Colonel Bouquet, the hero of Pontiac's War, came with his little army of relief, on August 2.

Maiden Foot and Miss Means

During the spring of 1763, before hostilities broke out, Lieutenant Blane was visited, at Fort Ligonier, by several parties of friendly Delawares, among whom was a young brave, named Maiden Foot. When Maiden Foot was at the fort on one of these occasions, a settler named Robert Means, with his wife and little daughter, Mary, aged eleven years, was there also. The Means home was about a mile from the fort. Maiden Foot seemed much pleased with little Mary. On leaving the fort, he gave the little girl a string of beads. He seemed sad and thoughtful at the time.

Early in June, after the Pontiac and Guyasuta War had begun, Mrs. Means and Mary started for the fort on hearing a rumor that the Indians had become hostile. On their way to the fort, they were captured by two Indians, who took them into the woods and tied them to saplings. Soon they heard the report of rifles, which was the first Indian assault on the fort. Later in the afternoon, Maiden Foot appeared before Mrs. Means and her daughter, no doubt being the Indian selected to scalp them. He recognized them, cut the bands which bound them to the tree, and conducted them by a roundabout way to their home, where Mr. Means met them. Maiden Foot then told the family to flee to the mountains, and pointed to a ravine in which they could hide until after the Indian band left the neighborhood. On leaving them Maiden Foot took the little girl's handkerchief, on which was worked in black silken thread her name, "Mary Means."

Some years after the Revolutionary War, the Means family moved to a point near Cincinnati, Ohio, where the parents died; and the girl having grown to womanhood, married an officer named Kearney, who commanded a company under Wayne at the battle of Fallen Timbers, August 20, 1794. After this battle, Kearney and some companions found an elderly Indian sitting on a log on the battlefield and waving a white handkerchief. On their approaching him, the Indian said that he had been a warrior all his life; that he had fought at Ligonier, at Bushy Run, the Wabash against St. Clair, and at the recent battle against Wayne. He then explained that he had enough of war, and desired henceforth to live in peace with all mankind. Searching in his pouch he brought forth the handkerchief of Mary Means. Officer Kearney had often heard his wife tell the story of Maiden Foot. He took the old Indian home with him. Mrs. Kearney and the Indian immediately recognized each other, although thirty-one years had elapsed since they parted near Fort Ligonier. Maiden Foot now explained that shortly before he met Mary Means, he had lost a sister her age and size, and that the giving of the string of beads to her was in effect the adopting of her as his sister. He was taken into the Kearney family, according to Boucher's "History of Westmoreland County," and upon his death four years later, was buried in a graveyard in Cincinnati, where a tablet was erected at his grave bearing the following inscription:

"In memory of Maiden Foot, an Indian Chief of the Eighteenth Century, who died a Civilian and a Christian."

George W. Gosser, former postmaster at Pittsburgh, is a great-great-grandson of Mary Means. He states, however, that she was generally known as "Marjorie."

Leaving the resolute Lieutenant Blane and his resolute garrison, we shall view for a moment the scenes at Fort Bedford before describing the march of Colonel Bouquet to the relief of the garrisons at forts Bedford, Ligonier and Pitt.

Fort Bedford Besieged

The warriors of Pontiac and Guyasuta began a siege of Fort Bedford at about the same time as the attack on Fort Ligonier. Hearing of the approach of the Indian hordes, the small posts at Stony Creek and Juniata Crossing were abandoned, and their defenders were sent to strengthen the small garrison of Fort Bedford, commanded, as we have already seen, by Captain Lewis Ourry (Uhrig), of the Royal Americans. We have seen, too, how Captain Ourry sent twenty men from his fort to the assistance of Lieutenant Blane at Fort Ligonier, sometime in June. At the time of which we are writing, Fort Bedford was the principal depot for military supplies between Carlisle and Fort Pitt. Many families lived in the mountain valleys in the vicinity of Fort Bedford at this time. They fled in terror to the fort, many, however, being overtaken and killed by the Indian invaders. It is said in "The Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania" that forty of these families were murdered or carried into captivity during the tragic period of which we are writing.

The following extracts from letters written at Fort Bedford show the alarming condition of that post at the time when Colonel Bouquet was preparing to advance over the mountains:

On June 3, Captain Ourry wrote to Colonel Bouquet: "No less than ninety-three families are now here for refuge, and more hourly are arriving. I expect ten more before night." On June 7, he wrote Colonel Bou-

quet: "My greatest difficulty is to keep my militia from straggling by twos and threes to their dear plantations, thereby exposing themselves to be scalped, and weakening my garrison by such numbers absenting themselves . . . I long to see my Indian scouts come in with intelligence; but I long more to hear the Grenadier's March, and see some more red coats." Ten days later Captain Ourry wrote Bouquet that, no attack having been made, the fugitives had gradually returned to their plantations, reducing his whole force to "twelve Royal Americans to guard the fort and seven Indian prisoners." Then the very next day he wrote: "This moment I return from the parade. Some scalps taken up Dunning's Creek yesterday, and today some families murdered and houses burnt, have destroyed me of my militia. . . . Two or three other families are missing, and the houses are seen in flames. The people are all flocking in again." Two days later he wrote Bouquet that, while the countrymen were at drill on the parade, Indians attempted to seize two little girls close to the fort, but were driven off by a volley from the garrison. He adds that this greatly increased the panic of the fugitives and that it was with difficulty that he could restrain them from murdering the Indian prisoners.

The following letter was written at Fort Bedford on June 30:

"This morning a party of the enemy attacked fifteen persons who were mowing in Mr. Croghan's field, within a mile of the garrison; and news is brought in of two men being killed.—Eight o'clock, Two men are brought in, alive, tomahawked and scalped more than half the head over.—Our parade just now presents a scene of blood and savage cruelty; three men, lying scalped (two of them still alive) lying thereon. Anything

feigned in the most fabulous Romance, cannot parallel the horrid Sight now before me; the Gashes the poor People bear are most terrifying.—Ten o'clock. They are just expired—One of them, after being tomahawked and scalped, ran a little way, and got on a Loft in Mr. Croghan's House, where he lay until found by a party of Garrison." (Pennsylvania Gazette No. 1802.)

The Storm Sweeps Over the Mountains

The storm which broke in the valleys of the Ohio and Allegheny and the region to the westward, swept over the Allegheny Mountains eastward past Fort Ligonier and Fort Bedford into the valleys beyond—the Tuscarora Valley, the Cumberland Valley, the Juniata Valley and Sherman's Valley. No pen can describe its horrors. From the beautiful and fertile valleys, rose the smoke of burning settlements. Mutilated bodies of slain settlers were devoured by hogs and wild beasts. Hundreds of families fled in terror to Shippensburg, Carlisle, the extreme eastern settlements and Philadelphia, with the war-whoop of the Indians ringing in their ears. Colonel Bouquet, on his march to the relief of the western forts, saw the horrors of this bloody invasion. This memorable march will be described in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XII

Col. Bouquet Relieves Forts Ligonier and Pitt—Battle of Bushy Run

From early in 1760 until about December 1, 1762, Colonel Henry Bouquet's headquarters were at Fort Pitt. Early in December he arrived at Philadelphia, leaving Captain Simon Ecuyer in command at Fort Pitt and Lieutenant Archibald Blane in command at Fort Ligonier. Bouquet was still in Philadelphia, with a remnant of his Royal Americans when Pontiac's forces entered the valleys of the Allegheny and Ohio in the spring of 1763. Receiving alarming reports from Captain Ecuyer, Bouquet immediately sent them to the commander-in-chief, General Jeffrey Amherst, then in New York, and asked for reinforcements. Amherst then sent his two companies of the Forty-second ("Black Watch" Highlanders) and Seventy-seventh (Montgomery's Highlanders) Regiments, consisting of two hundred and fourteen officers and men, directed him, if he thought it necessary, to proceed to Fort Pitt. The incompetent commander-in-chief, who suggested to Bouquet the enlisting of small-pox under the banner of England, did not realize the seriousness of the situation. Like General Braddock, he underestimated the Indian as a warrior. He wrote Bouquet: "The post of Fort Pitt, or any of the others commanded by officers, can certainly never be in danger from such a wretched enemy."

But Colonel Bouquet, with superior discernment, realized the seriousness of the situation. It was fortunate for the British Colonies in America that, in Colonel

Bouquet, there was a commander who made up for the deficiencies of the commander-in-chief. Bouquet wished to abandon small posts like Fort Venango and Fort LeBoeuf, and then concentrate at Fort Presqu' Isle and Fort Pitt; but Amherst would not give his consent to this plan, which, if it had been carried out promptly, would no doubt have saved many lives. The Colonel had only a remnant of his Royal Americans at this time, the rest being engaged in garrisoning the frontier posts. Upon more alarming reports from Colonel Bouquet, General Amherst ordered the two remaining companies of the Forty-second and Seventy-seventh Regiments, consisting of one hundred and thirty-three officers and men, to join him. the march to begin June 23rd, under Major Campbell of the Forty-second Regiment. Two days later Amherst wrote Bouquet: "All the troops from hence that could be collected are sent you; so that should the whole race of Indians take up arms against us, I can do no more."

Colonel Bouquet hastened from Philadelphia to Carlisle, arriving there, as stated in a former Chapter, about the 1st of July. His little army consisted of the Highlanders, above named, several companies of his Royal Americans, a detachment of Rangers from Lancaster and Cumberland Counties and about thirty experienced woodsmen. The woodsmen did not join him, however, until he arrived at Bedford. In all, his force was only about five hundred men. The Highlanders of the Seventy-seventh Regiment had just returned from the West Indies, where they had suffered greatly on account of the unhealthful climate, and were fit only for garrison duty. Bouquet's most effective troops were the handful of Royal Americans and the Highlanders of the Forty-second Regiment.

When he arrived at Carlisle, Colonel Bouquet found

that nothing had been done to carry out the orders to prepare a convoy of flour and other provisions for the western forts. Terror and consternation reigned supreme. Fort Lowther and every house, barn and hovel in the town were crowded with refugees. Settlers from the mountain valleys were streaming into the town with hearts full of anguish. The excitement and terror were increased on July 3, when Captain Ourry's messenger arrived at Bouquet's camp with the news: "Presqu' Isle, LeBoeuf and Venango are taken, and the Indians will be here soon." Bouquet was anxious to get away. Not an hour was to be lost. Yet he was delayed for eighteen days for want of wagons and other supplies, "which the very people who were in terror of the Indians, refused to furnish him." The starving refugees, gathering around the tent of the humane commander, solicited relief, and were fed by him. Thus, instead of getting help at Carlisle, Bouquet had to give help. In the meantime, anxious for the safety of Fort Ligonier, Bouquet sent to its relief the thirty Highlanders mentioned in Chapter XI. In the meantime, also, recourse was had to settlements farther to the eastward for wagons, pack horses and other supplies. Then Bouquet was ready to start with his little army on the march of two hundred miles over the mountains and through the forests.

Bouquet Describes Scenes of Horror

From Carlisle, Colonel Bouquet wrote Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, on July 13, as follows:

"The accounts of the Murders committed by the Savages in this unfortunate County will be transmitted to you by so many Persons that I need not be very particular. The List of the People known to be killed from 40 to within 16 miles of this Town, amounted last

Night to 19 besides wounded, and increases very fast every hour. The desolation of so many Families reduced to the last extremities of want and misery; the despair of those who have lost their parents, relations and Friends, with the cries of distracted women and children who fill the streets, form a scene of horror painful to humanity and impossible to describe. Mr. Galbreth sent me here yesterday two Indians, two squaws and four children, who had been taken prisoners in one of the islands of the Susquehanna where they raised corn, by some young men living near that River. One is Conaway Sam, a Cayuga and a peaceable man, the other a Mohikander, equally inoffensive. It was with the utmost difficulty that I could prevail with the enraged Multitude not to massacre them, and I don't think them very safe in the Gaol. They cannot be released, as they would be torn to pieces by our People, or forced to join the enemy; but they ought to be removed to Philadelphia as soon as convenient. The whole country to the west of this place is already abandoned with the Harvest, Cattle and Horses, and this Town suddenly become the Frontier on that side."

Not only Carlisle, but Shippensburg also, was filled with men, women and children, who had fled from their homes in the mountain valleys to escape the tomahawk, rifle and scalping knife of the Indian invaders. At Shippensburg, on July 25, there were 1,384 refugees, of whom 301 were men, 345 were women, and 738 were children—husbands bewailing their murdered wives, wives bewailing their murdered husbands, parents bewailing their murdered children, children bewailing their murdered parents.

Parkman has pictured with a master hand the scenes at Carlisle and Shippensburg at this time. He has described these awful conditions as no other writer has

succeeded in describing them. He could truthfully have added that they were the bitter fruits of broken promises and broken treaties.

The March From Carlisle to Fort Ligonier

As Colonel Bouquet's forces, 460 rank and file, moved out of Carlisle, on July 18, sixty of the Highlanders were so weak and sick from West Indian exposure that they were unable to walk and had to be carried in wagons. As the inhabitants looked upon these sick and emaciated veterans, their hearts were filled with the gloomiest forebodings. "In truth," says Parkman, "the adventure would have seemed desperate to any but the manliest heart. In front lay a vast wilderness, terrible alike from its own stern features and the ferocious enemy who haunted its recesses. Among these forests lay the bones of Braddock and the hundreds who fell with him. The number of slain on that bloody day exceeded the whole force of Bouquet, while the strength of the assailants was far inferior to that of the swarms who now infested these woods."

Passing many scattered cabins in the Cumberland Valley, deserted by their owners or burned by the Indians, the heroic little army came to Shippensburg, crowded with almost fourteen hundred terrified and starving refugees. Thence passing Fort Loudon on the declivities of Cove Mountain, the army came to Fort Littleton and the post at Juniata Crossing, the latter two abandoned by their garrisons. From Juniata Crossing, the army marched to Fort Bedford, arriving at this place on July 25, to the infinite relief of Captain Ourry, the garrison and the settlers who had fled from their mountain homes to this fort for refuge. Here Bouquet remained for three days in

order to rest the men and horses. Here, also, the thirty woodsmen joined his forces, and an equal number was left by Bouquet to reinforce the garrison. While at this fort, Bouquet heard the detailed account of the scourge of blood and fire and death which swept through the mountain valleys in its vicinity. Captain Ourry told him that no news had reached him from the forts to the westward for several weeks. Every messenger had been killed. All communication was cut off. The last news from Fort Pitt was that the place was surrounded by the enemy.

On July 28, Bouquet's force left Fort Bedford, following the Forbes Road, and started through the mountain wilderness towards Fort Ligonier, fifty miles away. Scouts and rangers were sent far ahead and far on the flanks; woodsmen led the advance and protected the rear; the wagons and the drove of cattle were in the center of the column, many of the wagons carrying Highlanders too sick to walk. Through the summer heat, the tired army toiled over the Allegheny Mountain, then over the Laurel Hill Mountain into the Ligonier Valley, arriving at Fort Ligonier on August 2. The Indians fled from the fort upon the approach of the army. Lieutenant Blane, the commander of the post, could give Colonel Bouquet no information whatever as to the situation at Fort Pitt, fifty miles to the westward, as he had been besieged for weeks, and the messengers sent from Captain Ecuyer had not been able to get through.

We have seen the condition of the garrison of Fort Ligonier during the warm July days when Bouquet was hastening to the relief of this post and Fort Pitt. Cooped up in the fort, besieged by the Indians, with no word from the outside world for long, weary days, it certainly was with transports of joy that they saw

the red coats emerging from the laurel bushes as they came down the slope from Laurel Hill.

Bouquet had not idea of where the Indians who fled at his approach, had gone. Both their absence and the secrecy of their movements were ominous. The fact, also, that no word from Fort Pitt had reached Fort Ligonier for weeks, also gave Bouquet much concern. This want of intelligence, he afterward said, "is often a very embarrassing circumstance in the conduct of a campaign in America." Well did he know that, although the Indians had left the immediate vicinity of the fort, their keen eyes were watching every movement his little army made. But he had personal knowledge of the entire road from Fort Bedford to Fort Pitt. It was under his supervision that this road was cut and Fort Ligonier erected.

Battle of Bushy Run

Bouquet decided to leave 30 men to reinforce the garrison, all his wagons, which were the heaviest part of his convoy, and nearly all the cattle, at Fort Ligonier, and then press forward rapidly, taking with him three hundred and fifty pack horses and a few cattle, the horses carrying the flour. The march was resumed on August 4, and that night they encamped a few miles west of Fort Ligonier, expecting to march rapidly the next day as far as the deserted block house of Andrew Byerly, called Byerly's Station at Bushy Run, a short distance from the present Harrison City, Westmoreland County. Byerly, it will be remembered, had fled with his family to Fort Ligonier, about June 1. He joined Bouquet's forces at Fort Ligonier, and now, at the head of eighteen Royal Americans led the advance. Byerly's Station was not on the Forbes Road, but on the Indian Trail, which led through the narrows



UPPER—View of the ravine through which Colonel Bouquet made the successful swinging movement of his troops at the battle of Bushy Run. At the head of the ravine was the spring from which Andrew Byerly (Bauerle) carried water for Bouquet's wounded and dying. (Pages 443 and 446.)

LOWER—View of the Brush Creek Lutheran and Reformed Church, a few miles from the battle field of Bushy Run, erected 1816 to 1820 and standing in the heart of the Brush Creek Settlement founded by Andrew Byerly (Bauerle) in 1759.



of Turtle Creek to Fort Pitt. As stated in Chapter II, the Forbes Road cut off to the northwest a few miles east of Bushy Run, near the present Detar's School House; and, therefore, the battle about to be described did not take place on the Forbes Road. It was Colonel Bouquet's intention to reach Bushy Run on the afternoon of August 5, rest there until night-fall, and then pass through the narrows of Turtle Creek in the darkness, when, he hoped, the dangerous defiles would not be guarded by the Indians.

At an early hour on the morning of August 5, the march was resumed over the hills and through the dense forests in the heat of midsummer. At a little after twelve o'clock, the army had marched seventeen miles and Bouquet's guides assured him the proposed camping place at Bushy Run was only about half a mile away. The tired soldiers now quickened their pace in anticipation of an afternoon's rest before entering the dangerous defiles of Turtle Creek. Suddenly the sharp report of rifles was heard in the front, sending a thrill along the entire ranks. The fire quickened, and blood-curdling war-whoops of hundreds of Indians rang through the forest shades. The terrible battle of Bushy Run now was on—the most bitterly contested battle between the Indian and the white man on the American Continent. The two foremost companies were sent foreward to support the advance. The fire grew more rapid and furious, plainly indicating the presence of a large body of Indians. The convoy was halted, and a general charge made with fixed bayonets. The assailants were driven from the heights in front. Soon, however, they attacked Bouquet's flanks and rear, and it was instantly necessary to fall back to protect the rear and convoy.

Finally Colonel Bouquet was forced to take position

on a hill to the right of the road. Here the troops formed a circle around the terrified horses, and formed a barricade of sacks of flour to protect the wounded and the convoy. Time after time, the assailants rushed up with frightful yells, and endeavored to break through the barricade. They were repulsed every time, by the troops expanding the circle and charging into the forest. No sooner were the Indians driven from one point, however, until they appeared at another with their fury unabated. Protected by the trees and brush of the forest which fringed the hilltop, they suffered little; but Bouquet's gallant troops suffered severely. Thus the battle went on during the remainder of the day until night settled down over the forest. The little army had by this time lost sixty in killed and wounded. It was impossible for Colonel Bouquet to change his ground in the presence of so powerful an enemy. Fearing a night attack, he posted his sentinels, and the men lay down on their arms, but not to sleep. The summer night was oppressively warm, and Bouquet's soldiers, especially the wounded, suffered great agonies of thirst. Andrew Byerly, at imminent risk of his life, stole silently through the line to a spring on the hillside, and carried water in his hat for the wounded and dying. No pen can describe the anguish of Bouquet's soldiers during that terrible night, surrounded in the wilderness by a powerful and blood-thirsty enemy waiting for the dawn, and with visions of the horrors of Braddock's defeat ever present in their minds. The camp was in darkness, and throughout the night an occasional wild whoop from the gloom of the forest told with what eagerness the assailants waited for the vengeance of the coming day. The mind of the heroic commander was filled with gloomy forebodings, as the following

letter which he wrote to General Amherst that night, describing the events of the day, plainly indicates:

“Camp at Edge Hill,

26 Miles From Fort Pitt, 5th Aug., 1763.

“I intended to have halted to-day at Bushy run, (a mile beyond this camp), and after having refreshed the men and horses, to have marched in the night over Turtle Creek, a very dangerous defile of several miles, commanded by high and rugged hills; but at one o'clock this afternoon, after a march of seventeen miles, the savages suddenly attacked our advance guard, which was immediately supported by the two Light Infantry companies of the 42d regiment, who drove the enemy from their ambuscade and pursued them a good way. The savages returned to the attack, and the fire being obstinate on our front and extending along our flanks, we made a general charge, with the whole line to dislodge the savages from the heights, in which attempt we succeeded, without by it obtaining any decisive advantage, for as soon as they were driven from one post, they appeared on another, till, by continued reinforcements, they were at last able to surround us and attacked the convoy left in our rear; this obliged us to march back to protect it. The action then became general, and though we were attacked on every side, and the savages exerted themselves with uncommon resolution, they were constantly repulsed with loss; we also suffered considerably. Capt. Lieut. Graham and Lieut. James McIntosh of the 42d, are killed, and Capt. Graham wounded. Of the Royal Americans Regt., Lieut. Dow, who acted as A. G. Q. M. Q., is shot through the body. Of the 77th, Lieut. Donald Campbell and Mr. Peebles, a volunteer, are wounded. Our

loss in men including rangers and drivers, exceeds sixty killed and wounded.

"The action has lasted from one o'clock till night, and we expect to begin at daybreak.

"Whatever our fate may be, I thought it necessary to give your Excellency this early information, that you may at all events take such measures as you think proper with the Provinces, for their own safety, and the effectual relief of Fort Pitt, as in case of another engagement, I fear unsurmountable difficulties in protecting and transporting our provisions, being already so much weakened by the losses of this day in men and horses, besides the additional necessity of carrying the wounded whose situation is truly deplorable.

"I can not sufficiently acknowledge the assistance I have received from Major Campbell during this long action, nor express my admiration of the cool and steady behavior of the troops, who did not fire a shot without orders, and drove the enemy from their posts with fixed bayonets. The conduct of the officers is much above my praises."

When the first streaks of dawn floated over the verdant, forest-covered hills of Westmoreland, the terrible yells of the Indians once more rang through the forest around Bouquet's camp. Presently the assailants opened a fire on Bouquet's men from every side, leveling their rifles with deadly aim under cover of the trees and bushes. Like on the previous day, they tried to break through the barricade around the wounded and convoy. Again and again they were driven back by the troops expanding the circle and pursuing them, with fixed bayonets, into the forest. Many of the horses, maddened by the terrible din, broke away and dashed into the forest. The Indians were becoming bolder and more confident of victory; while Bouquet's

troops, wearied by the march and battle of the preceding day and their sleepless night, and almost maddened by thirst, were weakening under the terrible strain, but still maintained an unbroken ring around the wounded and the convoy. It was now about ten o'clock. Many of Bouquet's best men had fallen since the renewal of the battle at dawn, without his having been able to inflict any telling injury on the enemy. Happily, the alert mind of the commander then conceived a plan to bring a large part of the assailants together and deliver them a telling blow. This masterly stratagem and its effect are clearly described in the following letter which the Colonel wrote General Amherst that same day, after the Indians had been defeated and his forces had encamped at Bushy Run:

“Camp at Bushy Run, 6th Aug., 1763.

“Sir: I had the honor to inform your Excellency in my letter of yesterday of our first engagement with the savages.

“We took the post last night on the hill where our convoy halted, where the front was attacked, (a commodious piece of ground and just spacious enough for our purpose). There we encircled the whole and covered our wounded with flour bags.

“In the morning the savages surrounded our camp, at the distance of 500 yards, and by shouting and yelping, quite round that extensive circumference, thought to have terrified us with their numbers. They attacked us early, and under favor of incessant fire, made several bold efforts to penetrate our camp, and though they failed in that attempt, our situation was not the less perplexing, having experienced that brisk attacks had little effect upon an enemy who always gave way when

pressed and appeared again immediately. Our troops were, besides, extremely fatigued with the long march and as long action of the preceeding day, and distressed to the last degree, by a total want of water, much more intolerable than the enemy's fire.

"Tied to our convoy, we could not lose sight of it without exposing it and our wounded to fall prey to the savages, who pressed upon us, on every side, and to move it was impracticable, having lost many horses, and most of the drivers, stupefied by fear, hid themselves in the bushes or were incapable of hearing or obeying orders. The savages growing every moment more audacious, it was thought proper still to increase their confidence by that means, if possible, to entice them to come close upon us or to stand their ground when attacked. With this view, two companies of Light Infantry were ordered within the circle, and the troops on their right and left opened their files and filled up the space, that it might seem they were intended to cover the retreat. The Third Light Infantry Company and the Grenadiers of the 42d were ordered to support the first two companies. This manoeuvre succeeded to our wish, for the few troops who took possession of the ground lately occupied by the two Light Infantry companies being brought in nearer to the centre of the circle, the barbarians mistaking these motions for a retreat, hurried headlong on, and advancing upon us, with the most daring intrepidity, galled us excessively with their heavy fire; but at the very moment that they felt certain of success and thought themselves masters of the camp, Major Campbell, at the head of the first companies, sallied out from a part of the hill they could not observe and fell upon their right flank. They resolutely returned the fire, but could not stand the irresistible shock of our men, who, rushing in among them,

killed many of them and put the rest to flight. The orders sent to the other two companies were delivered so timely by Captain Bassett, and executed with such celerity and spirit, that the routed savages who happened that moment to run before their front, received the full fire when uncovered by the trees. The four companies did not give them time to load a second time, or even to look behind, but pursued them until they totally dispersed. The left of the savages, which had not been attacked, were kept in awe by the remains of our troops posted on the brow of the hill for that purpose; nor durst they attempt to support or assist their right, but being witness of their defeat, followed their example and fled. Our brave men disdained so much as to touch the dead body of a vanquished enemy that scarce a scalp was taken except by the rangers and pack-horse drivers.

“The wood being now cleared and the pursuit over, the four companies took possession of a hill in our front, and as soon as litters could be made for the wounded, and the flour and everything destroyed, which, for want of horses, could not be carried, we marched without molestation to this camp. After the severe correction we had given the savages a few hours before, it was natural to suppose we should enjoy some rest, but we had hardly fixed our camp when they fired upon us again. This was very provoking; however, the Light Infantry dispersed them before they could receive orders for that purpose. I hope we shall be no more disturbed for, if we have another action, we shall hardly be able to carry our wounded.

“The behavior of the troops on this occasion speaks for itself so strongly, that for me to attempt their eulogium would but detract from their merit.”

Colonel Bouquet made the following report of the killed, wounded and missing in the battle:

“Forty-second, or Royal Highlanders—One Captain, one lieutenant, one sergeant, one corporal, twenty-five privates, killed; one captain, one lieutenant, two sergeants, three corporals, one drummer, twenty-seven privates, wounded.

Sixtieth, or Royal Americans—One corporal, six privates, killed; one lieutenant, four privates, wounded.

Seventy-seventh, or Montgomery’s Highlanders—One drummer, five Privates killed; one lieutenant, one volunteer, three sergeants, seven privates wounded.

Volunteers, rangers and pack-horse men—One lieutenant, seven privates killed; eight privates, wounded; five privates, missing.

Names of Officers

Forty-second regiment [“Black Watch” Royal Highlanders] — Captain-lieutenant John Graham, Lieutenant McIntosh and Lieutenant Joseph Randal, of the rangers killed.

Forty-second regiment [“Black Watch” Royal Highlanders]—Captain John Graham and Lieutenant Duncan Campbell, wounded.

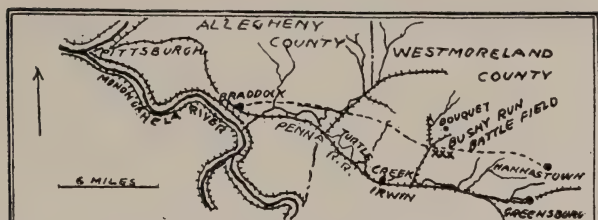
Sixtieth regiment [Royal Americans]—Lieutenant James Dow, wounded.

Seventy-seventh regiment—[“Montgomery’s Highlanders]—Lieutenant Donald Campbell and Volunteer Mr. Peebles, wounded.”

Total—fifty killed, sixty wounded, five missing.

(See “Frontier Forts of Penna.,” Vol. 2 pages 530 to 534, for Colonel Bouquet’s letters and list of the killed, wounded and missing.)

After burying the dead on the hilltop near which the advance guard was first attacked and after making lit-



PLAN OF THE BATTLE NEAR BUSHY RUN
GAINED BY COLONEL BOUQUET OVER THE
DELAWARES, SHAWNESE, MINGOES, WYANDOTS,
MOHIMONS, MIAMIES AND OTTAWAS.
ON THE 5TH AND 6TH OF AUG. 1763.
SURVEYED BY THOS. HUTCHINS ASS'T, ENG'R.



Plan of the battle of Bushy Run, near Harrison City, Westmoreland County, Pa., where Colonel Henry Bouquet, on August 5th and 6th, 1763, defeated the Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots, Miamis, Mohicans, Mingoes and Ottawas in the most bitterly contested battle between the Indians and the white men on the American Continent.

ters for the wounded, the army moved, late in the afternoon, less than a mile, to Bushy Run. Much of the flour and other supplies had to be destroyed, as the killing of many horses and the flight of others made it impossible to carry these supplies further. After resting at the camp at Bushy Run during the night of August 6, the army proceeded slowly to Fort Pitt, reaching that place on August 10, to the great joy of the garrison and the people who had fled to the fort for refuge. Fort Pitt had been surrounded by the Indians for two months, until they left, on August 1, to attack the troops of Colonel Bouquet.

On August 5, according to the journal of one of the officers at Fort Pitt, "three expresses came in from Colonel Bouquet whom they left with the troops at Ligonier. These expresses report that they heard at Small's plantation at Turtle Creek, about 18 miles from here, a great deal of cheering, shooting, bells and some Indians. We imagine they are gathering to attack the Colonel, and at nine o'clock two expresses were despatched to meet the Colonel." On August 6 and 7, the same journal contains the entry: "Nothing extraordinary but the troops are not arriving according to expectation, which makes fear that they have been attacked on the march." There is no entry in this journal for August 8, but the following for August 9: "Everything quiet, no word of the troops. These entries give one a conception of the anxiety at Fort Pitt, due to lack of information as to the situation of Bouquet's troops. Then, on August 10, there is this entry: "At break of day in the morning, Miller who was sent by express the 5th with two others came in from Colonel Bouquet, whom he left at Nine Mile Run. He brings an account that the Indians engaged our troops for two days; that our people beat them off. About ten

o'clock a detachment under the command of Captain Phillips was marched to meet the troops and returned about two o'clock, having joined the Colonel at Bullets Hill."

Colonel Bouquet received the congratulation of the whole country and a formal letter of thanks from the King of England for the brilliant success of his campaign and the saving of Fort Pitt. The defeat he administered to the Indians at the battle of Bushy Run was the first victory over the warriors of Pontiac and Guyasuta that the British arms had won in the southern district, composed of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and Carolinas.

The site of the battle of Bushy Run is about a mile east of Harrison City, in the western part of Westmoreland County. The site has been purchased by the Bouquet Memorial Association, as a memorial park.

The leader of the Indians at the battle of Bushy Run—a force at least equal to that of Bouquet—was likely Guyasuta. If he was not their leader, it is possible that Shingas or Custaloga was. They were composed of Delawares, Shawnees, Mingoes, Mohicans, Wyandots, Miamis or Twightwees, and Ottawas. They left fifty of their number dead in the forest, among whom were many prominent chiefs, some of whom had derisively taunted Bouquet's troops in broken English during the battle. At least sixty of the Indians were wounded, many of them mortally.

The Delawares and the Shawnees, after this battle, smarting under their first real defeat, left their villages on the Allegheny, the Ohio and the Beaver, and retreated to the Muskingum and Tuscarawas. From these western villages, they continued to make raids into the Pennsylvania settlements, from time to time, until Colonel Bouquet led his expedition into their western

stronghold in the autumn of 1764. Says Parkmen, commenting on the effects of the battle of Bushy Run.

“In many an Indian village, the women cut away their hair, gashed their limbs with knives, and uttered their dismal howlings of lamentation for the fallen. Yet though surprised and dispirited, the rage of the Indians was too deep to be quenched, even by so signal a reverse, and their outrages upon the frontier were resumed with unabated ferocity. Fort Pitt, however, was effectually relieved, while the moral effect of the victory enabled the frontier settlers to encounter the enemy with a spirit which would have been wanting, had Bouquet sustained a defeat.”

Inasmuch as Colonel Bouquet did not have a sufficient force to penetrate the Indian country, he was unable to advance beyond Fort Pitt. He therefore restrained his operations against the Indians and devoted his attention to supplying Fort Ligonier and the other forts along the line of communication with provisions, ammunition and other necessities, garrisoning them with his men, and protecting them against surprise, until the following year (1764), when, with new forces, he penetrated the Indian country as far as the Tuscarawas and Muskingum, as will be seen in Chapter XIII.

Side Lights on the Battle

Colonel Bouquet said that his head was never clearer than it was during the Battle of Bushy Run. We have already quoted him as to the bravery of his troops in this battle. But in a letter to Lieutenant James McDonald, written at Fort Pitt on August 28, he further praises them, as follows: “The Highlanders are the bravest men I ever saw, and their behaviour in that obstinate affair does them the highest honor.” In this same letter, he also praises the bravery of the Indians,

saying: "Indeed, they fought with the greatest bravery and resolution for two days." We have already noticed what he said about the taking of scalps; and we call attention to the fact that there is a tradition that one Indian prisoner was captured by a Highlander, who was taking him to Bouquet when a soldier, likely a woodsman, shot him through the head. After the battle, the Indians were pursued for almost two miles, and on the morning of August 10, the whole body of Indian survivors passed Fort Pitt yelling and brandishing scalps.

The hill on which the dead were buried is immediately to the west of the site of the battle. The exhausted condition of the survivors of Bouquet's forces is seen in the fact that it took Bouquet four days to march the twenty-five miles to Fort Pitt.

Rev. Cyrus Cort, in his volume on Bouquet and Bushy Run, says that the Delaware chief Kekeucuscung (Kittiuskund) was one of the leaders of the Indians in this battle. We met this chief during Christian Frederick Post's councils with the Delawares at Kuskuskies, in November, 1758. We have also seen that he was one of the band that killed Colonel William Clapham and his family, in the latter part of May, 1763. At the battle of Bushy Run, he is said to have led many of the boldest assaults against Bouquet's jaded troops, and standing behind a tree, bellowed vulgar threats in broken English during the terrible night of August 5 and 6. Tradition says that he was killed in the decisive bayonet charge of August 6.

It is quite probable, as pointed out earlier in this chapter, that Guyasuta was the chief leader of the Indians in this bloody battle. He had charge of the operations around Fort Pitt, while Pontiac, the master mind, confined his activities to Detroit.

Old residents of that part of Penn Township in

which the battle took place, say that when they were children, they were given many tomahawks and arrow heads which had been found on the Gongaware and Wanamaker farms where Bouquet's troops and the Indians fought to the death. Also, about 1828, a man named Moore plowed up the barrel of a gun on the battlefield. It remained the property of the Moore family for more than fifty years, when it came into the possession of the late J. Howard Patton, of Greensburg, who had it remounted. It is now the property of his son, Howard C. Patton, also of Greensburg. This relic of the famous battle has the flint lock then in use.

Bushy Run is a branch of Brush Creek, which flows into Turtle Creek. The valleys of these streams were the scene of many murders of settlers by the Indians long years after Bouquet's battle gave Bushy Run an imperishable name in the eternal pages of history.

As the historical pilgrim roams over the battlefield of Bushy Run the past rises before him as a dream and the events of that pivotal battle pass before him as a panorama. The attack on Bouquet's advance; the retreat to protect the convoy; the forming of the circular rampart of sacks of flour; the determined charges of Guyasuta's warriors against this rampart; the shrieks of the Indians; the moans of the wounded; the whistle of bullets; the expanding of the circle and the driving of the Indians back into the forest, only to have them return with unabated fury; the blazing sun and terrific heat of that August day; the agony of the wounded, wild with thirst, during that night of horror; Andrew Byerly stealing silently and stealthily through the gloom from the spring on the hillside with water for the wounded and the dying; the return of the shrieking Indians in the early dawn; the increasing fatigue of Bouquet's troops and the increasing boldness and con-

fidence of the Indians; the wounded pack horses maddened by pain and fright, dashing through the forest and adding to the pandemonium; the master stratagem of Boquet, in which the steep incline, almost a precipice, to the east, fits in with the plans of his fertile brain; the sallying forth of his troops from the shadow of Edge Hill; the utter rout of the Indians, caught between two fires; the burying of the dead on the hill top, and the weary march to Fort Pitt—such is the panorama.

The Indian Fought for Principles

Let us not lose sight of the fact that the Indian fought for principles at Bushy Run. Let us not lose sight of the fact that Pontiac's War, or the Pontiac and GUYASUTA War, as it is often called, was caused, like every other Indian War in American history, by the white man's breaking of treaties and agreements with the Indians. Most writers of Indian history do not accurately set forth the Indian's side of the story. Like Parkman, they speak of the "dissimulation" of the Indian, when, as a matter of fact the real "dissimulation" was not on the part of the Indian, but on the part of the white man. Like Parkman, they speak of Pontiac's War as a "conspiracy," as if it were a "conspiracy" for the Indian to insist that the white man live up to his promises, treaties and agreements—as if it were a "conspiracy" for the Indian to resist the invasion of his own country, acknowledged to be his in the treaties, promises and agreements of the white man. Most writers of Indian history find easy to vilify the Indian, easy to call him a savage, but not so easy to *set forth all the facts in the case*. A fine example of correct historical writing is the following statement in Dr. George P. Donehoo's "Pennsylvania—A History:"

“The Indian has never fought for anything which did not belong to him, and he never fought for a principle, unless that principle was upheld by a treaty or agreement with the white man. The Indian has been charged with being at peace today and on the war path tomorrow. This is not true. The white man made promises with the Indian today and forgot them tomorrow, and then blamed the Indian because he also would not forget.”

CHAPTER XIII

Fort Ligonier from 1763 to 1774— Further View of Early West- moreland Settlements

When the news of the battle of Bushy Run reached Lieutenant Blane at Fort Ligonier, he hastened to write Colonel Bouquet, congratulating him on his great victory. A correspondence between the two lasted until Bouquet left Fort Pitt, in January, 1764, and returned to the east. Like a voice from the past, these letters tell of the conditions at Fort Ligonier in the days following the life-and-death struggle at Bushy Run. We shall quote a few in this chapter. On August 18, 1763, Lieutenant Blane wrote Colonel Bouquet:

“When you passed this, I found you so much hurry’d that I judged it needless to speak to you about the distress of the Inhabitants that have been detained by me for the preservation of this Post.

“At the beginning of the war, all the Inhabitants wanted very much to carry down their families and effects, but as I was not in a situation to defend the Post, I found it necessary to detain them when they represented to me that by keeping them, they would lose everything they brought up with them and all they had in the World.

“What they then dreaded has turned out to be true. I have therefore to beg you would represent their situation to the General that the poor people may not be ruined by my detaining them here.

“There was likewise a number of Pack Horse men detained at the same time and for the same reason,

whose Horses were carried off by the Indians, which I had got all appraised that no doubt might arise about their Value and numbers. I should be glad to know what I am to do with the owners, as they expect Certificates from me and payment for those Horses they had lost."

Colonel Bouquet, on September 15, wrote from Fort Pitt the following letter to Lieutenant Blane, in which he replies to several letters of the latter:

"I received the 10th instant your letters of the fifth, eighth and ninth, with the return of Ligonier. The King's company observes that you have not given credit for some barrels of flour and a strayed ox, which will of course increase the loss of your stores. However, considering all the circumstances, it will be found very moderate. The garrison must supply themselves with firewood in the best manner they can, as the General does not make any allowance for that article; you might have the trees cut now and hauled in when you have horses, as I find it a saving not to cut it small in the woods.

"Can the inhabitants of Ligonier imagine that the King will pay for their houses destroyed for the defense of the fort? At that rate he must pay likewise for two or three hundred pulled down at this post [Fort Pitt], which would be absurd, as those people had only the use and not the property of them, having never been permitted either to sell or rent them, but obliged to deliver them to the King whenever they left them.

"As to their furniture, it is their fault if they have lost it. They might have brought it in or near the fort.

"What cattle has been used for the garrison will of course be paid for, but what has been killed or taken by the enemy I see nothing left to them but to petition

the General to take their case into consideration. I am very sorry for their misfortune, and would assist them if I had it in my power, but it is really not."

Then, on September 17, Blane wrote Bouquet, giving another picture of condition then prevailing at Fort Ligonier:

"I must beg leave to put you once more in mind of Blankets &c for the Garrison, as well as some Salt, Nails and Chaulk which are all absolutely needful here. I must likewise beg leave to recommend to your particular attention the situation of the Sick Soldiers here; as there is neither Surgeon or Medicine here, it would really be charity to order them up to Fort Pitt.

"I must also beg leave to ask what you intend to do with the poor, starved Militia who have neither Shirts, Shoes or anything else, nor are they to be got here. I am sorry you can do nothing for the poor Inhabitants."

Blane got some of the supplies he so sorely needed; for, on November 5, he wrote Bouquet:

"I have received 72 blankets, most of which are so much eat and cut, but all the care possible shall be taken of them. Captain Ourry left me four horses, two of which won't haul a bit; therefore I shall only feed those that work and change the others with the command. I have already finished a Guard house with a chimney and fitted up one Barrack for 36 to 40 Men upon a pinch, and tomorrow night expect to have a stone chimney finished in another Barrack for 18. In short, I hope to fit up Barracks in the fort for 3 officers and 70 men, and should a greater Garrison be needful, 30 or 40 men will have good accommodations in the Barrack before the upper gate, which is an excellent log house and a very good place for the sick."

In another letter, Lieutenant Blane complained to

his Colonel that he was "heartily tired of this post." Then, on November 24, he wrote more strongly along this line, as follows: "I intend going home by the first opportunity, being pretty much tired of the service that's so little worth any man's time; and the more so, as I cannot but think that I have been particularly unlucky in it." The heart of this energetic officer who had been at Fort Ligonier since the days of the Forbes campaign, was growing weary of soldiering in the wilderness.

In order to furnish convoys for provisions and supplies coming over the mountains to Fort Ligonier and Fort Pitt, it was necessary for Colonel Bouquet to organize a provisional militia company from among the traders and other borderers who had taken refuge at the latter post. This company, commanded by Captain Ecuyer, was sent to Fort Bedford. It was a very ill-behaved force, and gave Ecuyer much trouble. Letters from Captain Ecuyer and Captain John Stewart, written from Fort Bedford and Fort Ligonier, clearly show this. A letter written by Captain Ecuyer at Fort Bedford, on November 13, 1763, states that Captain Stewart's rear guard had been attacked by Indians, and the whole escort had returned to camp at midnight; that he was obliged to flog two of the militia, one for trying to shoot the sergeant and the other for trying to shoot Ecuyer himself. Ecuyer says that he has been twenty-two years in the service, and has never seen such a troop of thieves and bandits. Then he adds: "*Au nom d'Dieu laissez-moi aller planter de choux; c'est dans votre pouvoir, monsieur, et j'en aurai une reconnaissance eternelle.*" (In the name of God let me go home and plant cabbages. It is in your power to let me go, and I will be eternally grateful for it.)

*Colonel Bouquet Again at Fort Ligonier—
His Expedition of 1764*

Despairing of being able to accomplish anything with these provisional militia, "scum and mutineers of the first order," and also despairing of aid from the colonies, Colonel Bouquet obtained leave to go east and undertake the work of raising enough troops to invade the region west of Fort Pitt.

Bouquet made the preparations for his invasion of the Indian country west of Fort Pitt with his wonted energy and zeal. Finally, on August 5, 1764, Bouquet's forces—parts of the Forty-second and Sixtieth Regiments and the Pennsylvania troops—assembled at Carlisle, Virginia having pleaded inability to raise the troops required of that colony. On August 10, the army marched from Carlisle, and arrived at Fort Loudon, on August 13. Bouquet was detained at Fort Loudon for some time. Here he received a message from Colonel Bradstreet, dated at Presqu' Isle on August 14, acquainting him with the fact that he (Bradstreet) had concluded a peace with the Delawares and Shawnees, whose chiefs and also Guyasuta met him at that place. Bouquet, however, paid no attention to Colonel Bradstreet's unwarranted action, believing the Delawares and Shawnees were not sincere in their intentions, since their raids were continuing. Here, also, he appealed to the Governor of Virginia to raise the quota from that colony, which was later done, and the Virginia troops arrived at Fort Pitt late in September. In spite of the strictest discipline, about two hundred of the Pennsylvania troops deserted by the time the army reached Fort Loudon, leaving only about seven hundred of these forces. Later two soldiers were shot for desertion, an example which the commander found ab-

solutely necessary. It would seem that some of the Pennsylvania soldiers brought dogs with them "to be employed in discovering and pursuing the savages." At least the Governor and Commissioners "agreed to allow Three Shillings per month to Every Soldier who brings a Strong Dog." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, page 180.)

At this point, before Bouquet comes over the mountains on his way to the Tuscarawas and Muskingum to recover the captives taken by the Indians, we call attention to the fact that, in the spring of 1764, a white man, David Owens, was guilty of an act of greater infamy than any murder committed by the Indians into whose western strongholds Colonel Bouquet was preparing to advance. Owens, whose father had been a trader among the Delawares and Shawnees, was a corporal in Captain McClean's company. He deserted, and went to live among the Delawares and Shawnees, with whose language he was quite familiar. He married a young Shawnee woman, by whom he became the father of three children. In the spring of 1764, he ostensibly went on a hunting trip along the Susquehanna, being accompanied by his wife, his children, another Indian woman, an Indian boy, four Shawnee warriors, all relatives of his wife. One night the party encamped on the banks of the Susquehanna, a Provincial soldier also being present. In the middle of the night, Owens arose, and, by the dull light of the camp fire, saw that the others were asleep. Cautiously awakening the soldier, he told him to go a short distance from the camp, and lie quiet until he should call him. The soldier complied. Then Owens cautiously removed the weapons from the sleeping warriors, and concealed them in the woods, at the same time reserving two loaded rifles for himself. Returning to the camp,

he cautiously pointed a rifle at the head of each of two sleeping warriors, pulled the triggers and shot them dead. The remaining two warriors sprang to their feet, and, believing they were attacked by a large party of whites, bounded off into the woods. Owens then seized a hatchet and dashed out the brains of his wife, his children, the Indian boy and the other Indian woman. The fiend then sat among the bloody corpses of his wife, his children and comrades until dawn, unmoved by the enormity of his deed and undaunted by the gloom of the forest.

In the morning he scalped all his victims except the children, and then took up his way to the settlements with the bloody scalps, thinking that he had made an acceptable atonement for his desertion. He brought the scalps to Philadelphia, "for a reward." It does not appear that he received any monetary reward for his monstrous act; but his desertion was pardoned, and he was employed as an interpreter in the expedition of Colonel Bouquet to the Tuscarawas and Muskingum, then being planned. On April 26, 1764, Governor John Penn wrote Colonel Bouquet: "Owens takes five scalps with him, which will tell his own story." On that same day the Governor gave Owens a passport to proceed to Lancaster and Carlisle with the letter to Colonel Bouquet, requiring "all persons within this Province to permit the said Owens to pass unmolested on his way to those places, he behaving as becometh to all his Majesty's Liege Subjects." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, page 173.) In answer to an inquiry made of Sir William Johnson in regard to Owens' history, the former wrote Governor Penn, on June 18, that "he . . . killed them rather to make peace with the English than from any dislike either to them or their principles." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 9, page 190.) We shall meet this monster again

in this chapter. Says Parkman: "His example is one of many in which the worst acts of Indian ferocity have been thrown into shade by the enormities of white barbarians."

Leaving Fort Loudon, Bouquet's army marched over the mountains past Fort Bedford and Fort Ligonier. Near Bedford, a soldier was captured. Just after Colonel Reed's (Reid) detachment had passed Fort Bedford, in the latter part of August, the Indians made a raid near that place, in which they took some horses laden with traders' goods, shot some cattle, and killed Isaac Stimble (Stimmel), an industrious inhabitant of Ligonier, whose lands adjoined the garrison lands of Fort Ligonier. Colonel Bouquet reported the murder of Stimble in his letter of August 25. The army arrived at Fort Pitt on September 17, and soon thereafter a party of Delaware chiefs appeared on the western bank of the Allegheny, pretending to be deputies sent by their nation to confer with Bouquet. After some hesitation, three of them came to the fort, and, after being closely questioned, were unable to give a satisfactory account of their mission. Colonel Bouquet then detained two, Captain Pipe and Captain John, as hostages, and sent the other back to his nation with the message that he proposed to pay no attention to the peace the Delawares and Shawnees had made with Colonel Bradstreet, but would march his army against their towns. He also sent word with this chief that, if two messengers which he proposed to send to Colonel Bradstreet were harmed in either going or coming, he would put Captain Pipe and Captain John to death. The liberated chief faithfully performed his mission. On October 1, two Six Nation warriors came to Fort Pitt, and endeavored to persuade the commander not to march into the Indian country, owing to the smallness of his force and

the lateness of the season. Believing that these warriors were actuated by a desire simply to retard the expedition, Bouquet sent them to inform the Delawares and Shawnees that he proposed to move immediately into their country to chastise them unless they should speedily agree to whatever conditions of peace he should impose upon them.

The Virginia troops having arrived and Bouquet now having an army of about fifteen hundred men, the march was started from Fort Pitt on October 4, the Virginia troops leading the way. The next day, the army passed through Logstown, which was then deserted. On October 6, the army crossed the Beaver River, taking the Indian trail which led to the villages on the Tuscarawas, crossing the headwaters of Little Beaver and Yellow Creeks. By October 15, Bouquet had advanced into the very heart of the Indian country, carrying terror to the bloody raiders of the Pennsylvania frontier. While his army was encamped on the Tuscarawas, on October 16, about midway between King Beaver's Town and Killbuck's Town, in the present Tuscarawas County, Ohio, six Indian chiefs came to Bouquet with the information that all of the chiefs were assembled about eight miles from his camp and both ready and anxious to enter into negotiations for peace. He answered that he would meet them the next day in a bower, a short distance from his camp. Accordingly on the 17th, he marched with nearly all the regular troops, the Virginia volunteers and Light Horse, to the place of council, and stationed the troops in such a manner that they would show themselves to the best advantage.

Here, on October 17 and 20, Bouquet held councils with the chiefs of the Delawares, Shawnees and Mingoes. He made no attempt to spare their feelings, but, on the contrary, boldly and scathingly charged them

with cruelty and perfidy. He refused to take them by the hand or to address them as "brothers," but addressed them as "chiefs, captains and warriors." A brilliant and forceful orator, he painted their cruelties in darkest colors, telling them that he would destroy their villages if they did not return the captives and make peace according to his terms. He had the air of a conqueror, dictating terms of peace. He had the qualities the chiefs respected in both Indians and white men. They knew that the commander who had defeated them at Bushy Run meant every word he said, and thus they were humbled to the dust. "I have brought with me," he said, "the relations of those people you have massacred or taken prisoners. They are impatient to take revenge of the bloody murderers of their friends, and it is with the greatest difficulty that I can protect you against their just resentment, by assuring them that no peace shall be granted you till you have given us proper satisfaction. We surround you on every side. It is consequently in our power to destroy you."

It gives the historian no pleasure to record the fact that the powerful speech of Colonel Bouquet charging the Indians with cruelty and perfidy—one of the bitterest philippics in military annals—was translated to them by the infamous villian, David Owens, who had murdered his Indian wife and Indian children for the purpose of getting into the good graces of the whites. Shortly after the delivery and translation of Bouquet's address, he sent Owens to a Shawnee town some miles from the camp, in order to hasten the delivery of the captives held by this tribe. Loudon relates that, upon Owens' arrival at the Shawnee town, the chiefs and warriors held council as to whether they should put him to death for the murder of his Shawnee wife and children and the relatives of his wife. Two of his wife's brothers

were present. The murderer saved his life on this occasion by telling the Shawnees that, if they killed him, Bouquet would kill them.

The chiefs present at the councils with Colonel Bouquet were King Beaver of the Turkey Clan of Delawares; Custaloga of the Wolf (Munsee) Clan of Delawares; Turtle Heart, a Delaware; Guyasuta of either the Mingoes or Senecas; Keissanautichtha of the Shawnees, and many others. At this time New Comer, or Nettawatwes, was the head chief or "King" of the Delaware nation, but he refused to attend the councils, on account of which Bouquet deposed him. However, the Delawares never accepted this action.

At the close of the councils, Bouquet took hostages from the Delawares, Senecas and Shawnees, for the safe delivery of the captives within twelve days at Wakatomica, a short distance below the present town of Coshocton, Ohio. On October 22, in order more deeply to impress the Indians, his army took up the march, thirty-two miles deeper into the Indian country, to a point near the forks of the Muskingum. The army arrived at this place on October 25. It was then decided that the captives should be delivered at this place instead of at Wakatomica, as it was more centrally located.

From October 25 until November 9, messages were sent to the various villages, and captives were brought daily to the camp of Bouquet to the total number of two hundred and six.

These were classed as follows:

Virginians—Males	32
Females and Children	58
Pennsylvanians—Males	49
Females and Children	67

Total	206
-------------	-----

On November 9, Bouquet, for the faithful performance of their promises and for the return of the remaining captives, demanded four hostages from the Delawares in addition to Captain Pipe and Captain John, whom he took at Fort Pitt, and that five deputies be sent to treat with Sir William Johnson. The Delawares agreed to this demand. Then for the first time since he marched into the heart of their country, Bouquet took the chiefs by the hand, "which occasioned great Joy amongst them." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 9, page 226.)

On November 12 and 14, Bouquet held councils with the chiefs of the Shawnees. The principal chiefs of this tribe present were Keissanautchtha, Keightughque, (or Cornstalk, also called Tamenebuck), Nimwha and Red Hawk. Red Hawk was the speaker on behalf of the Shawnees. At these councils, he showed Bouquet the treaty which William Penn entered into with the Shawnees, on April 23, 1701, which had been carefully preserved by the Shawnee chiefs throughout the long years and throughout their wanderings from the Susquehanna to the Muskingum and Scioto. (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 9, page 230.) Bouquet demanded at these councils that the Shawnees deliver six hostages to him to be kept until the remainder of their captives, about one hundred, were delivered, as many of them were in distant towns on the Scioto and could not be brought at this time, owing to the lateness of the season and to the fact that many of their owners were on a long trading journey to the French. The Shawnees willingly delivered the hostages. They faithfully kept their promise. On May 9, 1765, ten of their chiefs and about fifty of their warriors, delivered to George Croghan, Deputy Indian Agent, at Fort Pitt, the remaining captives, "brightened the chain of friendship, and gave every assurance

of their firm intentions to preserve the peace inviolable forever." Thus "the perfidious Shawnees," as some have unjustly called them, faithfully kept their promise, even after the hostages they had given had escaped.

We call attention to the fact that one of the greatest difficulties Colonel Bouquet had to deal with was the allaying of the minds of the Shawnees. Fearing that he intended to destroy their tribe, they resolved to kill the captives and then flee beyond the Mississippi. They had already assembled many of the captives for the purpose of killing them, when a messenger arrived from the commander stating that he would give them the same terms of peace as to the Delawares. Thus the wholesale massacre of the captives was prevented. Soon, however, one of Bouquet's soldiers was killed some distance from the camp, whereupon the Shawnees, hearing that they were blamed for this murder, once more assembled the captives to kill them, when a second messenger arrived from Bouquet with the word that the Shawnees were not blamed for the murder of the soldier. Thus, again, the lives of the captives were saved.

No pen can describe the scenes when the captives were brought to Bouquet's camp during those October and November days of 1764. Husbands met their captured wives. Long lost children were restored to their parents. Sisters and brothers met, after long separation, in many cases since the autumn of 1755. Many, captured when children, were now unable to understand a word of their mother tongue. Many had married among the Indians and had Indian children dear to their hearts. Indian fathers and mothers had to part with these children, to their great anguish. Indian mothers filled the solitudes of the forest with their wailings for the children they were giving up forever. Indian fathers shed torrents of tears over the surrender

of their children, and pitifully recommended them to the care and protection of the humane commander. Many of the captives had to be bound when delivered to Bouquet, to keep them from returning to their Indian relatives and friends. As the army marched back to Fort Pitt, many an Indian wife followed her white husband with weary footsteps, and many an Indian warrior followed his white wife or sweetheart over the mountains to Carlisle or into Virginia at the risk of his life.

The foregoing qualities in the Indians challenge the esteem of just men. Cruel and unmerciful as they were in war, yet when they took captives for the purpose of adopting them, they treated them as their own flesh and blood, instead of enslaving them. Women and children were treated with a kindness and respect often found lacking among the whites. From every inquiry that has ever been made, it appears that no white woman was ever preserved by the Indians for base motives—that no white woman, adopted by the Indians, needed to fear the violation of her honor.

Bouquet's army, with the white captives, took up the march for Fort Pitt on November 18, and arrived at that post on November 28. On the way, some released captives escaped and returned to the Indians. Among these were Rhoda Boyd and Elizabeth Studebaker. Many of the captives were re-united with their relatives, at Fort Pitt; others at Carlisle, among whom was "Regina, the German Captive." On his way from Fort Pitt to Carlisle, Colonel Bouquet saw Fort Ligonier for the last time.

Partial List of Names of Captives—The Pennsylvania Captives

There has never been a complete list of the captives who were returned by the Indians as a result of Bou-

quet's expedition of 1764. The following is a list of sixty captives, returned to Bouquet at his camp near the forks of the Muskingum and taken by Captain Charles Lewis from that place to Fort Pitt, the list being dated November 15, 1764:

John Wiseman, John Donehoe, Soremouth, Crooked Legs, David Bighead, Clen, James Butler, Michael Cobble, Ponter or Wynima, Charles Stormontront, Ebenezer, Mordecai Babson, Henry Bonnett, James, Tommy Wig, Michael Lee, John Huntsman, Solomon Carpenter, John Gilmore, Eve Harper, Mary Campbell, Ann Finley, Mary Cath, Lengenfield, Kitty Stroudman, Betty (black eyes or hair), Eliz. Franse, Peggy Baskin, Mary McIlroy, Sour Plumbs, Christina House, Mary Lowry, Jane Lowry, Susan Lowry, Mary Greenwood, Nancy Davison, Magdalen or Pagothou, Mary Graven, Catherine Westbrooke, Molly Metch, Whitehead, Margaret Yokeham, Mary McCord, Eliz. Gilmore, Eliz. Gilmore, Jr., Florence Hutchinson, Mary Lee, Barbara Huntsman, Susannah Fishback, Margaret Fishback, Peggy Freeling, Peggy Cartmill, Molly Cartmill, Peggy Reyneck, Eliz. Slover, Eliz. Slover, Jr., Mary Lansisco and child, girl with a sore knee.

Another list, bearing the same date, shows the number of captives "supposed to be [left] at the different" Delaware and Shawnee towns on the Muskingum and Scioto, as follows:

At the New Comer's Town, 50; at the New Town, 15; at the Old Town, 7; at Salt Lick Town, 5; at Bull's Head Town, 1; at Grenadier Squaw's Town, 6; thus making a total of 84.

The following list of eighty-two prisoners at the Lower Shawnee Town at the mouth of the Scioto was

addressed to "Colonel Bouquet, Commandant at Fort Pitt," without date, but likely in 1764:

Robert Puzy, John Potts, John Cotter, Samuel Huff, Abraham Ormand, John Freeland and three children and wife, Daniel Cowday, Jacob Good, Dutch John, Thomas Cabe, Gower Sovereign and four children, Margaret Bard and five children, Mary Tringer and two children, Dutch Sarah and three children, Vanny Varnett and five children, Sarah Barnett and one child, Aley Cincade and three children, Mary Burke and two children, Betsey Robertson, Hannah Densy, Betsey Snodgrass, Betsey Medley, a Dutch girl, Nansey Miller, Betsey Jamison, Nely Fulerton, Mary Moore, Susanna Voss, Molly Gould, Jean Macrakin and her sister, Ann Folkison, Wm. Medley, Nansey Ranek and her sister and four brothers, James Stewart, John Guthrey, Lezy Bingiman, John Martin, William Days, Benjamin Robertson's son, Lodick, Soloman Carpenter, Margaret Cartmill, Saley Boyles and brother, Joseph Ramsey, Moly Christopher, Molly Moore.

As stated earlier in this chapter, the Shawnees delivered the remainder of their captives at Fort Pitt, in May, 1765. However, they had already delivered a number of captives at Fort Pitt, in January, 1765. Captain Lewis Ourry, commander of Fort Bedford in 1763 and Assistant Deputy Quarter-Master-General in Bouquet's expedition of 1764, made a list of these captives, and the list was published in the *Maryland Gazette* of January 31, 1765.

As stated above, the number of Pennsylvania captives returned by Colonel Bouquet was 116. The following is almost a complete list of these captives:

Males—John Jacob Levory. (This was likely John

Jacob Le Roy, alias König, alias King, captured at the Penn's Creek massacre of October 16, 1755.* See the author's "Indian Wars of Pennsylvania," second edition, pages 206 to 208.); Ephraim Walters. (This was Ephraim Walter, captured near Rankin's Mill, Franklin County, July 8, 1756. See above work, page 803.); John Cochran. (This was likely one of the children captured at the burning of Bingham's Fort, in Tuscarora Township, Juniata County, June 11 and 12, 1756. See above work, pages 286 and 287.); David Johnson; Morice Devine; Lodovick Clemm and Fetty Clemm; Francis Innis. (Likely Francis Innis, Jr., captured at the burning of Bingham's Fort, June 11 and 12, 1756. See above work, page 286 and 287.); Jas. Beatty, Thomas Boyd. (This was probably one of the Boyd children captured in Cumberland County in the summer of 1756. See above work, page 812.); James Campbell. (This was likely the James Campbell captured at the mouth of Licking Creek, Juniata County, July 10, 1763. (See above work, pages 431 and 828.); Andrew Sims; Henry. (Likely a slave); Hance Hance; Adam Smeltzer and Jacob Smeltzer; Joseph Red Jacket. (Likely a slave.); Joseph Studebaker. (Captured in the Conococheague Valley in Franklin County, in the autumn of 1755. Afterwards

* THE PENN'S CREEK MASSACRE

The Penn's Creek Massacre of October 16, 1755, was the first Indian massacre in Pennsylvania. Many persons were killed, and the following were captured: Barbara Leininger, Rachel (Regina) Leininger, Marie le Roy, Jacob le Roy, Hanna, wife of Jacob Breylinger and her two children, and Marianne Villiers. In Pa. Archives, Vol. 3, page 633, Marianne Villiers is erroneously called "Marian Wheeler". One of her descendants is the well-known Pennsylvania historian, Colonel Henry W. Shoemaker, former chairman of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission and present Minister to Bulgaria, who furnished the author with this information as to the error in above volume of the Pennsylvania Archives.

a resident of Westmoreland County. See above work, page 834.); Christopher Farmer; Hance Adams; Simon. (Likely a slave); Peter Jemmy; Pompadour. (Likely a slave); Tawanima. (Likely a slave); Jas. Butler; Samuel Wallace; Crooked Legs. (A nickname); Sore Mouth. (A nickname); John Donhahoe. (This is given in Captain Lewis' list as John Donehoe.); William Lake; William Martin and James Martin. (Captured during the massacre in the Big and Little Coves in Franklin and Fulton Counties, November 1, 1755. See above work, pages 224 to 227.); Robert Knox. (Captured during the massacre in the Big and Little Coves, above mentioned.); John Fisher; John Riddle, (Probably captured near Mexico, Juniata County, July 10, 1763. See above work, page 430.); John Palmer; John McCullough. (Captured near Fort Loudon, Franklin County, July 26, 1756, and wrote a very interesting and valuable account of his captivity. See above work, pages 287 to 289.); John Gibson. (Captured near the mouth of the Beaver on the outbreak of Pontiac's War, the Colonel John Gibson whose name runs through many pages of this volume. See above work, pages 500, 502, 568, 647, 653.); Thomas Smallman; Edward Henderson; Daniel Clemm; George Anderson; John Harry; Jacob Shover; Hicks. (Likely captured during the massacre in the Big and Little Coves, above mentioned. See above work, page 222.)

Females—Sarah Boyd. (Likely the Sallie Boyd captured in Cumberland County in the summer of 1756. See the author's "Indian Wars of Pennsylvania," second edition, page 812.); Elizabeth Smith; (Probably the daughter of Balser Smith captured near Strausstown, Berks County, June 23, 1757. See above work, pages 347 and 808.) Hannah Smith and her child;

Elizabeth Henry. (Captured near Robinson's Fort, in Perry County, in July, 1756. See above work, page 289.); Margaret Miller. (Likely captured in Franklin County in June, 1757. See above work, page 352.); Mary Villa; Elizabeth Wilkins and Mary Wilkins; Elizabeth McElroy and her child and Mary McElroy; Catherine Heat. (This was Catherine Heath, or Hoeth, captured near Kresgeville, Monroe County, December 10, 1755. See above work, pages 243 and 244.); Uly Stroudman and Catherine Stroudman; Kitty Beverly Miller, (Perhaps two persons—Kitty, Beverly Miller.); Peggy. (Likely a slave.); Catherine Williams; Betty Young; Jenny Innis. (Likely one the Innis children captured at the burning of Bingham's Fort, mentioned above.); Christine Margaret Leninger. (Likely Regina Leininger, the "German Captive" mentioned later in this chapter); Margaret Manselle; Elizabeth France. (Likely one of the Frantz children captured in Berks County, June 19, 1758, when their mother, Mrs. John Frantz, was killed. See above work, pages 383, 384, and 824.); Catherine Leingerfeld; Peggy Baskin. (Likely one of the children of Robert Baskins, who were captured near Baskinsville, in the Juniata Valley, in July, 1756. Their father was killed and their mother captured on this occasion. See above work, page 289.); Ann Finley; Mary Campbell. (Probably captured at the mouth of Licking Creek on the Juniata, July 10, 1763. See above work, page 431.); Mary Lowry, Jane Lowry and Susannah Lowry; Irene Phebe; Christina Wampler; Margaret Everhart. (Captured near Pine Grove, Schuylkill County, in November, 1755. See above work, page 240.); Flat Nose. (Evidently a slave.); Betty. (Evidently a slave.); Agnes and Mollie Davidson; Rachel. (A slave.); Polly. (A slave.); Cath-

erine Bacon; Jane Crow and Polly Crow; Dorothy's son; David Bighead; Martha Martin. (Captured at the massacre in the Big and Little Coves, above mentioned. See above work, pages 224 to 227; Susannah Knox, Jane Knox and Mary Knox. (Captured at the massacre in the Big and Little Coves, above mentioned. See above work, page 227.); Jane Coon; Ester Flaugherty; Elizabeth Stinson; Mary Stewart; Rachael Fincher (Likely the daughter of John Fincher, captured in Albany Township, Berks County, September 8, 1763. See above work, pages 453 and 808.); Elizabeth Coon and two children; Christopher Wampler; Rhody Boyd. (The daughter of John Boyd. She was captured in Cumberland County in the summer of 1756. See above work, page 812.); Elizabeth Studebaker. (Sister of Joseph Studebaker, mentioned above. Both captured in the Conococheague settlement in Franklin County, in the autumn of 1755. See above work, pages 482 and 834.) (Donehoo's "Cumberland Valley," pages 202 and 203; author's "Indians Wars of Pennsylvania," second edition, pages 480 to 482, also 833 to 835.)

Regina, the German Captive

No account of Bouquet's expedition of 1764 would be complete without the story of "Regina, the German Captive." We therefore include it at this point, first quoting it as it appears in "The Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania," and then adding some statements of our own:

"The Rev. Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg [a son-in-law of Conrad Weiser and father of those two renowned Lutheran clergymen of Revolutionary days—General Peter Muhlenberg and Hon. Frederick A. Muhlenberg, speaker of the First Congress,

also of the Third Congress] relates in the 'Hallische Nachrichten,' page 1029, a touching incident, which has been frequently told, but is so 'apropos' to this record that it should not be omitted. It was of the widow of John Hartman who called at his house in February, 1765, who had been a member of one of Rev. Kurtz's [a Lutheran pastor in Berks County] congregations. She and her husband had emigrated to this country from Reutlingen, Wurtemberg, and settled on the frontiers of Lebanon County. The Indians fell upon them in October, 1755, killed her husband, one of the sons, and carried off two small daughters into captivity, whilst she and the other son were absent. On her return she found the home in ashes, and her family either dead or lost to her, whereupon she fled to the interior settlements at Tulpehocken and remained there.

"The sequel to this occurrence is exceedingly interesting. The two girls were taken away. It was never known what became of Barbara, the elder, but Regina, with another little girl two years old, were given to an old Indian woman, who treated them very harshly. In the absence of her son, who supplied them with food, she drove the children into the woods to gather herbs and roots to eat, and, when they failed to get enough, beat them cruelly. So they lived until Regina was about nineteen years old and the other girl eleven. Her mother was a good Christian woman and had taught her daughters their prayers, together with many texts from the Scriptures, and their beautiful German hymns, much of which clung to her memory during all these years of captivity.

"At last, in the providence of God, Colonel Bouquet brought the Indians under subjection in 1764, [at the end of Pontiac's War] and obliged them to give up their captives. More than two hundred of these un-

fortunate beings were gathered together at Carlisle, amongst them the two girls, and notices were sent all over the country for those who had lost friends and relatives, of that fact. Parents and husbands came, in some instances, hundreds of miles, in the hope of recovering those they had lost, the widow being one of the number. There were many joyful scenes, but more sad ones. So many changes had taken place, that in many instances, recognition seemed impossible. This was the case with the widow. She went up and down the long line, but, in the young women who stood before her, dressed in an Indian costume, she failed to recognize the little girls she had lost. As she stood gazing and weeping, Colonel Bouquet compassionately suggested that she do something which might recall the past to her children. She could think of nothing but a hymn which was formerly a favorite with the little ones:

‘Allein, und doch nicht ganz allein,
Bin ich in meiner Einsamkeit.’

[The English translation of the first stanza of this hymn is as follows:

‘Alone, yet not alone am I,
Though in this solitude so drear;
I feel my Saviour always nigh,
He comes the very hour to cheer;
I am with Him, and He with me,
E’en here alone I cannot be.’]

“She commenced singing, in German, but had barely completed two lines, when poor Regina rushed from the crowd, began to sing also and threw her arms around her mother. They both wept for joy and the Colonel gave the daughter up to her mother. But the other girl had no parents, they having probably been

murdered. She clung to Regina and begged to be taken home with her. Poor as was the widow, she could not resist the appeal and the three departed together."

The foregoing account is based on the original account written by the Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, D. D., in his "*Halische Nachrichten*," with the exception of the family name of the mother and daughter. The Rev. Muhlenberg does not give the name of the family, and does not definitely give the location of the tragedy. In time the belief became quite general among Pennsylvania historians that Regina was a daughter of John Hartman, born June 20, 1710, and that the scene of the tragedy is at or near the site of the town of Orwigsburg, Schuylkill County.

Captain H. M. M. Richards, a descendant of Muhlenberg, contends in his "*The Pennsylvania-Germans in the French and Indian War*" (Vol. XV of the Publications of the Pennsylvania-German Society), that Regina was none other than Regina Leininger, who was captured at the Penn's Creek massacre of October 16, 1755, the very date Muhlenberg gives as the date of the tragedy described in his account. In addition to the date of the alleged Hartman tragedy being the same as the date of the Leininger tragedy, the following points of similarity in the account of Rev. Muhlenberg and the "Narrative" of Marie Le Roy and Barbara Leininger, found in Pa. Archives, Sec. series, Vol. 7, pages 401 to 412, will be noted: In each tragedy, the mother was absent, the father was killed, a son was killed and two daughters, one named Regina and the other Barbara, were captured.

Furthermore, Muhlenberg says that the father "was already advanced in years, and too feeble to endure hard labor;" but John Hartman would have been only

forty-five years old at the time of the tragedy. Also, there is no record of Indian outrages east of the Susquehanna until after the attack on John Harris (October, 25), and none in the neighborhood of Orwigsburg until at least the middle of November, 1755.

We believe that any one who will closely compare the narrative of Barbara Leininger and Marie le Roy with Muhlenberg's account will agree with Captain Richards that each narrative describes the same tragedy—that Regina "Hartman" was Regina Leininger, and that she became permanently separated from her sister Barbara at the time of the flight of the Indians and their captives from Kuskuskies to the Muskingum, after General Forbes captured Fort Duquesne.

"Regina, the German Captive," and her mother are said to be buried in Christ Lutheran Cemetery, near Stouchsburg, Berks County. Whether or not the dust of this daughter of the Pennsylvania frontier reposes in this cemetery, and whether her name was Regina Leininger or Regina Hartman, God knows where she sleeps and has written her name in his book of everlasting remembrance.

The "Old Block House," or Redoubt, at Fort Pitt

In taking leave of Colonel Bouquet, the hero of Pontiac's War, we call attention to the fact that the "Old Block House," or Redoubt, at Fort Pitt, still standing and Pittsburgh's most venerable landmark, was built by him in 1764, although it is likely that its construction was begun shortly after he relieved Fort Pitt in August, 1763. During the summer of 1763, the moat, which led past the fort from the Allegheny to the Monongahela, became dry; and when the Indians besieged the fort in July and August of that year, they used this "dry ditch" as a lurking place from which to

fire upon the garrison. Bouquet erected the Redoubt some distance from the fort and at a location where it would command the moat. A tunnel was dug from the fort to the Redoubt, so that soldiers could pass between the two places without being exposed to the rifle fire of hostile Indians.

Pressure on Indian Lands—Purchase of 1768

While Bouquet's expedition of 1764 ended the Pontiac and Guyasuta War, the pressure on the Indians' land in the valleys of the Ohio and Allegheny did not end. Settlers, by the hundreds, from Eastern Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia came over the mountains and laid out plantations for themselves, especially along the Youghiogheny and Monongahela, against the protests of the Six Nations, who had never parted with their title to these lands, and in violation of the proclamation of the King of England, as follows:

"We do further strictly enjoin and require all persons whatever, who have either wilfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any Lands within the Countries above described, or upon any Lands which, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are still reserved to the said Indians as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such Settlements." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 9, pages 83 and 84.)

The frontiersmen paid no attention to this proclamation and similar proclamations issued by the Governor of Pennsylvania. They even murdered Indians caught in their settlements. This action on the part of the frontiersmen caused some chiefs of the Delawares, Shawnees and Six Nations to tell George Croghan, at a council at Fort Pitt, on May 22, 1766, that the English did not appear to be disposed to live in peace with the Indians. Said the chiefs further: "If their Fathers

[the English] continue to Murder their people whenever they caught them in their Settlements, and break their Engagements to them, they can't be accountable for the future conduct of their Warriors, who are governed only by the persuasion of their chiefs." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 9, page 322.)

On page 217 of Vol. 4 of the Pennsylvania Archives, is a letter stating that, in April, 1765, two white men killed two Indians near Pittsburgh, and were "so audacious as to boast of the fact and to show the scalps publicly."

Dr. George P. Donehoo, speaking of the period of Western Pennsylvania history of which we are writing, says the following, in his "Pennsylvania—A History":

"Settlers kept taking up lands on the territory west of the mountains, and frontiersmen kept on killing Indians in what was nothing less than cold-blooded murder. To the frontiersman the Indian was little less than a dog. His land was stolen from him, and if he fought, he was killed and scalped. If he made peace, his land was taken and he was killed and scalped just the same. If he arose in his wrath and did as he was done by, he was a savage barbarian. The men who stole his land, killed and scalped him, were, of course, of a higher culture and therefore had a right to do as they did, as that is one of the blessed privileges of belonging to a superior race. It is hard to understand the psychology of these good, religious, pious frontiersmen, who would steal the land of the Indian, kill and scalp him, and then be filled with amazement because this 'red varmint' would turn upon them and give them a dose of their own medicine. If an Indian killed a white man, he was punished with death. If a white man killed an Indian, or ten of them as did Frederick Stump, the action was most praiseworthy."

After many warnings from the Indians at various treaties at Fort Pitt, Governor John Penn, on February 24, 1768, issued a proclamation declaring that such settlers on Indian lands as refused to leave within thirty days, "shall suffer Death without Benefit of Clergy," and appointed a commission consisting of Rev. (Captain) John Steel, pastor of the Presbyterian church at Carlisle, John Allison and Christopher Lemes, Esquires, and Captain James Potter, all of Cumberland County, to go into the regions where settlements had been formed, post the proclamations and tell the settlers to leave at once. The commissioners did their duty, but the settlers remained. Finally a great conference was held at Fort Pitt, April 26 to May 9, 1768, attended by more than one thousand Indian chiefs and warriors besides women and children, for the purpose of adjusting the difficulties due to settlements made on lands whose title was still in the Indians.

This council was under the direction of George Croghan, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, while Governor Penn appointed John Allen and Joseph Shippen, as commissioners for Pennsylvania. Among the Indian chiefs who attended the council were: Guyasuta of the Senecas; the White Mingo (not the White Mingo murdered by Stump); New Comer, or Nettawatwes, King of the Delawares; Custaloga of the Wolf or Munsee Clan of Delawares; King Beaver of the Turkey Clan of Delawares; Wingenund, the Delaware wise man; Captain Pipe of the Wolf Clan of Delawares; White Wolf of the Delawares; White Eyes of the Turkey Clan of Delawares; Captain Jacobs of the Delawares, probably a son of the Captain Jacobs slain at the destruction of Kittanning; Captain John of the Delawares; Nimwha of the Shawnees; and various

others of the Delawares, Shawnees, Six Nations, Mohicans, and Wyandots. Said one of the chiefs of the Six Nations, at this council: "It is not without Grief that we see our Country settled upon by you without our Knowledge or Consent It will be time enough for you to settle the lands when you have purchased them and the Country becomes yours." (For the minutes of this council, see Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 9, pages 514 to 543.)

This council at Fort Pitt led directly to the purchase at Fort Stanwix (Rome, New York), November 5, 1768, in which the Six Nations conveyed to the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania all their land within the boundaries of the Province, extending from the New York line on the Susquehanna River, past Towanda and Tyadaghton (Pine) Creeks, up the West Branch of the Susquehanna to the present town of Cherry Tree, Indiana County, thence over to Kittanning, thence down the south side of the Allegheny and the Ohio as far as the mouth of the Tennessee River. The Delawares and Shawnees did not agree to this sale by which their hunting grounds on the Ohio were sold.

By this purchase, for a consideration of ten thousand pounds, the Proprietaries acquired the present counties of Green, Washington, Fayette, Somerset, Westmoreland, Cambria, Susquehanna, Sullivan and Wyoming, and parts of Beaver, Allegheny, Armstrong, Indiana, Clearfield, Center, Clinton, Lycoming, Bradford, Lackawanna, Wayne, Luzerne, Columbia, Montour, Northumberland, Union, Pike and Snyder. (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 9, pages 554 and 555.)

The purchase of 1768 was the last purchase made by the Penns.

In pursuance of the treaty, the land office was opened to settlers in Pennsylvania, on April 3, 1769.

From that period, settlers came in increasing numbers to "Old Westmoreland." As was the Appian Way to the people of central Italy, so was the Forbes Road to the Scotch-Irish and Pennsylvania-Germans, who now came over the mountains to lay out plantations and establish homes in the fertile valleys west of the Laurel Hills. Among the German newcomers were some Huguenots who spoke German. In a short time, lands were located and settlers were occupying them beyond the present bounds of this historic county. In other words, settlers soon penetrated the region north of the Conemaugh, among them being Charles Campbell and George Findley. However, lands could not be taken farther northward than the northern line of the purchase of 1768, which was a straight line running from the head of canoe navigation of the West Branch of the Susquehanna—the point where the present counties of Indiana, Clearfield and Cambria meet, at the present town of Cherry Tree, Indiana County—to Kittanning. It is probable that a few settlers had entered the region north of the Conemaugh and south of the purchase line before the land office was opened.

But, as has formerly been pointed out, many settlers were given military permits to settle lands, long before the opening of the land office. The following is a copy of such permit, granted by Arthur St. Clair, then in command of Fort Ligonier to Frederick Rohrer, on April 11, 1767:

"By Arthur St. Clair, late Lieut. in his Majesty's Sixtieth Regt. of foot, having the care of his Majesty's fort at Ligonier.

"I have given Permission to Frederick Rohrer to cultivate a certain Piece of Land in the neighborhood of Fort Ligonier, over a certain creek, which empties itself into the Loyal Hanning, known by the name of

Coal Pit Creek; beginning at a White Oak standing on a spring and marked with the letters F X R running from thence to another Tree marked with the same letters and standing on another Spring called the Falling Spring, and from thence to two marked Trees towards the sd [said] Coal Pitt Creek, supposed to contain two hundred acres, he, the said Frederick Rohrer, being willing to submit to all orders of the Commandant in Chief, the commanding officer of the District, and of the Garrison.

“Given under my hand at Ligonier this 11th day of April, 1767.

“Ar. St. Clair.”

(Albert's History of Westmoreland County,” page 38.)

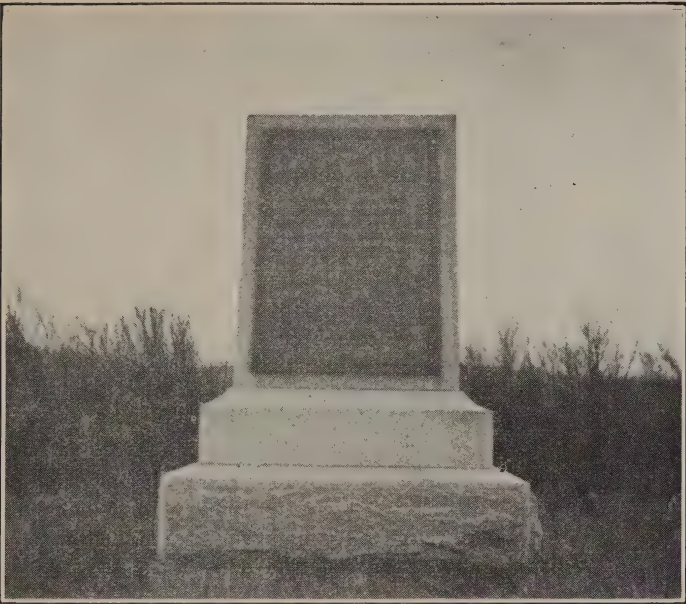
At the same time, as will be pointed out in Chapter XIV, English, Scotch-Irish and a sprinkling of Germans from Virginia were taking up lands in Southwestern Pennsylvania.

*Westmoreland Settlers Bring Religion into the Wilderness—
Indians Kill German Settlers*

In former chapters, reference was made to Andrew Byerly, John Herold, Christopher Rudebaugh and other Pennsylvania-Germans who made homes for themselves in the Westmoreland wilderness shortly after the French and Indian War. After the opening of the land office, many other Pennsylvania-Germans settled in the Herold's (Harrold's) settlement and in the Brush Creek Valley. But among those who came before the opening of the land office, were the Waldhauers (Walthours), Wagles and Millers, who settled in Hempfield Township as early as 1764. By 1765 there were so many Pennsylvania-Germans in Hempfield Township that they began making preparations

for a Lutheran church and school, following the custom of the pioneer Germans of carrying their religion and education with them into the wilderness. In this year (1765), John Herold and others pre-empted a tract of one hundred and fifty-eight acres, in Hempfield Township, for church and school purposes, which they styled "Good Purpose." In 1769, the first schoolmaster and catechist came to the Herold's settlement, Balthaser Meyer (Mayer), a Lutheran, a man of fine, classical attainments, who became the religious and educational leader of both Herold's and Brush Creek. He baptized and instructed the young, conducted public worship in the log church at Herold's, and buried the dead, until the first Lutheran minister, the Rev. Anton Ulrich Luetge, educated at the famous German university of Halle, came to the Herold's settlement in 1782, where he labored until 1789. It is said that, in addition to his pastoral labors, Rev. Luetge also practiced medicine in this pioneer settlement.

In 1772, the Herold's settlers erected Zion Lutheran Church (Old Harold's) and schoolhouse, about three miles west of Greensburg, the first church and first school west of the Alleghenies. Fortunately the records of this historic congregation, which were begun by Schoolmaster Meyer, run as far back into Westmoreland's early history as 1772. They are a mine of historical and genealogical information. In them are found the names of the ancestors of General John Pershing and President Herbert Hoover. The name, Pershing, first appears as "Pfersig," and later, in 1796, as "Poersching;" and the name, Hoover, first appears as the German "Huber." In the following chapter, we shall have more to say about this historic church. At this point, however, we call attention to the fact that prejudiced writers of early Pennsylvania history have



ABOVE—Monument marking site on which Frederick Pershing (1724-1794), ancestor of General John J. Pershing, settled in 1769. He was a Huguenot who came to America in 1749. His tract of land, called "Coventry," was on Nine Mile Run, Westmoreland County. The monument, which was dedicated by General John J. Pershing in 1923, stands to the right of the old Lincoln Highway, going east, less than a mile west of Youngstown and about ten miles west of Ligonier. See page 244.

BELOW—Monument in the Herold's (Harrold's) Cemetery, three miles west of Greensburg, Westmoreland County, marking the site of the schoolhouse of Zion Lutheran Church. This schoolhouse, erected in 1772 (some authorities say in 1770), was very likely the first in Western Pennsylvania. The first schoolmaster, Balthasar Meyer (Mayer), a man of fine classical attainments, came to this German settlement in 1769. He taught in this schoolhouse for many years. A few rods from this monument is the monument, erected by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, marking the site of Fort Allen.



not noted that the Pennsylvania-German pioneers were more prompt in erecting schoolhouses for the instruction of their children than were their English-speaking neighbors.

In 1782, also, the first Reformed minister, the Rev. John William Weber, came to the Herold's settlement. In that same year (1782), he established the first religious organization in Pittsburgh, the present Smithfield Street German Evangelical Protestant Church—a congregation consisting of both Lutherans and Reformed for some years after its organization, but with the Lutherans apparently in the majority, as the grant of lands to the congregation by the heirs of William Penn, namely, John Penn, the elder, and John Penn, the younger, June 18, 1787, specifies the "Unaltered Augsburg Confession," the great historic confession of the Lutheran Church. Pastor Weber lived in his log cabin in the Herold's settlement for a long time, suffering many hardships while laying the foundations for the German Reformed Church in Western Pennsylvania. Among the first members of his Pittsburgh congregation was Alexander Negley, the ancestor of the Negley family of Pittsburgh and of many other persons whose names are famous in the history of Pennsylvania and the Nation, including Hon. Andrew W. Mellon, former Secretary of the United States Treasury and present Ambassador to England.

Out of the mist of the far, dim years, comes the account of the attack on the German settlers on Brush Creek by the Indians, on February 26, 1769. Eighteen persons were either killed or captured. (Frontier Forts of Penna., Vol. 2, page 380.) Some have confused this attack with an attack on the same settlers exactly ten years later. It is quite likely that the outrage of February 26, 1769, whose details are lacking,

was committed by Senecas on their way to attack the Catawbias of the South, or while returning from attacking these age-long enemies. At least, in the summer of 1769, the Moravian missionaries, Zeisberger and Senseman, came to Fort Pitt from the Moravian mission at Lawunakhannek, near the mouth of Hickory Creek, Warren County, and convinced the officers at the fort that certain murders of settlers east of the Allegheny were not committed by Delawares, but by roving bands of Senecas on their way to attack the Indians of the South. (Consult De Schweinitz's "Life of David Zeisberger" and Loskiel's "History of the Moravian Missions.") The Senecas were greatly displeased with the fact that settlements, as was the Brush Creek settlement, were made on the path of their war trail to the South.

As early as 1769, there were Pennsylvania-Germans in East and West Bethlehem Townships, Washington County, and in German Township, Fayette County. In 1773, they established a Lutheran and Reformed congregation in German Township and erected a substantial log church, the joint property of Lutherans and Reformed, as is attested by articles of agreement, dated July 31, 1773, now in the archives of the Pittsburgh Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. This historic church is the present Jacobs Lutheran Church of German Township. For seventeen years after the building of their log church, the only church services were conducted by the schoolmasters and catechists. Said Mr. Trautman, one of the early members of this congregation, when near the end of his life: "We could go to the House of God every Sunday, hear the teacher read a sermon, and listen to Barbara Brandenburg sing." But the oldest church in Fayette County is

Great Bethel Baptist Church of Uniontown, founded by Henry Crosby, November 7, 1770.

In former chapters, reference was also made to Robert Reed, Sr., Robert Means, Chillian Green, Charles Clifford and James Clifford, who settled near Fort Ligonier shortly after the French and Indian War. Following the opening of the land office, in April, 1769, streams of Scotch-Irish settlers from the present Cumberland and Franklin Counties, entered the Ligonier Valley, and, as noted above, some of them pressed on north of the Conemaugh, the most exposed situation on the Western Pennsylvania frontier at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. Other Scotch-Irish pioneers established the typical Ulster settlement of Derry, being either natives of Derry, Ireland, or their immediate descendants. The leaders in this historic Westmoreland settlement were Robert Barr, John Pomeroy, James Wilson, William Guthrie, Richard Wallace, Samuel Craig and John Shields. In Chapter VII, we noted that the Presbyterian ministers, Rev. Charles Beatty and Rev. George Duffield, visited the western settlements in the autumn of 1766. However, no Presbyterian church was established by the Scotch-Irish settlers of Westmoreland County until a number of years later. In 1774, there was Presbyterian preaching at "Proctor's Tent", on the plantation of Colonel John Proctor, near Latrobe; and it was perhaps in this year that the historic Unity Presbyterian Church was established where this pioneer preaching was done, the first Presbyterian church in Westmoreland County, and, probably, in all Western Pennsylvania.* However, the Presbyterian minister, the Rev. James Finley, came over the mountains on a missionary tour and preached at Dunlap's Creek, in 1765.

* On March 1, 1774, Robert Hanna, Andrew Allison and John Sloan received a warrant, for church and cemetery purposes, of the land on which the Unity Presbyterian Church was later erected.—Albert's "History of Westmoreland County", page 636.

He made subsequent journeys through the Scotch-Irish settlements west of the Alleghenies in 1767, 1771, and 1772, but did not make his home west of the mountains until 1783.

This preaching at "Proctor's Tent" was done by the noted Presbyterian minister, the Rev. James Power, D.D., the first regularly ordained minister to settle in Western Pennsylvania, a graduate of Princeton, who, in the summer of 1774, made a missionary tour of all the Scotch-Irish settlements in the present counties of Westmoreland, Allegheny, Washington and Fayette. In the November days of 1776, Rev. Power, his wife and four little daughters came over the mountains to make their home in the western wilderness, settling at Dunlap's Creek, Fayette County. His daughter, Rebecca, born at Dunlap's Creek, December 12, 1776, was the first child born in the family of a Presbyterian minister west of the Alleghenies. In 1781, Rev. Power settled at Mount Pleasant, Westmoreland County, his field of labors including the Presbyterian congregations of Mount Pleasant, about two miles northwest of of the present town, Unity, Sewickley and Dunlap's Creek. We shall meet him again, when we describe the burning of Hannastown, in July, 1782. He died at Mount Pleasant, August 5, 1830, at the venerable age of more than eighty-four years.

The Rev. John McMillan, D. D., made a tour of Southwestern Pennsylvania in August and September, 1775, preaching at Mt. Moriah (near the S. W. Corner of Fayette County), Muddy Creek, Pigeon Creek, Chartiers Creek, Fort Pitt, Long Run and a few other places.* In January, 1776, he again came to Washington County, preaching at Pigeon Creek on the fourth Lord's day of that month, and at Chartiers Creek on the

*A deed of July 1, 1773, indicates the Mt. Moriah Presbyterian church was then being built.

following Lord's Day. In March of that year (1776), the Presbyterian congregations of Pigeon Creek and Chartiers Creek extended him a call, which he accepted, on April 22. However, on account of the turbulent condition of the frontier, due to the Revolutionary War and accompanying Indian troubles, he was unable to take up his residence in Washington County until November, 1778, where for more than fifty years, he labored unceasingly in building up the Presbyterian Church in Western Pennsylvania. His fruitful life came to an end, at Canonsburg, on November 16, 1833 in his eighty-second year. The Rev. Thaddeus Dod preached to the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian settlers on Ten Mile Creek, Washington County, as early as October, 1777, and removed to this section with his family, in 1778, according to Rev. Dr. Smith's "Old Redstone." He built up the Presbyterian congregations of Lower Ten Mile and Upper Ten Mile. The Rev. Joseph Smith came to Washington County from Wilmington, Delaware, in the spring of 1779, preaching to the Presbyterian settlers. On June 21 of that year, he received a call from the Presbyterian congregations of Upper Buffalo and Cross Creek. This call he accepted on October 27 of that year; and in 1780, he took up his residence within the bounds of these congregations, and settled in the present Hopewell Township, where he spent the remainder of his life—twelve years. But as the Baptist Church has the distinction of having the oldest congregation in Fayette County, so has it also a like distinction in Washington County, the oldest congregation in the latter county being the North Ten Mile Baptist Church, in Amwell Township, whose history runs back to 1773, according to most authorities, but to 1772, according to others.

The region south of the point where the Braddock

Road crossed Big Sewickley Creek was rapidly settled soon after the French and Indian War, and was known as the Sewickley Settlement. The settlers in this part of Westmoreland were mostly Scotch-Irish, though some were Pennsylvania-Germans. They had come to this region by the branch trail which left the Forbes Road a few miles west of Bedford, and led through the present Somerset and Mount Pleasant to Robb's Town, the present West Newton.

Around the tavern of Robert Hanna, on the Forbes Road, about three miles north-east of Greensburg, grew up the Scotch-Irish settlement of Hannastown, prior to 1773. At the northern end of the village a small stockade fort, made of pointed logs set upright, was built in 1773 around a blockhouse and spring. This place of refuge and defense was called the Hannastown Fort, and later, Fort Reid; and around the spot where it stood cling the memories of the Pennsylvania-German, Michael Huffnagle, and the Scotch-Irishman, Robert Hanna, as well as other mighty memories to which attention will be called later in this volume. One of the most famous names in the history of Old Westmoreland is that of the Scotchman, Arthur St. Clair, later renowned General of the Revolution, who came to Ligonier Valley probably as early in 1764, and was in command of Fort Ligonier at the time of the opening of the land office, in 1769. More about him will be told in the following chapter.

Of course, long years before the organization of the historic congregations above mentioned, there was preaching of the Christian faith in Western Pennsylvania. The Jesuit priest, Rev. Father Bonnecamps, accompanied Celoron's expedition down the Allegheny and Ohio in the summer of 1749, and no doubt celebrated the Roman Catholic Mass at various places dur-

ing this journey. Christopher Gist and his son, during their western journeys in 1750 and 1751, read prayers at their various camping places in the western wilderness; and the Eckerling brothers and their associates, German Seventh Day Baptists, held Christian services at their settlement on Dunkard Creek, in Greene County, as early as 1754, perhaps a year earlier. When the French, under command of Captain Contrecoeur, took possession of the Forks of the Ohio, on April 16, 1754, their Roman Catholic chaplain celebrated the first Mass where Pittsburgh now stands. During Virginia's campaign of 1754, Washington, on June 9, read the morning service of the Church of England before the assembled soldiers and Indian allies at the camp at the Great Meadows, Fayette County, on which occasion the Indians, according to Dr. James Craik, "believed he was making magic"; and on July 14, 1755, the future Revolutionary General and Father of his Country read the burial service of the Church of England over the grave of General Braddock. As stated in Chapter VII, the Presbyterian chaplain, the Rev. Charles Beatty, conducted thanksgiving services at the ruins of Fort Duquesne, on November 26, 1758, and he and Rev. George Duffield preached to the garrison at Fort Pitt and the people of Pittsburgh on September 7, 1766. Here we call attention to the fact that the Rev. John Conrad Bucher, a German Reformed pastor and officer in the Royal American Regiment of Colonel Bouquet, preached to the Royal Americans and other Pennsylvania-Germans at Fort Ligonier, Fort Pitt, Fort Redstone and the "Grand Crossings of the Yough." in 1764, and for some time thereafter, baptizing John Heinrich Miller and Mary Smith at Fort Pitt, on November 29 of that year. In June, 1772, the Rev. David Jones, a Baptist missionary, visited

Pittsburgh, which he described as "a small town chiefly inhabited by Indian traders and some mechanics. Part of the inhabitants are agreeable and worthy of regard, while others are lamentably dissolute in their morals."*

But we must not overlook the Moravian missionaries, Germans, in Western Pennsylvania. From many a camp in the remote and awful solitudes of the western forests, the heroic Christian Frederick Post offered up pure prayers to the Throne of Grace while on his missions to the Western Delawares and Shawnees in the summer and autumn of 1758. Only a few years later, or in 1761, we find this Knight of the Cross, proceeding alone as far west as the Muskingum. In the spring of 1762, both Post and that other renowned Moravian missionary, the Rev. John Heckewelder, went to the Muskingum and Tuscarawas, and began their missionary labors among the Delawares of that region. Heckewelder, in his "Narrative," describes their courteous reception by Colonel Bouquet at Fort Pitt while on their way to their new field of labor. As early as October, 1767, the Moravian missionary, Rev. David Zeisberger, preached to the Delawares of the Munsee Clan at the mouth of Tionesta Creek, Forest County; and in the spring of 1768, he and Senseman established a Moravian mission at that place. In April, 1770, Zeisberger established a Moravian mission, called Friedenstadt (City of Peace), where the present town of Moravia, Lawrence County, now stands. This mission was removed to the Tuscarawas in the spring of 1773. But in the summer of 1772, the Moravian missionaries, the Rev. John Etwein and the Rev. John Rothe (Roth), conducted the converted Delawares from Wyalusing, on the Susquehanna, in Bradford County, to Friedenstadt on the Beaver. Rev. Roth accompanied the mission from Friedenstadt to the

*The Rev. David McClure also preached in Westmoreland and Allegheny Counties in 1772 and 1773. See pages 348 and 349.

Tuscarawas. His son, John Lewis, born July 4, 1773, is said by some authorities to have been the first white child born within the limits of Ohio.* However, we call attention to the fact that among the captives released by Colonel Bouquet in his expedition to the Muskingum and Tuscarawas in 1764, was a Virginia woman, who after having been among the Indians for six months, was restored to her husband with a babe about three months old at her breast.

We see that the two great racial stocks that populated early Westmoreland, were the Pennsylvania-Germans and the Scotch-Irish—virile stocks that have contributed so largely to the making of Pennsylvania and the Nation. The Pennsylvania-Germans, descendants of that Alpine race of Nordics that overthrew the Roman Empire, made the Westmoreland valleys bloom like the rose. “Fear God and Love Work”, was their motto. Unlike many of their English-speaking neighbors, there was almost no illiteracy among them—a fact that should be given more prominence than it has been given by historical writers whose pen is prejudiced. Under the learned Francis Daniel Pastorius, this stock was the first to raise the standard of education in Pennsylvania, just as the parochial school of Old Zion Lutheran Church at Herold’s was the first school, not only in Westmoreland County, but in all Western Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania-Germans having printed the first school books and the first Bibles in all America thirty-nine years before any one else printed the Bible in America and fifty years before the descendants of the “Pilgrim Fathers” of New England printed any Bibles, we are not surprised to find in the homes of the early Pennsylvania-Germans of Westmoreland the following books: Luther’s Bible; the

* The Rev. John Roth, Moravian missionary, was the great-grandfather of the Rev. Theophilus B. Roth, D. D., former president of Thiel College.

Catechisms, Lutheran and Reformed; the Gesang-Buch (Hymn book); the Gebet-Buch (Prayer Book); and that great Christian classic, John Arendt's "Wahres Christenthum" ("True Christianity"), printed by Benjamin Franklin and Johann Böhm, in 1751, the largest book printed in Philadelphia during the century. They were "good livers," their wives and daughters unexcelled cooks. But they cared very little for whiskey. Heimgemacht Bier (home-made beer) was good enough for them.

The Scotch-Irish, not "half Scotch and half Irish" as unscientific writers would lead one to believe, but a mixture of the virile bloods of the Gaels, the Ancient Britons, the German Angles, the German Saxons, the Danes and the Norse Searovers, entered the forests of Westmoreland with their Bible, their Westminster Catechism and their rifles. In a few words, the Scotch-Irish settlers of Westmoreland County are described by Hassler, in his "Old Westmoreland," as follows:

"The Scotch pioneers of this western region were bold, stout and industrious men, sharp at bargains, fond of religious and political controversy and not strongly attached to government either of the royal or the proprietary kind. In nearly every cabin three articles were to be found; a Bible, a rifle and a whiskey jug. A strong characteristic of the settlers was an intense hatred of the Indians, for whose treatment the extermination policy of Joshua toward the heathen beyond Jordan was generally considered to be the proper model."

But Hassler could truthfully have said that the Scotch-Irish pioneers brought some other "articles" into the western wilderness. Besides the Bible and the Westminster Catechism, they brought spelling books and Latin grammars. So, as early as 1782, the Scotch-

Irish Presbyterian minister, Thaddeus Dodd, opened a classical school at Ten Mile, Washington County. A few years later, another of these clergymen, Joseph Smith, opened a similar school at Buffalo, Washington County; and of course every well informed Western Pennsylvanian knows that the famous log cabin school of Rev. John McMillan, near Canonsburg, established likely as early as 1782, later became the first college in Western Pennsylvania, now Washington and Jefferson College.

Being more numerous, in Westmoreland in the early days, than the Pennsylvania-Germans, and all being English-speaking, the Scotch-Irish held most of the offices. In the Indian troubles, they made good use of the rifle, which the German and Swiss settlers introduced into America.

Referring once more to pioneer preaching in Westmoreland County and other parts of Western Pennsylvania, it is but fair to say that no small part of it consisted in attacks on those of faiths other than that of preacher. There were walls between various Christian denominations in those days, as there are today; and many pioneer preachers had not grown tall enough to reach over those walls, grasp the hands of their brothers on the other side and bid them Godspeed. In fact there was preaching of the kind to which we refer, long after pioneer days. We give two examples of such in Westmoreland County as late as the period from 1825 to 1830, as follows:

Writing of the "Lutheran Bishop of Western Pennsylvania" (the Rev. J. G. C. Schweizerbarth), the Rev. E. B. Burgess, D. D., says on pages 60 and 61 of his "Memorial History of the Pittsburgh Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church:"

"On one occasion he [Rev. Schweizerbarth] was invited by Father Steck [the venerable pastor of the

Lutheran Church at Greensburg] to preach a certain anniversary sermon in Greensburg. No church in the village would accommodate the multitude of people who came out to see and hear the renowned Bishop (for by that title he designated himself); so the sermon was delivered in the court house. A vast assemblage of Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists was present, with the Lutherans of Father Steck's congregation. The Bishop took his position behind the Judge's desk and announced his text; Matthew 28:19, 20. His theme was baptism. In the course of unfolding his theme, he stated that in all Scripture he read of only three cases of immersion: the Antediluvians, Pharoah and his army, and the swine of the Gadarines. At this the Presbyterians and Methodists smiled. 'You need not smile,' he said. 'Your doctrine of predestination shuts you out from the true Christian hope in baptism. The sacrament brings no grace to you if your doctrine of predestination be true. If you be among the saved, you bring the grace to the sacrament.' Then the Methodists caught it: 'You Methodists sometimes baptize your children and sometimes you don't. You let them grow up like colts, and then break them if you can. You get up an excitement, get them anxious and then bench them. Then, if you forgot to baptize them, you call a meeting to initiate members, sprinkle, affuse or immerse them as they may choose, and watch them for six months to see if they are Christians.' This remarkable sermon continued for three hours. When it was concluded, Father Steck persuaded the preacher that the backstairs was the shortest way out of the court house, for many of the people were infuriated."

In 1880, the late Judge Thomas Mellon, of Pittsburgh, wrote a work on the Sunday question, in which he made the following interesting observations on re-

ligious conditions in Franklin Township, Westmoreland County, where he was reared, the period of which he wrote being from 1825 to 1830:

“Rev. Father Wynal, of the Lutheran persuasion, was nursing an embryo congregation among the Germans.* He resided near Saltsburg, but came over and preached to them every fourth Sunday, holding services in the dwelling of our nearest neighbor, Peter Hill. The congregation has since developed into that now worshipping in a comfortable brick edifice known as Hill’s Church. Well, at the time to which I refer, when Mr. Wynal was the pastor, old Peter Hill, as honest a man and good a neighbor as need be, was the contributor, treasurer, trustee and entire session. The Sunday on which preaching was to be at Peter’s was regarded as a holiday, indeed, by the surrounding German population. They gathered from all quarters. The services lasted from nine till twelve A. M., when Peter’s wife, Hetty, (for he was married twice and had in all twenty-five children), with the assistance of her neighbor women, would have an ample dinner cooked, which was not only free but welcome to all who had come to meeting. The dinner being over, the younger men would spend the afternoon in games of corner ball and pitching quoits on the green in front of the house, whilst Mr. Wynal and Peter and the old men sat smoking their pipes on the porch, looking on at the sport with marked satisfaction. Evidently it occurred to neither pastor nor people that there was anything wrong or sinful in the performance. Times change, however, and religious observances, as well as other habits, change according to the prevailing fashion, for the same congregation would not now spend Sunday in that way.

“At the same time we, of Scotch Presbyterian pro-

*The Rev. Mr. Wynal (Weinel) was a clergyman of the Reformed Church, not the Lutheran—Author.

clivities, had a similar gathering every third Sunday at Duff's Tent. Duff's Tent was a place in the woods, with benches made of split logs, and an eight-by-ten box-shaped structure, boarded up and roofed, for a pulpit. For a pastor we had Rev. Hugh Kirkland, a fresh graduate from the Theological School at Glasgow, and zealous in the strictest ideas of the Scotch kirk. He regarded Rouse's Version of David's Psalms and the enormity of Sabbath breaking as of vital importance. He preached on few topics, except 'To prove the Roman Catholic Church to be Antichrist,' or 'The desecration of the Sabbath by the Lutherans,' or 'The damnable heresies of the Methodists in defying the doctrines of innate depravity and predestination and persisting in singing choral songs instead of the Psalms of David.'

"This kind of preaching, however, did not bring forth good fruit, even in the Scotch Presbyterian soil in which it was sown. My father allowed the Methodists the use of a vacant house on his place to hold their meetings, and several of the flock attended a Methodist meeting on one occasion to hear Rev. Bascom and some of the leading men. Mr. Humes joined in the singing. This the reverend gentleman regarded as an indignity to his teachings, and in his next sermon he took occasion to animadvert severely on the conduct of those, who, after being washed from their sins, had, like the sow, again betaken themselves to wallowing in the mire. He was as pointed as to nearly designate the delinquents by name, and this raised a row. But the straw that broke the camel's back was the starting of a Sabbath-school. George and Michael Haymaker and some other young people of this flock undertook to open a Sabbath-school in the schoolhouse at Newlansburg, nearby. This was too great a sacrilege for the good man to bear. He

could not brook the desecration of the Sabbath-day by such worldly employment as school teaching, and, as a majority of his flock inclined to favor the Sabbath-school, he shook the dust from his feet and departed."

At this point, the reader will pardon a personal reference. In the veins of the author of this volume, runs the blood of every racial stock that contributed to the making of Pennsylvania—blood of the English, the Germans, the Swiss, the Swedes, the Scotch, the Welsh, the Scotch-Irish, the Irish and the French. Among his ancestors were the strong men and heroic women of the Scotch-Irish settlement of Derry and the Pennsylvania-German settlements of Brush Creek and Herold's. Their dust reposes in the old graveyards of these parts of Westmoreland. When he visits these last resting-places of worthy forbears, "Old Westmoreland's" heroic and mighty past rises before him like a dream, and angel voices whisper to his soul: "Remember the days of old: consider the years of many generations."

Westmoreland County Formed—Fort Ligonier Abandoned

At the time of the opening of the land office (April 3, 1769) for the application of those who desired to take up lands in the New Purchase, as the purchase of 1768 was called, the same was declared to be within the jurisdiction of the county of Cumberland; and thus the limits of Cumberland County then extended to the Allegheny and Ohio. On March 9, 1771, Bedford County was organized, and the western limits of this county, in turn, extended to the Allegheny and Ohio. Also, in this year, the Penns appointed magistrates to cover their jurisdiction about Pittsburgh. The evacuation of Fort Pitt by the British troops, in the autumn of 1772, caused the settlers between the

Laurel Hill and Pittsburgh to demand a stronger civil organization for this part of the Province. This fact and the constantly increasing influx of Scotch-Irish, Pennsylvania-German and other settlers into the region west of the Laurel Hill made the necessity for a new county organization for this territory so urgent that Westmoreland County was erected February 26, 1773, embracing that part of Bedford—and of the Province—west of the Laurel Hill between the line of the purchase of 1768, on the north, and the Mason and Dixon line, on the south. In other words, the original Westmoreland County, the last county formed under the proprietary government, included the present counties of Westmoreland, Fayette, Greene and Washington, those parts of Allegheny and Beaver counties lying east and south of the Allegheny and Ohio, that part of Armstrong County (about one-third) lying east of the Allegheny and south of the line of the purchase of 1768, and that part of Indiana County (about two-thirds) lying south of the above purchase line. The total area of the original "Old Westmoreland" was about 4,700 square miles.

With the organization of the county of Westmoreland, named for Westmoreland County in England, it was provided that the courts of the county should be held at the house of Robert Hanna at Hannastown until a court house should be erected and a place definitely fixed, by legislation, for the county seat. Accordingly, on April 6, 1773, the first court was organized at Robert Hanna's house by Captain (later Colonel) William Crawford and his associates, justices of the court. This was the first court of the Anglo-Saxon race west of the Alleghenies. Robert Hanna was its first presiding judge, and Arthur St.

Clair was its first prothonotary, register and recorder, and clerk. Sixteen magistrates were appointed to administer justice within the bounds of the new county.

In closing this chapter, let us return to historic Fort Ligonier. During the period covered by this chapter, the duty of the garrison of this post was to keep the line of communication open, to guard convoys on the way to Fort Pitt and to hasten to relief when occasion required. It is not definitely known when the fort ceased to be garrisoned by the Royal Americans, but it was very likely in 1765. As the noted Westmoreland County historian, George Dallas Albert, points out in "The Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania," "there is presumption of the strongest character that, about 1767 to 1769, small detachments of soldiers under the Proprietary's government were posted here." It was pointed out earlier in this chapter that Arthur St. Clair came to Ligonier prior to the opening of the land office in April, 1769, and had charge of Fort Ligonier. In the correspondence between him and the Governor of Pennsylvania in the years 1773 and 1774, he is addressed by the Governor as "Captain;" and, inasmuch as he had not had such title or commission in the British service, it is quite probable that, during this period, some Provincial soldiers were stationed at Fort Ligonier and that St. Clair had charge of the post part, if not all, of the time. However, it was officially stated by Lieutenant Governor John Penn, on January 30, 1775, that, since the close of Pontiac's War, "no forts or places of defense have been kept up within this government." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, page 598.) We conclude, therefore, that while Fort Ligonier was "not kept up," or kept in repair, after the conclusion of Pontiac's War, yet after the garrison of Royal Ameri-

cans left the post, small detachments of Provincial soldiers were stationed here, whose duties were as much civil and police as military in character. But, as will be seen in the following chapter, stirring events took place in Westmoreland County in 1774, which caused St. Clair to station militia at decaying Fort Ligonier.

CHAPTER XIV

Fort Ligonier and Westmoreland in 1774 and 1775—Virginia's Claim and Dunmore's War

At first the author intended to make two chapters out of the interesting and important period in the history of Fort Ligonier and the entire region west of the Laurel Hills, discussed in this chapter. But inasmuch as Virginia's claim and Lord Dunmore's War are intimately and logically connected, he finally decided to treat them together, believing the reader can thus make a more satisfactory study of these important events.

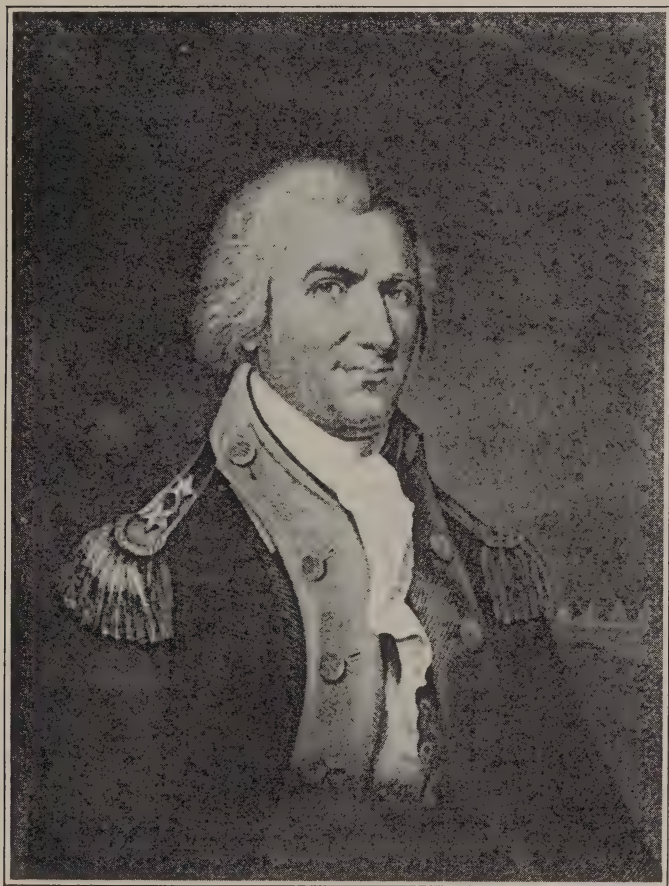
In former chapters, reference was made to the fact that Virginia claimed what is now southwestern Pennsylvania, a claim based on the purchase that this colony had made from the Iroquois, or Six Nations, at the Lancaster Treaty of 1744. We have seen that a few years after the Lancaster Treaty, leading Virginians and some Marylanders formed the Ohio Company for the purpose of exploring and settling the lands on the upper Ohio, and that Virginia, throughout the passing years, never once hesitated in asserting her claim to this region.

During the period, beginning even before the Six Nations had sold, at the Fort Stanwix Treaty of 1768, their lands east and south of the Allegheny and Ohio, when the Ligonier Valley, the Brush Creek Valley and other parts of the present Westmoreland County, were being settled by Pennsylvanians from east of the Alleghenies, Virginians were coming over the Brad-

dock Road into the valleys of the Monongahela, Youghiogheny and Chartiers Creek within the bounds of the original Westmoreland County, believing that their settlements were still within territory owned by Virginia. Virginia claimed that the entire Monongahela Valley, including Pittsburgh, was within her jurisdiction. Hence a lively contest for the control of the region south of the purchase line of the Treaty of 1768 and east and south of the Allegheny and Ohio began between Pennsylvania and Virginia, as the stream of Virginia adherents flowed into the disputed territory; and the organization of Westmoreland County, on February 26, 1773, was designed to strengthen Pennsylvania authority in this region. At the same time, the organization of the new county and the establishing of the Pennsylvania court at Hannastown, on April 6, 1773, stirred up the Virginia authorities to increase their efforts to bring Southwestern Pennsylvania permanently under the jurisdiction of the Old Dominion. Virginia, they concluded, had been arguing with the Pennsylvania authorities long enough as to who owned the disputed territory, and now was the time for action.

Arthur St. Clair

As was seen in Chapter XIII, Arthur St. Clair, as agent for the Penns, had been at Fort Ligonier and vicinity from a date several years prior to the opening of the land office, April 3, 1769; and as he was the chief Pennsylvania figure at Fort Ligonier and in all Westmoreland during the stirring events we are about to relate, we shall, at this point, present him more formally and fully to the readers of this volume. He was born in Thurso Castle, Caithness, Scotland, in 1734, although some authorities give the year of his



Arthur St. Clair

GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR

birth as 1736. He was the scion of an ancient and distinguished family whose lineage runs back to the Norman knight, Walderne de St. Clair, the husband of Margaret, daughter of Richard, Duke of Normandy. Their second son, William de St. Clair, settled in Scotland during the reign of Malcolm Canmore, from whom he obtained large grants of land. During the wars between John Balliol and Robert Bruce for possession of the Scottish Crown, the St. Clairs took the side of the latter, and after the battle of Bannockburn, A. D. 1314, their land holdings were greatly increased. About 1450, this ancient family, whose deeds were sung to the harp of many a border minstrel, was at the height of its wealth and power.

Arthur St. Clair could not inherit the landed estates of his family, owing to the law of primogeniture. He chose the medical profession as his life work. He studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh, and later in London under the celebrated Dr. William Hunter. England having declared war against France, the streets of London echoed to the measured tramp of marching troops; the inspiring music of fife and drum and the silver voice of bugles aroused the young man's inherited inclination to a military life. Therefore, on May 13, 1757, he secured an ensign's commission in the army which Great Britain sent out to join the war against the French in America. He was promoted to lieutenant, April 17, 1759. He served under General James Wolf, and was present at the capture of Louisburg, in the summer of 1758—the first important victory of the British in the French and Indian War—also at the capture of Quebec, in September, 1759.

In May, 1760, he was married to Miss Phoebe Bayard, in Trinity Church, Boston. She was a lady of

wealth and culture, and survived her husband several years.

He resigned his commission of lieutenant, April 16, 1762, and within a few years thereafter, he became agent of the Penns in the region west of the Alleghenies, establishing his residence, likely as early as 1764, in the charming Ligonier Valley. A warrant granted to him for a tract of land in Ligonier Township recites that he was in command of Fort Ligonier at the date of the opening of the land office in April, 1769. The exact nature of his services at Fort Ligonier at this time is hard to determine; but, as was stated in Chapter XIII, they were likely both civil and military in character. Certain it is that he was authorized to, and did, grant military permits for settlements of land, the same as regular officers, before the Penns got title to what is now Westmoreland County. He was appointed surveyor for Cumberland County, April 5, 1770, and also commissioned a justice of the peace and member of the Proprietary Council for that county. As was seen in Chapter XIII, Cumberland County extended, at that time, to the shores of the Ohio. When Bedford County was established, on March 9, 1771, St. Clair was appointed justice of the county courts, prothonotary, and register and recorder for the county; and when Westmoreland County was erected, February 26, 1773, he was appointed to the same offices in that county. In 1771, he and Moses Maclean had run a meridian line west of the meridian of Pittsburgh, thus gaining much knowledge of the Westmoreland region and making him a very useful servant of the Penns in their contention with the Governor of Virginia as to the ownership of Southwestern Pennsylvania—a contention which assumed the form of civil war, in 1774. But, inasmuch as St. Clair's activi-

ties in 1774 will be narrated later in this chapter, we do not make further mention of them at this point.

In December, 1775, St. Clair received the commission of Colonel in the Continental Army, together with a letter from President Hancock, urging him to come to Philadelphia at once. Taking leave of his wife and children, and, in effect, of his fortune, he obeyed the summons and embarked in the cause of liberty. In a letter which he wrote to his intimate friend, James Wilson, at this time, appear the following noble sentiments: "I hold that no man has a right to withhold his services when his country needs them. Be the sacrifice ever so great, it must yield upon the altar of patriotism." He rose to the rank of Major General in the Pennsylvania line, and served throughout the entire war. He was in the campaign in Canada, in 1776, and the campaign against Burgoyne, in 1777. It was he who proposed to Washington the plan of the attack on the British at Princeton; and, as an officer of great experience, sound judgment, and judicial temperament, he was a member of the commission which sat on the trial of Major Andre.

General St. Clair served his adopted state of Pennsylvania in the Continental Congress from 1785 to 1787, and was president of that body when it passed the famous ordinance of 1787 by which the Northwest Territory was organized. He was Governor of that territory from 1789 until removed by President Thomas Jefferson, in 1802.

After his removal as Governor of the Northwest Territory, General St. Clair built "Hermitage Furnace," on Mill Creek about two miles northwest of Ligonier. It stood a few hundred yards from his residence, on the old military road leading to Hannastown, and from which he dated his letters to the Penns and

other correspondence. An advertisement in the "Farmers' Register," on November 21, 1806, shows that the furnace was "in full blast" at that time. In 1810, the furnace passed out of his hands in the wreck of his fortune, referred to later in this sketch. He also erected a grist mill on Mill Creek as early as 1774, according to the quarter sessions docket of the Hannastown court.

However, General St. Clair is better known as the commander of the army which Washington sent against the Ohio Indians, in 1791, after these Indians, instigated by the British, had spread terror, devastation and death in the frontier settlements of Kentucky, West Virginia and Western Pennsylvania, and had overwhelmingly defeated the army of General Harmar, on October 20, 1790, in a bloody battle fought near Fort Wayne, Indiana. "Beware of a surprise," said President Washington to St. Clair, as the latter left Philadelphia to take charge of the army, many of whose recruits were from the large towns, enervated by idleness and debauchery, and unfit for the rigors of warfare against the hardy Delawares, Shawnees, Miamis and Wyandots, and the renegade, Simon Girty. Leaving Fort Washington (Cincinnati, Ohio) in the middle of September, 1791, St. Clair's army advanced into the heart of the country of the hostile tribes, losing many of the militia through desertions.

On November 4, where the town of Fort Recovery, Mercer County, Ohio, only a few miles from the Indiana line, now stands, the remainder of St. Clair's forces, scarcely fourteen hundred troops, with the General very ill at the time, met the Indians and their allies. About half an hour after sunrise, the militia were attacked by a large force of Indians who charged like trained soldiers. Some of the regulars rushed to the

support of the militia; but the onrush of the Indians was found irresistible, and both the militia and the supporting regulars were driven back to the main camp of the army. The Indians then surrounded the army, and continued the work of slaughter. Little Turtle led the Miamis, Blue Jacket, the Shawnees, Bucken-gahelas, the Delawares, and Black Eagle, the Wyandots. Tecumseh, then a young warrior, was among the Shawnee forces. The Indian chiefs were assisted by the renegades, Simon Girty, Alexander McKee and Matthew Elliott. It has also been claimed that Joseph Brant, the famous Mohawk chief, was present, but this has been doubted. According to Simon Girty, the enemy consisted of about twelve hundred Indians besides some Canadians and half-breeds, although some authorities place the number of Indians at more than two thousand.

The battle raged for three hours. St. Clair's cannon failed to terrify the Indians. Under the cover of its smoke, they crept up on the front line and with the sickening thuds of their tomahawks, broke the skulls of the soldiers. Their sharpshooters picked off the artillerymen until only one officer was left, Captain Ford—and he was desperately wounded. Two of General St. Clair's horses were shot before he could mount. He was so weak from illness that he had to be lifted on a third horse, and, during the battle, three horses were shot under him, and eight bullets pierced his clothing and one cut off a lock of his grey hair. General Richard Butler, second in command, was among the slain. Thirty-seven officers and five hundred and ninety-three privates were killed. Thirty-three officers and two hundred and fifty privates were wounded. About two hundred and fifty women—wives of some of the officers and men, cooks and camp followers—

were with the doomed army. Of these, fifty-six were killed. Many soldiers and women were captured, and tortured to death. Supplies to the value of thirty-three thousand dollars fell into the hands of the Indians. The losses of this battle were greater than those incurred by Washington in any battle of the Revolution.

At last, Colonel Darke, with some of the bravest troops, cut a way through the ring of Indians, and opened an avenue for the escape of the survivors. The Indians then fell on the rear guard, and pursued the army for four miles in its disorderly retreat to Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles away. Then they returned to the scene of horror, to kill the wounded and to plunder the dead. In his official report, General St. Clair said that the way to Fort Jefferson was strewn with guns, cartridge-boxes and accoutrements of all kinds. On November 8, the survivors arrived at Fort Washington.

In January, 1792, a detachment, sent by Colonel James Wilkinson, arrived at the scene of slaughter. The weather was bitterly cold, and the frozen bodies of the slain lay in great heaps, scalped, stripped, and so blackened that but few of the bodies could be identified. Some—those of both soldiers and women—had stakes driven through them. Many bodies, covered with the deep snow, could not be found. Colonel Wilkinson's men buried all that could be found. On December 25, 1793, a detachment, sent by General Wayne, arrived on the battlefield. Some accounts say that, before the men could lie down that night, they had to clear the ground of bones. The next day all the bones that could be found were buried. Among these were six hundred skulls. Colonel Wilkinson's detachment then erected Fort Recovery, on the site of the battle.

This was one of the most crushing and disastrous

defeats in the Indian annals of America. The country was shocked, humiliated, and disheartened; and the Indians were much emboldened. Washington was extremely agitated on hearing of St. Clair's misfortune, and gave way to passionate invective, but recovering himself said: "General St. Clair shall have justice. I will receive him without displeasure; I will hear him without prejudice; he shall have full justice." His investigation into St. Clair's conduct resulted in the General's honorable acquittal.

The following sentence is from the report of the Congressional Committee appointed to inquire into St. Clair's defeat:

"The committee conceive it but justice to the commander-in-chief to say that, in their opinion, the failure of the late expedition can in no respect be imputed to his conduct, either at any time before or during the action, but that as his conduct in all the preparatory arrangements was marked with peculiar ability and zeal, so his conduct during the action furnishes strong testimonials of his coolness and intrepidity."

At this point we call attention to the fact that the "Legend of Louisa St. Clair," daughter of the General, to the effect that young Brant, son of the great Mohawk chief, Joseph Brant, was in love with Louisa, was in the battle, and ordered his warriors to shoot St. Clair's horses but not him, thus accounting for the fact that so many horses were shot under the General while he remained unharmed, is but a romantic love story, very interesting and at one time very popular in the Northwest, but having no historical basis.

A final word as to General Richard Butler, for whom Butler County is named. Simon Girty, the "White Savage," as Heckewelder fittingly called him, saw and recognized General Butler as the noted soldier was

writhing in the agony of his wounds. Girty told an Indian warrior that Butler was a high officer, whereupon the Indian sank his tomahawk in the skull of the brave General, scalped him, cut out his heart, and divided it into as many pieces as there were tribes in the battle.

St. Clair had fought courageously against the Indian hordes led by Blue Jacket, Little Turtle, and Simon Girty, the renegade; but he never rose again in public estimation. Upon his removal as Governor of the Northwest Territory, in 1802, he retired to his mansion, which in the days of his affluence, he had built about two miles northwest of Ligonier, in the Ligonier Valley. Financial reverses soon came upon him, and his beautiful home and all his other property, except his bed, his bust of John Paul Jones, his copy of Horace and a few other books of his English and classical library, were sold. He then removed to a log house on the summit of Chestnut Ridge, where his son, Daniel, had purchased a small farm for him. Here, in site of his former home, the old soldier spent the remainder of his days in poverty, eking out a miserable existence by keeping tavern and selling supplies to teamsters. His aged wife's intellect broke under the strain. A traveler, passing over the Chestnut Ridge, saw the desolate, old man in his mountain home, and was reminded of the Roman exile's reply: "Tell the citizens of Rome that you saw Caius Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage." He made frequent appeals to the Legislature of Pennsylvania and to Congress for aid in his declining years. His claim against the Government was based upon the fact that he personally stood good for the supplying of much provisions and equipment for the army which he led against the Ohio Indians, on the promise of the Secretary of the Treasury



Marker on Site of the Mountain Home in Which General Arthur St. Clair Died. It has the following inscription:

"SITE OF CABIN WHERE DIED MAJOR GENERAL
ARTHUR ST. CLAIR, DISTINGUISHED REVOLU-
TIONARY OFFICER, PRESIDENT CONTINENTAL
CONGRESS, GOVERNOR NORTHWEST
TERRITORY.

Erected By St. Clair Chapter Sons of American Revolution."

Boy in foreground is Charles Frederick Maxwell, Jr., son of Prof. Charles F. Maxwell, County Superintendent of Westmoreland County Schools.

to reimburse him. In 1813 Pennsylvania gave him an annuity of four hundred dollars; and shortly before his death, Congress voted him the sum of two thousand dollars in settlement of his claims against the Government, and a pension of sixty dollars per month, dated back one year. Not a dollar of the settlement gave any relief to the aged man, as it was all seized by his creditors.

On August 30, 1818, while driving down the Chestnut Ridge with a pony hitched to an old wagon, he fell from the jolting vehicle upon the rough road, where Susan Steinbarger found him lying unconscious as she was going out to gather berries. The pony was standing nearby. The General was then taken to his humble home, but never regained consciousness, dying the next day at the great age of eighty-four years. He is buried in the old Presbyterian cemetery at Greensburg, where the Masons have erected a monument at his grave having the statement that it is "erected to supply the place of a nobler one due from his country." His warfare over and his troubles ended, the old soldier sleeps serenely in the blessed arms of everlasting peace.

*Virginia Adherents Break Up Westmoreland Court
and Establish Virginia Courts*

As stated earlier in this chapter, no sooner had Westmoreland County been established by the Penns, than a conflict began between Virginia and Pennsylvania touching the rights of the respective colonies in this region—each one claiming the same territory. John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, became Governor of Virginia in 1772. In the following year, he made a visit to Fort Pitt, where he became acquainted with Dr. John Connolly, a native Pennsylvanian, born in Lancaster County, about 1750, a nephew of George

Croghan and son-in-law of Samuel Semple, noted Pittsburgh lawyer. Dunmore began laying plans to set up Virginia authority permanently in the disputed territory, and easily enlisted the interest and support of Dr. Connolly.

On January 1, 1774, Dr. Connolly posted a printed notice in Pittsburgh, in which he stated that Governor Dunmore had appointed him "Captain, Commandant of the Militia of Pittsburgh and its Dependencies," that Dunmore "purposes moving to the House of Burgesses the Necessity of erecting a new County to include Pittsburgh, for the redress of your complaints, and to take every other Step that may tend to afford you that Justice for which you Sollicitt," and that "I hereby command all Persons in the Dependency of Pittsburgh, to assemble themselves there as a Militia on the 25th Instant, at which Time I shall communicate other Matters for the promotion of public Utility." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 10, pages 141 and 142.)

On January 11, Aeneas Mackay, one of the justices of the Westmoreland court at Hannastown, sent from his residence in Pittsburgh a letter to Arthur St. Clair, at Ligonier, in which he informed this trusted agent of the Penns that the "Capt. [Connolly] had already appointed six or seven Magistrates, among whom are Major Smallman, John Campbell and John Gibson; the rest I have not learned their names yet." St. Clair then wrote a letter to Joseph Shippen, secretary of Governor John Penn, in which he enclosed the letter of Mackay and also a copy of the notice of Dr. Connolly. Governor Penn then wrote a letter to Arthur St. Clair, in which he said that he had sent a messenger to Governor Dunmore, on January 31, asking for "an explanation of this strange Affair," and adding the following instructions to St. Clair: "In the meantime,

I would by all means have you and the other Magistrates of your County assert the Right of Pennsylvania, and protect the People in every Part of its known Limits, as Fort Pitt most certainly is."

In his letter to Lord Dunmore, Governor Penn wrote: "The Western Extent of the Province of Pennsylvania, by the Royal Grant, is five Degrees of Longitude from the River Delaware, which is its Eastern Boundary. In the year 1768, an East and West Line was run from Delaware, at the mouth of Christina Creek, to the crossing of Dunkard Creek [the famous Mason and Dixon Line], a Branch of the Monongahela, by Messieurs Dixon and Mason, two Surveyors of Distinction, who were sent over from England to run the Division Line between Maryland and Pennsylvania. These Artists fixed the Latitude and Extent of that Line with the utmost exactness and precision, to the satisfaction of the Commissioners on both Sides. From the 233d mile Stone on this Line, a North Line hath been since carefully run and measured to the Ohio, and from thence up to Fort Pitt; the several courses of the River have been taken with all possible Care. From the Line of Dixon and Mason to a known Point in the South Line of the City of Philadelphia, the true Course and Distance hath been discovered by actual Survey, as also from the Point aforesaid, to that part of the River Delaware which is in the same Latitude as Fort Pitt; and from these several Data, the most exact Calculations have been made by Dr. Smith, Provost of our College, Mr. Rittenhouse and our Surveyor General, in order to ascertain the difference of Longitude between Delaware and Pittsburgh, who all agree that the latter is near six miles Eastward of the Western extent of the Province." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 10, page 150.)

To Governor Penn's letter of January 31, Governor Dunmore replied: "I must inform You that, although the Calculations on which you rely, in the Plan accompanying your Letter, may possibly be found exact, yet they can by no means be considered by us, as the Observations on which they were founded were made without the participation of this Government, or the Assistance of any Person on the part of the Crown; and even if they were admitted, we apprehend they would decide nothing in the present Case; for the Right of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania to the Country about Pittsburgh must be founded on better authority than is there adduced, to make it valid."

After having received Governor Penn's letter instructing him to "assert the right of Pennsylvania," Arthur St. Clair had Dr. John Connolly arrested and confined in the jail at Hannastown. He was released in a few days, however, in order to make a trip to Pittsburgh and upon his promise, upon his honor, to return before the April term of the Westmoreland court. On April 7, he returned to Hannastown, as he had promised, but with a force of one hundred and fifty armed men. He placed sentinels before the doors of the court house, and sent a message to the justices that he would wait upon them and give them the reasons for his appearance. Later he addressed them, saying that he did not consider himself amenable to the Westmoreland court and that he had raised the militia to support the civil authority of Virginia vested in him. Captain William Crawford, then president of the Westmoreland court, wrote Governor Penn the following day, giving him full information concerning the actions of Connolly and characterizing the militia that the latter had raised as "men without character and without fortune."

The Westmoreland court adjourned on April 8, and

the three justices from Pittsburgh, Devereux Smith, Andrew McFarlane and Aeneas Mackay, returned to their homes that night. The next forenoon they were all arrested by Connolly, and sent under guard to Staunton, Virginia, the county seat of Augusta County, within whose jurisdiction Virginia had claimed "Pittsburgh and its Dependencies" were. When the three Westmoreland justices arrived at Williamsburg, then the capital of Virginia, Governor Dunmore, after listening to their story, told them that he had authorized Dr. Connolly to prosecute the claims of Virginia "to Pittsburgh and its Dependencies." He then released them and permitted them to go home.

Connolly and his militia of Virginia adherents took possession of Fort Pitt, which had been abandoned in 1772 by the King's order, repaired it and changed its name to Fort Dunmore in honor of the Governor of Virginia. Then followed a series of arrests and counter arrests, proclamations and counter proclamations, bitterness and strife between the adherents to Pennsylvania and the adherents to Virginia in the present counties of Westmoreland, Allegheny, Fayette, Washington and Greene—a virtual reign of terror that disrupted the life and affairs of the inhabitants of the disputed territory. In the midst of the turmoil came Lord Dunmore's War against the Shawnees, further mention of which will be made later in this chapter.

On December 12, 1774, Governor Dunmore adjourned the court of Augusta County, at Staunton, Virginia, to meet at Fort Dunmore (Fort Pitt), on December 20, accompanied with a new commission of the peace. Thus there was created out of Augusta County a new Virginia county in Western Pennsylvania, called the District of West Augusta, and its first court was held at Fort Dunmore, on February

21, 1775. Its justices were George Croghan, Dr. John Connolly, John Campbell, Thomas Smallman, Dorsey Pentecost, John Gibson, George Vallandigham and William Goe. With the erecting of the new county of West Augusta and the opening of its court, there were two courts in the same territory—one at Hannastown, under Pennsylvania jurisdiction, and the other at Pittsburgh, under Virginia jurisdiction, each bitterly antagonistic to the other and each claiming jurisdiction over the same territory and people. The civil and political chaos of such a situation can easily be seen.

At this point, we anticipate events somewhat by stating that, on August 20, 1776, the West Augusta court at Pittsburgh made an order that its future sessions should be held at "Augusta Town," about a mile west of Washington, Pennsylvania. The first session of the court at its new location was held on September 17, 1776, its president justice being Edward Ward, and the other justices present being Dorsey Pentecost, John Cannon and David Shepherd. This court at "Augusta Town" was the first court of the Anglo-Saxon race in what is now Washington County and in that part of Pennsylvania west of the Monongahela. The Washington County Historical Society has marked the spot where the Virginia Court house stood in "Augusta Town" of long ago. But in October, 1776, the Virginia County of West Augusta was divided by an Act of the Virginia Assembly into three counties, called Ohio, Yohogania, and Monongalia. The courts of Ohio County were held at Black's Cabin, now West Liberty, West Virginia; the courts of Yohogania County were held at Andrew Heath's, near West Elizabeth, in the present Allegheny County; and the courts of Monongalia County were held at Theophilus Phillips', about

two miles above New Geneva, in the present Fayette County.

We further anticipate events by stating the following:

When, amidst the storm and confusion of the conflicting jurisdictions of Virginia and Pennsylvania, the news of the battle of Lexington reached Western Pennsylvania in the spring of 1775, the patriots of this region rallied to the defense of their liberties, and "An Association for the Defense of American Liberty" was formed at Hannastown, on May 16. The famous "Resolutions" then and there drawn up were a virtual Declaration of Independence, and were signed by the patriots of "Old Westmoreland" more than a year before the Declaration of Independence at Philadelphia and four days before the Mecklenburg Resolutions in North Carolina. Arthur St. Clair, in a letter written from Ligonier to Governor Penn, on May 25, says: "An association is formed in this County for the Defense of American Liberty. I got a clause added to it by which they bind themselves to assist the civil Magistrate in the Execution of the Laws they have been accustomed to be governed by." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, pages 628 and 629.)

On May 16, 1775, a similar meeting was held at Pittsburgh and similar Resolutions were adopted, approving the act of the New Englanders in resisting "the invaders of American rights and privileges to the utmost extreme." But the distinction between the Pittsburgh meeting and the Hannastown meeting is that the Pittsburgh meeting, composed of both Pennsylvania and Virginia adherents, took occasion to refer more especially to local affairs and grievances; whereas the Hannastown meeting, composed entirely of Pennsylvania adherents, struck directly at the invasion of

American rights by the Crown, so directly indeed that Arthur St. Clair, anxious as he was at that time to see matters settled without a break with England, wrote from Ligonier to Joseph Shippen, on May 18, referring to the Resolutions as follows: "I doubt their Utility, and am almost as much afraid of success in this Contest as of being vanquished."

The actions of the meetings at Pittsburgh and Hannastown gave great offense to Dr. John Connolly and were a stinging personal rebuke to his royalist schemings. Two days after the Pittsburgh meeting, he sat for the last time as a justice of the West Augusta court at Fort Dunmore. On February 22, he and other Virginia adherents had arrested Robert Hanna and James Caveat, justices of the Hannastown court, for performing acts under the authority of Pennsylvania, and imprisoned them in Fort Dunmore. Now, after the meetings at Pittsburgh and Hannastown, and Dr. Connolly continuing to be so obnoxious in the British interest, a posse of twenty men, under orders of Arthur St. Clair, released Hanna and Caveat, and seized Connolly and took him to Ligonier with the intention of delivering him to the Continental Government at Philadelphia. The Virginia adherents in Southwestern Pennsylvania, however, believing that Connolly's arrest was a blow to Virginia's territorial claims, made such a violent demonstration that St. Clair released him. Soon after his release, he fled from Pittsburgh at night, and made his way to Virginia, where he joined Governor Dunmore, who had also fled on June 8. He was later captured by the patriots at Hagerstown, Maryland, and remained a prisoner of war until he was exchanged in 1780-81. On July 12, 1775, St. Clair wrote the following to Joseph Shippen: "Whilst Connolly was at my House endeavoring to procure Bail, I treated

him with a good deal of Civility, by which, with the help of a chearful glass, I got at some of his Designs."

The flight of the Royalists, Dunmore and Connolly, put a temporary stop to the boundary troubles in Western Pennsylvania, and the settlers in this region then raised two regiments to go to the east to join the Continental Army under Washington—the Seventh Virginia Regiment, commanded by Colonel William Crawford, and the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, also later commanded by Colonel Crawford. This latter regiment was known as the West Augusta Regiment, and like the Seventh Virginia Regiment, was recruited from among the Virginia adherents in Monongahela Valley. The Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel Aeneas Mackay, later by Colonel Daniel Brodhead, was composed of Pennsylvania adherents from the present county of Westmoreland and the surrounding region. Besides these regiments, there were a number of independent companies organized which were included in the various regiments in the Pennsylvania Line.

The Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, under the command of Colonel Mackay, with George Wilson as Lieutenant-Colonel and Richard Butler as Major, first rendezvoused at Kittanning late in the autumn of 1776, erected a stockade just below the present town of that name, and prepared to advance up the Allegheny to erect other forts, when a call was received for the regiment to march across the state to join the army of Washington, near the Delaware. In spite of a storm of protest on the western frontier, the regiment began its long and terrible march over the mountains amid the icy winds and snows of January, 1777, to join Washington's army, passing Fort Ligonier on the way.

At this point, a final glance at some of the principal

representatives of the conflicting interests in Western Pennsylvania in 1775. In addition to Dr. John Conolly, there were George Croghan, who had at first been a justice of the Hannastown court; John Gibson, a native Pennsylvanian who later became a Virginia partisan; Dorsey Pentecost; Edward Ward; John Canon and William Crawford. Crawford was the land agent of George Washington. Upon the erection of Bedford County, in 1771, he was one of the justices of that county, and when Westmoreland County was carved out of Bedford County, in 1773, he was commissioned a justice of its court at Hannastown. Having become a Virginia partisan, Governor Dunmore commissioned him a justice of the Augusta court at Fort Dunmore, and when West Augusta was carved out of this district, he was commissioned a justice of the latter county's court.

In addition to Arthur St. Clair, the principal Pennsylvania adherents were Robert Hanna and Michael Huffnagle, at Hannastown; John Proctor and Archibald Lochry, living near the present Latrobe; James Caveat and Christopher Hays, of the Sewickley settlement; Christopher Truby, of the Harrold's settlement, commissioner of Westmoreland County; John Ormsby, Devereux Smith and Aeneas Mackay, traders and storekeepers at Pittsburgh; Edward Cook, of what is now Washington Township, Fayette County; James Carnahan, sheriff of Westmoreland County, and George Wilson, who lived at the mouth of George's Creek, on the Monongahela, surrounded by adherents to the Virginia interest.

End of Territorial Dispute—Migration to Kentucky

The bitterness of the territorial dispute quieted down somewhat during the Revolutionary War, when both

Pennsylvania adherents and Virginia adherents were battling against the common enemy; and the Assemblies of both states, from 1776 to 1779, made various attempts to settle it permanently before a satisfactory agreement was reached. Early in the latter year, commissioners were appointed by both states to deal with the whole matter and report to their respective Assemblies. The Pennsylvania commissioners were George Bryan, John Ewing and David Rittenhouse; and the Virginia commissioners were James Madison, Robert Andrews and Thomas Lewis. The commissioners met at Baltimore, on August 27, 1779, and four days later drew up the following agreement: "To extend the Mason and Dixon Line due west five degrees of longitude, to be computed from the River Delaware, for the southern boundary of Pennsylvania; and that a meridian be drawn from the western extremity thereof to the northern line of said State to be the western line of said State forever."

The Pennsylvania Assembly ratified the Baltimore agreement on November 19, 1779; but the Virginia Lower House did not ratify it until July 1, 1780, and then only "on condition that the private property and rights of all persons, acquired under and founded on, or recognized by the laws of either country previous to date hereof, be saved and confirmed to them." In the meantime, Virginia had granted hundreds of "Virginia Certificates" to claimants of land under Virginia titles. Francis Peyton, Philip Pendleton, Joseph Holmes and George Merriweather, who had been appointed in May, 1779, as commissioners for the Virginia counties of Ohio, Yohogania and Monongalia, came to the Monongahela Valley in December of that year, and, sitting at Fort Redstone (Brownsville) and Coxe's Fort, in the present Peters Township*, Washington County,

*Probably within the bounds of the present Union Township since the erection of this township.

granted "Virginia Certificates" to claimants under Virginia settlement rights. The bold attempt on the part of Virginia to seize the lands in Southwestern Pennsylvania by these "Virginia Certificates," aroused the wrath of the Pennsylvania adherents, and almost caused open warfare. The "Certificate Commissioners" were threatened with forcible ejectment, and after several months, found it prudent to withdraw from the region. George Washington's title to more than one thousand acres of land in Mount Pleasant Township, Washington County, was based upon "Virginia Certificates," according to that able Washington County lawyer and careful historian, Boyd Crumrine. The Pennsylvania Assembly, while justly objecting to Virginia's unreasonable conditions, ratified the Baltimore agreement by Act of April 1, 1784, thus unselfishly and nobly closing the territorial dispute forever.

In the meantime, the Pennsylvania Legislature, by Act of March 28, 1781, created the original Washington County, bounded by Virginia on the South and West, by the Ohio River on the North, and by the Monongahela on the East; and by Acts of September 26, 1783 and Febr. 17, 1784, created the present Fayette County.

But during the continuance of the dispute, there was a large migration of disaffected settlers from Western Pennsylvania to the lands in Kentucky; and the dispute was the cause of the migration. While the controversy raged, no man knew whether he was subject to Virginia jurisdiction or Pennsylvania jurisdiction—no man knew whether the land upon which he had settled, which he was improving and which he was defending against the Indian allies of the British, belonged to him or not. Hence hundreds upon hundreds of Western Pennsylvania settlers, wearied and disheartened by the constant unrest, lawlessness and strife, floated down the

winding Monongahela and the broad Ohio to the "Old Kentucky Shore."

Lord Dunmore's War—Its Cause

Lord Dunmore's War against the Shawnees and Mingoes in the summer of 1774, spread terror, devastation and death throughout Southwestern Pennsylvania, and added to the chaos of the territorial dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania. It would not be difficult to conclude that Dunmore, land grabber and extreme Royalist that he was, saw the conflict that was coming between the Colonies and the Mother Country, deliberately planned this unjust war against the indians, and, at the same time, instigated the bitter territorial dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania, for the purpose of weakening the Colonies in case a conflict between them and England should come to pass. The principal causes of this war were: 1. The settling of Virginians on land claimed by the Shawnees, who had never parted with their title to the same. 2. The murder of peaceable Indians at the mouth of Captina Creek. 3. The murder of the family of Logan, Chief of the Mingoes.

As was seen in Chapter XIII, the Six Nations, at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, in November, 1768, sold all the lands "to which the Iroquois had claim" on the south side of the Ohio River as far as the mouth of the Tennessee River. The claim of the Iroquois was based on "the right of conquest." The Cherokees, who rightly contended that the Iroquois never conquered them, claimed the southern part of the lands conveyed by this grant, while the Shawnees and Delawares did not agree to this sale of their hunting grounds on the upper Ohio as well as in Kentucky. At the same time, a tract between the Kanawha and Monongahela was

granted to William Trent in trust for the traders who had claims for losses in the Pontiac and Guyasuta War.

Without making any attempt to satisfy the claims of the Shawnees and other tribes who claimed these lands, settlers from Virginia soon began migrating to this region and asserting full ownership. In the summer of 1773, agents of John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, made explorations and surveys along the southern shore of the lower Ohio and on the Kentucky River. Dunmore was anxious to extend the dominion of Virginia even beyond the Ohio and enrich himself, with no thought of purchasing from the Shawnees and Delawares their claim to any part of the lands conveyed by the grants above named.

While Virginia settlers were thus pressing into the lands on the Ohio and into the present counties of Greene, Fayette, Washington and Allegheny, a few of them were murdered by the Indians, and they murdered a few Indians. In the spring of 1773, a young man, named Sherrard, was killed and scalped by Indians, near where Florence, Washington County, now stands, according to Forrest's History of Washington County. In the same spring, a friendly Delaware of considerable notoriety, named Bald Eagle, (not the Delaware chief of that name killed by Captain Samuel Brady), who had frequently visited the settlements of Virginians on the upper Monongahela and gone on hunting expeditions with the white men, was wantonly murdered, near New Geneva, Fayette County. Withers, in his "Chronicles of Border Warfare," thus describes the murder of this friendly Indian:

"In one of his visits among them he was discovered alone by Jacob Scott, William Hacker and Elijah Runner who, reckless of the consequences, murdered him solely to gratify a most wanton thirst for Indian blood.

After the commission of this most outrageous enormity, they seated him in the stern of a canoe and with a piece of journey-cake thrust into his mouth, set him afloat on the Monongahela. In this situation he was seen descending the river by several who supposed him to be, as usual, returning from a friendly hunt with the whites in the friendly settlements, and who expressed some astonishment that he did not stop to see them. The canoe floated near to the shore below the mouth of George's Creek [in southwestern Fayette County, Pennsylvania], and was observed by Mrs. Province, who had it brought to the bank, and the friendly but unfortunate old Indian decently buried."

In the spring of 1774, George Rogers Clark, at the head of about ninety Virginians, was at the mouth of the Little Kanawha, intending to go down the Ohio to survey lands for settlement, when his party was fired upon by some Shawnees who resented this intrusion upon lands claimed by them. Several surveyors were captured, and several of the Shawnees were killed. Clark's men looked upon this act of the Shawnees as an act of war, and then decided to attack the Shawnee town on the north side of the Ohio, near the mouth of the Scioto, destroy its inhabitants, and push on and make a settlement. With this in view, they sent word to Captain Michael Cresap, who was making a settlement some miles farther up the Ohio, and asked him to be their leader. Cresap at once came to Clark's party, and persuaded them to give up the contemplated attack upon the Shawnees. He argued that there was no certainty of war, as things stood, but that there most assuredly would be war if they made the contemplated attack. Under his advice the whole party came to Wheeling, West Virginia, to wait until the matter was settled. From Wheeling they at once sent a messenger

to Dr. John Connolly informing him of the situation.

Connolly, without having made any effort to get in touch with the Shawnee, Delaware and other chiefs on the upper Ohio with a view to adjusting matters peaceably, sent a letter to Cresap, at Wheeling, telling him that war was inevitable and asking him to protect the settlers with scouting parties. On April 26 upon the receipt of Connolly's letter, Cresap's band of adventurers and "land grabbers," precipitately "declared war" against the Shawnees and other Indians on the Ohio. Says George Rogers Clark, who was present: "Action was had and war declared in the most solemn manner; and that same evening (April 26), two scalps were brought into the camp."

These adventurers, who had thus taken it upon themselves to "declare war," killed, and scalped, on April 27, two Indians who were descending the Ohio in a canoe, accompanied by some traders. That same evening they attacked a party of peaceable Indians at their camp at the mouth of Captina Creek, and killed a number of them.

Murder of Logan's Family

At this time Logan, Chief of the Mingoes, a Cayuga, born at Auburn, New York, in 1725, was living with his family and relatives at the mouth of Yellow Creek, on the west side of the Ohio, about thirty miles above Wheeling. Logan, whose Indian name was Tah-gah-jute, "his eye lashes stick out," was the second son of the great Shikellamy, vice-gerent of the Six Nations, and was given the name "Logan" in honor of James Logan, secretary of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania. Like his famous father, Logan had always been the firm friend of the English. He moved from the Juniata Valley to the mouth of the Beaver, about

1770. Upon coming to the Ohio, the Mingoes of this place chose him as their chief.

These Indians at the mouth of Yellow Creek had no hostile intentions. Women and children were among them. Clark had stopped at their camp only a few weeks before, and knew these facts. Daniel Greathouse, one of Cresap and Clark's band, was determined to kill these Indians. On April 28, he, Cresap and Clark, with others of the band, started on their way to Yellow Creek. After they had marched five miles, they halted to consider the project. Cresap objected to carrying out the plans of murder, and he and Clark then set out on their way to Redstone (Brownsville). Immediately after their departure, Greathouse and a party of twenty armed men marched to Baker's Bottom, opposite the mouth of Yellow Creek, arriving there on the evening of April 29.

On the morning of April 30, Greathouse and several of his men crossed the river to the Indian camp, and invited the Indians to come over to Baker's tavern with them, promising them rum. Logan was away from home at the time, some say on a hunting trip, while others say at Old Chillicothe, on the west bank of the Scioto River. The invitation of Greathouse and his companions was accepted, and the band crossed the river and went to the tavern, leaving their guns in their tents, as it was to be a friendly visit. Upon their arrival, they were treated freely to rum and three of them became greatly intoxicated, the others refusing to drink, as it was a general custom among the Indians for at least one of the party to remain sober in order to take care of the intoxicated companions. The sober Indians, among whom was Logan's brother, John Petty, were challenged to shoot at a mark. The Indians shot first, and as soon as they had emptied their guns, Great-

house's band shot down the three sober Indians in cold blood. One of the party, a sister of Logan, endeavored to escape by flight, but was also shot down. She lived long enough to implore the murderers to spare the life of her little babe two months old, explaining to them that it was one of their kin; and its life was spared on that account. The whites then set upon the drunken Indians with tomahawks and butchered them all. Altogether ten Indians were killed by these white fiends, among whom were the mother, sister and brother of Logan.

There has been lack of agreement among historians as to the exact date of this atrocity, but most authorities say that it was on the 30th of April; and this date must be correct, as on May 3, Valentine Crawford, a brother of Colonel William Crawford, in writing from his home on Jacobs Creek, near Connellsville, says: "On Saturday last, about twelve o'clock, one Greathouse and about twenty men fell on a party of Indians at the mouth of Yellow Creek, and killed ten of them. They brought away one child a prisoner, which is now at my brother, William Crawford's." Also Colonel William Crawford, in a letter written to George Washington on May 8, says: "Daniel Greathouse and some others fell on some Indians at the mouth of Yellow Creek and killed and scalped ten, and took one child about two months old, which is at my house. I have taken the child from a woman that it had been given to."

What eventually became of this Indian babe, nephew of Logan, and the grandson of the famous Shikellamy, is not known. Historians agree that it was the son of Colonel John Gibson who, as we shall presently see, translated Logan's great speech. However, John Sappington made an affidavit stating that he knew Gibson well and that "he, Gibson, educated the child and took

care of it as if it had been his own." (Butterfield's Washington-Irvine Correspondence, page 344.)

Upon his return to Redstone, George Rogers Clark informed Governor Dunmore of the events that had taken place on the Ohio, and urged him to warn the settlers on the frontiers. While the Governor is assembling his army to march to the Ohio, we shall view some of the results of the murders committed by the Virginians.

Peace Efforts of Cornstalk and White Eyes

At the time of which we are writing, the noble Shawnee chief, Cornstalk, was at the head of the Shawnees living on the Scioto. Fearing that the Virginians would follow up the massacres at the mouth of Captina Creek and at Baker's Bottom with other coldblooded murders, and thus provoke the Shawnees and Mingoes to the point of taking revenge, Cornstalk, on May 20, sent a message to Connolly and George Croghan, stating that he and his tribe were sorry for what the white people had done just at a time when the Indians were preparing for their summer hunting, and that there were white traders among the Shawnees whom he was sending back to Fort Pitt under the protection of a party of Shawnees led by his brother. In this letter, Cornstalk implored Connolly "to stop such foolish people from the like doings for the future." He added that he had gone to great trouble to restrain the "foolish people amongst us [the Shawnees] to sit still and do no harm . . . and shall continue to do so in the hopes that matters may be settled."

Thus Cornstalk restrained his warriors from taking revenge, and, at the same time, implored Connolly to restrain the Virginians from committing more murders. But Connolly did not want peace. He wanted

war. When Cornstalk's brother and his Shawnees arrived at Fort Pitt with the traders under their protection, Connolly ordered out the militia to try to take the escort of Shawnee warriors. His "hellish plot" was discovered, however, and the protecting Shawnees were secretly taken across the river to George Croghan's house, where they were protected by the traders, who out of gratitude gave them a present for conducting them to Fort Pitt at the risk of their lives. Determined to aggravate the Shawnees and thus bring on a war with them in furthering the plans of his master, Governor Dunmore, to drive the Shawnees from their lands which Dunmore and the rest of the Virginians coveted, Connolly, after the protecting Shawnees had left Croghan's and were on their way home, sent two detachments after them, which met them at the mouth of Beaver Creek and fired upon them, wounding several. . . . Arthur St. Clair, wrote Governor Penn saying that if an Indian war should break out, the whites must charge it "entirely to the tyrannical and unprecedented conduct of Doctor John Connolly." Connolly wrote St. Clair: "I shall pursue every measure to offend them" [the Shawnees]. (Pa. Arch., Vol. 4, pages 497, 498, 526, 527, 528, 530; St. Clair Papers, 1, page 301.)

Governor Penn, after learning that Cornstalk's brother and other Shawnees had conducted the Pennsylvania traders safely to Pittsburgh, wrote, on August 6, the following message of heart-felt appreciation to "the Chiefs and Warriors of the Shawanese Indians:"

"When I heard that you had taken care of our traders, and had sent some of your young men to conduct them home in safety, it made my heart glad, because I was satisfied that you kept fast hold of the chain of friendship which was made between our Fore

Fathers, and renewed by us; and you may be assured that I shall always remember this instance of your kindness, and that I shall hold fast that end of the chain which is in my hands, so long as you hold yours." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 10, page 203.)

Cornstalk, friend of the whites and leader of the Shawnees, kept working for peace even up to the eve of the battle of Point Pleasant. He sent a message to Connolly, to the Governor of Pennsylvania and to the Governor of Virginia entreating them to put a stop to hostilities and "they [Cornstalk and his associates] would endeavor to do the same." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, pages 569 and 570.)

General Richard Butler, in his affidavit made before Arthur St. Clair, on August 23, 1774, and recorded in Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, pages 569 and 570, recites the cold-blooded murder of Chief Logan's family, the murder of the Indians at the mouth of Captina Creek, the "horrid act in violation of the laws of friendship" in attacking the Shawnees under Cornstalk's brother, the general base conduct of the unprincipled Connolly, and then adds:

"These facts, I think, was sufficient to bring on a war with a Christian instead of a Savage People, and I do declare it as my opinion that the Shawnees did not intend a war this Season, let their future intentions be what they might; and I do likewise declare that I am afraid, from the proceedings of the Chief [Dr. Connolly] of the White People in this part of the Country, that they will bring on a general war, as there is so little pains taken to restrain the common people whose prejudice leads them to greater lengths than ought to be shown by civilized people."

General Butler's opinion is the impartial verdict of

history, as any fair-minded student of the causes of Lord Dunmore's War will certainly admit.

The wise and able Delaware chief, White Eyes, earnestly assisted Cornstalk in efforts to prevent an Indian war. He succeeded in restraining nearly all the Delawares from taking up arms against the Virginians in spite of the wanton murders committed by these land-hungry people, and in spite of the taunts and jeers of many of his own people, who accused him of seeking to ingratiate himself with the murderers and land grabbers. White Eyes fully understood the wrongs that the Virginians had done and were doing to the Shawnees, but his purpose was to save the Shawnees from utter destruction at the hands of the people who coveted their lands.

How the Virginians cooperated with the peace efforts of White Eyes, is seen in the following letter, written by Aeneas Mackey, at Fort Pitt, on July 8, 1774:

"Captain White Eyes is returned with the strongest assurances of friendship from the Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandots and Cherokees, with whom he has been treating on our behalf. Upon his return, he found his house broke open by the Virginians, and about thirty pounds worth of his property taken, which was divided and sold by the robbers at Froman's Fort, on Chartiers Creek." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, page 540.)

Froman's or Foreman's Fort, stood within the limits of the present town of Canonsburg, Washington County. White Eyes' house was located near the mouth of the Beaver.

The Colonial Authorities of Pennsylvania also understood the base motives of the Virginians, and consequently did not take up arms against the Shawnees. Lord Dunmore's War was a war between the Vir-

ginians and the Shawnees—an altogether unjustifiable war, whose bitter fruits were gathered for many years, as it had much to do with causing the Shawnees to go over to the British, in the American Revolution, and massacre hundreds of settlers in Southwestern Pennsylvania, in Virginia and in Kentucky, for the British scalp bounties. It aroused the vindictive spirit of the Shawnees, never broken until General Anthony Wayne defeated them and other western tribes at the battle of Fallen Timbers, August 20, 1794, and compelled them to give up twenty-five thousand square miles of territory north of the Ohio.

Those who wish to study the causes and effects of Dunmore's War will find very valuable material in Dr. George P. Donehoo's "Pennsylvania—A History," Vol. 2, pages 938 to 960.

Logan Takes Revenge

When Logan, Chief of the Mingoes, learned of the murder of his family and friends, he determined to take revenge. From the friend of the whites and advocate of peace, he was changed to the terrible foe of the race that was driving the Indian from his home and hunting grounds. He led a band of warriors against the traders at Canoe Bottom, on the Hockhocking River, but the Delaware chief, White Eyes, and the Shawnee chief, Cornstalk, foiled his attempt to injure the traders. On May 19, he once more set out, with a band of eight chosen warriors, later joined by four more, and went to the neighborhood of Ten Mile and Muddy Creeks, in Greene County, where after waiting and watching for some days, he and his band killed William Spicer, his wife and six children, and captured two of the children, William, aged nine, and Betsey, aged eleven. Betsey was afterwards released, but William

grew to manhood among the Indians. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, page 510.) Two days later, Logan's band killed two men on Dunkard Creek, Greene County. On June 6, they killed a man in sight of Fort Redstone. On June 11, a company of rangers, led by Captain Francis McClure and Lieutenant Samuel Kinkade, pursued Logan on Ten Mile Creek. The two officers, being some distance in advance of the rest of the band, were ambushed. McClure was killed and Kinkade badly wounded. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, pages 519 and 526.) A few days later, Logan's band killed Matthew Gray, near where the town of Waynesburg, now stands. About the middle of June, he and his band returned to the Indian town of Wakatomica, on the Muskingum, with many scalps and two prisoners.

In a few days, Logan started on the war path once more, leading a party of Mingoes and Shawnees to the Monongahela region, where he thought the murderers of his family lurked. Nine men were attacked while working in a cornfield on Dunkard Creek, on July 13, and six of them were killed. Those who escaped death in this massacre were John Pollock, David Shelvey and George Shervor. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, page 544.) In this raid, on July 12, Logan's band came upon William Robinson, Thomas Hellen, and Colman Brown, pulling flax in the field opposite to Simpson Creek. Brown was killed on the spot and Robinson and Hellen started to run, but Logan succeeded in capturing both. Logan made himself known to Robinson, and told him that he would have to run the gauntlet, but gave him "such complete instruction and directions as they traveled together that Robinson ran the gauntlet safely and reached the stake without harm." The warriors then determined to burn Robinson at the stake; but Logan made three attempts, the

last one successful, to prevent this atrocity. He loosed the cords which bound the unfortunate man, placed a belt of wampum around his neck as a mark of adoption, introduced him to a young warrior, and said: "This is your cousin; you are to go home with him and he will take care of you." Robinson afterwards said so fervent was Logan's impassioned eloquence on his behalf, that the saliva foamed at his mouth when he addressed the assembled warriors. Hellen, after being unmercifully beaten while running the gauntlet, was adopted into an Indian family.

Logan believed that Captain Michael Cresap was the leader of the outlaws who murdered his family; and a few days after Robinson had been adopted, he dictated to him (Robinson) the following note to Cresap, dated July 21, 1774, which was written with suggestive ink made of gun-powder mixed with water:

"To Captain Cresap:

What did you kill my people on Yellow Creek for? The White People killed my kin at Cone-stoga a great while ago and I thought nothing of that; but you killed my kin again on Yellow Creek and took my cousin prisoner. Then I thought I must kill too; and I have been three times to war since; but the Indians are not angry, only myself."

The "cousin" that Logan refers to in the above note was the child of his sister. It is usual for the Indians to refer to relatives generally as cousins.

Once more Logan went on the war-path, this time setting out with a few chosen braves to the Holston and Clinch Rivers in Southwestern Virginia, where he had been informed Captain Cresap made his home. He and his warriors reached the neighborhood in the mid-

dle of September, where on Reedy Creek, a branch of the Holston, they killed the whole family of John Roberston except one young boy, whom they carried off captive. At least all the circumstances point to this murder as having been committed by Logan, inasmuch as the note which Logan addressed to Captain Cresap was found tied to a club in the house of the unfortunate settler, where, on the floor, were found the dead bodies of the family.

About the middle of October, Logan's party came to Old Chillicothe, Ohio, where a number of Mingoes and a few Delawares who had taken part in Lord Dunmore's War, were now located among the Shawnees, after having been driven from the Muskingum by the Virginia troops. The party brought with them five scalps and Robertsons little boy, as well as two other prisoners.

It is said that Logan's band took thirty scalps and prisoners in these raids and that he alone took thirteen scalps. His thirst for revenge was now satisfied. He "sat still," and refused to lead or accompany any more war parties.

Following the news that Logan had gone on the war-path, most of the settlers of Greene and Washington Counties fled over the mountains, abandoning their homes. It is recorded that, on one day, more than one thousand of the fugitives crossed the Monongahela at three ferries not a mile apart. Practically all the settlers on Raccoon and Chartiers creeks joined in the flight. Few of those that remained would have survived the war if numerous block houses and forts had not been hastily erected in these counties.

In Greene County, the following places of refuge were erected: Garard's Fort, about seven miles west of Greensboro; Jackson's Fort, near Waynesburg;

Fort Van Meter and Swan (one fort), although there was a Fort Van Meter, on Short Creek, within the limits of West Virginia.

In Washington County, the following places of refuge were erected: Allen's Fort, near the line between Smith and Robinson Townships; Beelor's Fort, at Candor, Robinson Township; Beeman's Blockhouse (probably erected in 1774), in West Finley Township; Cherry's Fort, in Mount Pleasant Township; Coxe's Fort, in Union Township*; Doddridge's Fort (erected in 1773), three miles west of West Middleton (built by John Doddridge, father of Rev. (Dr.) Doddridge, author of "Doddridge's Notes"); Frohman's or Foreman's Fort, at Canonsburg; Lindley's Fort (erected in 1773), the strongest fort in Washington and Greene counties, near Prosperity; McFarland's Fort (erected likely as early as 1772), in Amwell Township; Milliken's Fort (built probably as early as 1772), in Amwell Township; Norris' Blockhouse, in Chartiers Township; Reynolds' Blockhouse (probably as early as 1774), in Cross Creek Township; Teeter's Fort (probably as early as 1773), in Independence Township; Vance's Fort, in Smith Township; Marsel's (Marshall) Blockhouse, erected probably as early as 1774 by Colonel James Marsel, later County-Lieutenant, in Cross Creek Township; Burgett's Fort, erected by Sebastian Burgett probably as early as 1774, at least as early as 1780; Becket's Fort, erected in 1774 somewhere on the Washington County side of the Monongahela River, or at least prior to February 21, 1775, according to records of the court of Monongalia County; Hupp's Blockhouse, erected probably as early as 1769, in what is now East Bethlehem Township; Lamb's Fort, erected probably as early as

* Probably Peters Township. See page 283. But likely in Union Township since the erection of this township.

1774 in Hopewell Township; Wells' Fort, erected probably as early as 1774 in Cross Creek Township.*

In Fayette County, the following places of refuge were erected: Minter's Fort, erected probably as early as 1774, in Upper Tyrone Township, about a mile and a half west of Pennsville; Gaddis' Blockhouse, erected probably as early as 1774, in the present Georges Township; Pearse's Blockhouse, erected probably as early as 1774, in the present North Union Township; Craft's Blockhouse, also called Patterson's Blockhouse, erected in 1774 about one mile northwest of the present village of Merrittstown; McCoy's Blockhouse, erected probably as early as 1774 in South Union Township, on ground now belonging to the Uniontown Country Club; Cassel's (Castle) Fort, erected probably as early as 1774 just above the mouth of Little Redstone Creek; Ashcraft's Blockhouse, erected in 1774 in Georges Township; Mason's Fort, erected probably as early as 1774 where Masontown now stands; Conwell's Fort, erected in 1774 on the west side of Dunlap's Creek, near the present Merrittstown; Spark's Fort, erected probably as early as 1774 and at least prior to June, 1776, as the settlers of the surrounding region voted there to choose delegates to the Constitutional Convention which met in Philadelphia in that summer, as will be seen in Chapter XV; Beeson's Blockhouse, erected in 1774 where Uniontown now stands; Braybill's (more likely "Craile"), erected probably as early as 1774, though some say not until the time of the Revolutionary War, about one mile south of Brownsville; Valentine Crawford's Blockhouse, erected in May, 1774, by Valentine Crawford, according to his letter of May 25 of that year, near the present Perryopolis, probably within its limits; William Crawford's Blockhouse, erected within

*Burgett's Fort was located where Burgettstown now stands.

the limits of Connellsville, prior to June 8, 1774, according to his letter of that date to George Washington; Fort Riffe (Rifel), erected probably as early as 1774, in Nicholson Township and near the Lutheran Church; Lucas' Fort, erected probably as early as 1774 in Nicholson Township; Swearingen's Fort, erected in 1774 about one mile from Morris' Cross Roads, in Springhill Township, by John Swearingen and his sons, one of whom was Captain Van Swearingen, of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment and the first sheriff of Washington County.

Tablets mark the sites of some of the above frontier forts. Unquestionably every one of them should be marked.

Scene Shifts Nearer Fort Ligonier—Murder of Wipey

The scene now shifts nearer to Fort Ligonier. During this turbulent spring of 1774, occurred the murder of the friendly old Delaware, Joseph Wipey. The exact location of the murder is hard to determine; but it seems to have been near the mouth of Hinckston's Run, which flows southward through Cambria County, and empties into the Conemaugh at Johnstown, although some authorities say that the murder occurred in the southeastern part of Indiana County.

When, after the purchase at Fort Stanwix, in October, 1768, the Delawares left their towns on the Kittanning Trail, and the region of the purchase began to be rapidly settled by the white people, this elderly Delaware remained on the hunting grounds of his forefathers, and built his cabin by a stream north of the Conemaugh. He was an inoffensive, harmless old hunter and fisher, and had given many evidences of his friendship for the whites. At peace with all mankind, he was gently gliding down the stream of life, awaiting

his summons to the Happy Hunting Grounds. John Hinckston (Hinkson) and James Cooper wantonly murdered him some time in May of 1774, while he was fishing from his canoe. Arthur St. Clair, writing from Ligonier to Governor John Penn, on May 29, concerning this murder, says that it took place "about eighteen miles" from Fort Ligonier, and then adds: "It is the most astonishing thing in the world—the disposition of the common people of this country. Actuated by the most savage cruelty, they wantonly perpetrate crimes that are a disgrace to humanity, and seem, at the same time, to be under a kind of religious enthusiasm, whilst they want the daring spirit that usually inspires. Two of the persons concerned in this murder are John Hinkson and James Cooper. I had got information of their design some time before they executed it, and had wrote Hinkson, whom I knew to be a leader amongst them to dissuade them, and threatened them with the weight of the law if they persisted, but so far from preventing them, it only produced the enclosed letter [the evidence of the crime]." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, page 503.)

Wipey's cabin stood in East Wheatfield Township, and near the town of Cramer, in the southeastern part of Indiana County. George Findley, whose apprenticed boy was killed by the Indians in this township, in September, 1777, was a neighbor of the unfortunate Delaware.

The murder of Logan's family had much to do with bringing on Lord Dunmore's War. And now, St. Clair feared that the wanton murder of Wipey would bring on a Delaware war that would devastate the western settlements. He advised Governor Penn that this atrocity gave him "much trouble and vexation." Happily, though, the Delawares did not again take up

arms against the Province until the latter years of the Revolutionary War.

On August 6, after many more wrongs had been committed against the Delawares, Governor John Penn sent the chiefs of this historic tribe a message, of which the following is a part:

"I was grieved at my Heart when I heard that some of our foolish young Men had killed our brother, Joseph Wipey, and that the Virginians had killed some of your People below Fort Pitt. I was fearful that you would suffer your young Men to take revenge upon our innocent People. But when I heard that you had a good Heart and viewed these things in their proper Light, and that you remembered the Chain of Friendship made by our forefathers, and would not take revenge upon us for what the Virginians or some of our foolish young Men had done, it gave me the greatest Satisfaction and made my mind Easy. . . . I have offered a reward of fifty Pounds a piece for those two wicked People who, it is said, murdered Joseph Wipey, and if they can be taken, I shall do everything in my power to have them punished. . . . I am sorry to hear that your Grand Children, the Shawnees, have a difference with our Brothers, the Virginians, and I wish I could make them Friends. I shall write to the Governor of Virginia and recommend it to him to make peace with them." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 10, pages 204, 205.)

No other man had more to do with keeping the Shawnees, Delawares and Mingoes at peace with Pennsylvania during Dunmore's War, than had Arthur St. Clair. It was he who suggested to Governor Penn the writing of the above letter of condolence. Soon after the murder of Wipey, a conference was held at George Croghan's house at Ligonier, which was attended by Guyasuta, White Mingo and other deputies

of the Six Nations. But as the war went on and Croghan went over to the side of the Virginians in the boundary dispute, St. Clair reposed less confidence in him as a mediator between Pennsylvania and the Indians, and took upon himself the principal part of the burden of keeping the Indians at peace with Pennsylvania at the time when Virginia was carrying on her unjust war against the Shawnees and Mingoes.

But the murderers of Joseph Wipey were not apprehended and punished for their crime. One of them, Hinkston, even appeared at the Hannastown court some weeks after his crime, and was not arrested. St. Clair, in a letter written from Hannastown, on July 12, makes the following mention of this fact: "Hinkston, with about eighteen men in arms, paid us a visit at Court last week, and I am very sorry to say got leave to go away again, tho' there was a force sufficient to have secured two such parties. At the Sheriff's direction, I had got intelligence that they were to be there and expected to be joined by a party of Cresap's People, for which reason the Ranging Partys that were within reach had been drawn in, but none of the Virginians appeared. It is said a Commission has been sent him from Virginia; certain it is, he is enlisting men for that Service." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, page 543.)

*St. Clair's Rangers Garrison Fort Ligonier and Other
Forts—Panic of Westmoreland Settlers*

Earlier in this chapter, we witnessed the flight of the settlers of the present counties of Washington and Greene, when Logan, Chief of the Mingoes, with his mind and heart set on revenge for the murder of his family, led his warriors into this region with scalping knife and rifle. The panic soon spread across the rivers

into the present county of Westmoreland, whose inhabitants feared that the Delawares, on account of the murder of Joseph Wipey, would join the Shawnees and Mingoes in a general war against all the settlers of the western region. Indeed, in Westmoreland, fear traveled on the wings of the wind, and every rustling of the leaves of the forest brought visions of the bloody scalping knife. St. Clair and the other agents of the Penns, were busy day and night, riding in all directions and urging the people to make a stand. Blockhouses and other places of refuge and defense were feverishly erected by the few settlers who did not join in the general flight over the mountains. Upon the individual guarantees and assurances of St. Clair, Aeneas Mackay and Devereux Smith and several others, three companies of rangers were hastily formed. As a voice from the past, are the following letters of St. Clair, written at Ligonier amid the fear and panic of these turbulent times:

1. On May 29, he wrote Governor Penn: "It is scarcely possible to conceive the distressed situation of this country. One day the spirits of the people are raised a little and some prospect of their being able to remain on their farms; the next a story worse than they have heard before and a thousand times worse than the truth, sinks them into despair, and those about Pittsburgh are still in a more pitiable state, being harrassed by [Dr. Connolly's] militia, who lay their hands on every thing they want without asking questions, and kill cattle at their pleasure.... The panic that has struck this country, threatening an entire depopulation thereof, induced me a few days ago to make an excursion to Pittsburgh to see if it could be removed and the desertion prevented.... From what I saw it was evident to me that the country must very soon be

totally evacuated unless something was done to afford the inhabitants the appearance at least of protection. I therefore consulted with some of the inhabitants at Pittsburgh; Mr. [Aeneas] Mackay, Mr. [Devereux] Smith, Col. [George] Croghan, Mr. [Richard] Butler and myself entered into an association to raise, victual and pay a ranging company of one hundred men for one month, to which a number of inhabitants, as I came down, readily acceded, and I think in a few days we will have it completed." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, pages 502 to 504.)

2. On June 7, St. Clair wrote Governor Penn: "When I last had the Honour to write to you, I acquainted you with a Plan had been fallen upon to raise some Men for the Defense of this Country. The Day before Yesterday, forty marched from Hannas Town to Turtle Creek, where they would be joined by another Party. The numbers I do not exactly know, but it is intended that post shall be Sixty Men Strong, and a number were at the same time for the other necessary Posts, so as that the whole will form a Chain of Rangers on our Frontier." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, page 509.)

The post at Turtle Creek, mentioned in the above letter, was located where the Forbes Road crossed this stream.

3. On June 12, St. Clair again wrote Governor Penn, informing him of the continued panic of the settlers and of the places where he (St. Clair) had stationed the rangers, as follows:

"In my last, I had the Honour to inform you that, in consequence of the Ranging Company which had been raised here, there was reason to hope the People would return to their Plantations and pursue their Labour, and for some time, that is a few days, it had

that effect; but an idle report of Indians having been seen within the Partys [parts?], has drove them every one into some little Fort or other—and many hundreds out of the Country altogether. This has obliged me to call in the Partys [rangers] from where they were posted, and have stationed them, twenty men at Turtle Creek, twenty at the Bullock Penns [seven miles east of Pittsburgh on the Forbes Road], thirty at Hannas Town, twenty at [John] Proctor's and twenty at [Fort] Ligonier, as these places are now the Frontier towards the Allegheny, all that great Country between that Road [the Forbes Road] and that river [meaning not only the Allegheny but the Kiskiminetas and the Conemaugh, as the context plainly shows] being totally abandoned except by a few who are associated with the People who murdered the Indian [Joseph Wipey], and are shut up in a small Fort on Connymack [Wallace's Fort, located on Magee's Run, about a mile south of the Conemaugh and one and one half miles from Blairsville], equally afraid of the Indians and the Officers of Justice.

“Nothing can be more surprising than the dread the people are under, and it is truly shameful that so great a Body of People should have been driven from their Possessions without even the appearance of an Enemy; for certain it is, as yet no attempt has been made on what is understood to be Pennsylvania; nor any other mischief done than the killing of the family on White-lick Creek, which I informed you of before, and which, from every circumstance, appears rather to have been private revenge than a national stroke. [St. Clair here refers to the murder of the William Spicer family described earlier in this Chapter.]

“A fresh report of Indians being seen near Hannas Town and another party on Braddock's Road, set the

People agoing again Yesterday; I immediately took horse and rode up [to Hannastown] to enquire into, and found it, if not totally groundless, at least very improbable; but it was impossible to persuade the People so, and I am certain I did not meet less than a hundred Families, and I think two Thousand head of cattle in twenty miles of riding.

“The People in this Valley [the Ligonier Valley] still make a stand, but yesterday they all moved into this place [Fort Ligonier], and I perceive are much in doubt what to do. Nothing in my Power to prevent their leaving the Country shall be omitted; but if they will go, I suppose I must go with the stream. It is the strangest Infatuation ever seized upon men, and if they go off now, as Harvest will soon be on, they must undoubtedly perish by Famine, for Spring crop there will be little or none.” (Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, page 514.)

Another picture of the panic in Westmoreland is contained in two letters written from Carlisle, on June 3, by John Montgomery and sent to Governor Penn, from which we quote the following:

“I am just returned from the Back Country.... I have lately been over the Mountains as far as Westmoreland Court-house.... There is nothing to be seen but Desolation and Distress; hundreds of families are flying to the interior parts of the province... returning to this side [the eastern side] of the mountains. Those who would willingly make a stand are greatly discouraged for want of ammunition and arms, which articles they cannot be supplied in only from Philadelphia.... I believe there will be an Indian war.... White Eyes is returned to Fort Pitt and says that the Delawares are well disposed, but the Shawnees are determined on war. There is one Campbell killed near New Comers

Town, and it is feared that the traders in the Shawnee country are Cutt off....A number of the principle people over the mountains has agreed to Raise one hundred men to Range from Fort Pitt to Ligonier. The Inhabitants of what is Called the Town of Fort Pitt is About to Stockaid it in, and have no connection with Mr. Connolly; a fort is to be Built at Hannas....one at Captn. Proctor's....One at Ligonier, but the want of amunition is a Very Great Discouragement." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, pages 505 to 507.)

*Shawnees and Mingoes Do Not Attack Pennsylvanians—
Westmoreland Forts Erected*

Thus far in this chapter, we have witnessed the bloody raids of Logan, Chief of the Mingoes, into Southwestern Pennsylvania, also the flight of the settlers of both this section and the present Allegheny and Westmoreland Counties. But we must bear in mind that, in Lord Dunmore's War, the Shawnees and Mingoes insisted from the very first that their war was with the Virginians only. Furthermore, in the end this was seen to be true, as their depredations were confined to the region in which the war broke out. St. Clair early detected the fact that the Indians seemingly did not intend to attack Pennsylvanians. Writing from Ligonier to Governor Penn, June 26, 1774, he says:

" 'Tis some satisfaction that the Indians seem to discriminate betwixt us and those who attacked them, and their Revenge has fallen hitherto on that side of the Monongahela which they consider as Virginia; but lest that should not continue, we are taking all possible care to prevent a heavy stroke falling on the few people who are left in this country. Forts at different places so as to be more convenient, are now nearly completed,

which give an appearance of security, and with the ranging partys which have been drawn in to preserve the communication, has in a great degree put a stop to the unreasonable panic that had seized them, but in all of them there is a great scarcity of amunition, and several messengers have returned from below without being able to purchase." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, page 519.)

Learning that the Delaware chief, White Eyes, and John Montour were preparing to lead a band of Delawares to join the Virginians and attack the Shawnees, and had asked for some rangers to accompany them, St. Clair, on July 26, 1774, sent Governor Penn this information, adding the following:

"I have positively refused, and have sent orders to the person intended, on no account whatever, to attempt to pass either of the Rivers. So far from joining the Virginians who have taken such pains to involve this Country in War, it would be, in my idea, not improper that the Shawnees should know this Government is at Peace with them, and will continue so, provided they do not infringe it themselves." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, page 557.)

St. Clair repaired the fast-decaying Fort Ligonier at the time of which we are writing. Concerning the fort at this time, the able Westmoreland County historian, George Dallas Albert, says the following on page 251 of Vol. 2 of the "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania":

"The fort which St. Clair speaks of in 1774, into which the people of the valley gathered during that summer, was probably the old fort rehabilitated by St. Clair himself; for during this time, this was the center from which he directed operations as the agent of the Penns. It is also probable that a part of the fort—the

magazines and storehouse—had been kept up for the accommodation of the property belonging to the Province, down to at least 1772 or 1773. These structures from the nature of the material used in their construction—logs and earth embankments—and exposed as they were to the inclemency of the weather, could not last long without constant reparation. While the material of Fort Ligonier was of this perishable character, yet the earth-works, the bastions, the storehouse and the magazine were originally intended, as we have said, to be more permanent than was usual in the ordinary forts of that period.”

St. Clair, in his memorial to the Pennsylvania Assembly in his declining years, says that the forts for which he supplied, at his own expense, arms and means of defense during Lord Dunmore's War, were: “Taylor's, Wallace's, Ligonier's, Lochry's, Hannastown, Perry's, Walthour's, Carnahan's, and a number of others not now recollected.”

Some of the Westmoreland forts, erected in the trying times of which we are writing, not only became lost in St. Clair's recollection, but in the long years since, they have become lost to history. But those that in addition to Fort Ligonier deserve a permanent place in this period in the history of “Old Westmoreland” are the following:

1. The Hannastown Fort (Fort Reed), erected as early as 1773, and strengthened by St. Clair in 1774. It was a stockade fort of logs set upright. In the center was a spring whose waters still gush forth to quench the thirst of the lover of Pennsylvania history who makes a pilgrimage to the spot where stood the frontier village that was the first seat of Anglo-Saxon justice in Western Pennsylvania, and that sank in flames on July 13, 1782, when the British and Indians invaded historic “Old Westmoreland.”

2. Wallace's Fort, erected in the spring of 1774, located on the plantation of Richard Wallace, on Magee's Run, about a mile south of the Conemaugh and one and one half miles from Blairsville. It was a stockade enclosing half an acre or more, and within the stockade were a spring and small flour mill. It was here that the murderers of the friendly Delaware, Joseph Wipey, hid for some time after putting this stain on the annals of the west. As one drives from Blairsville to Derry, he passes the site of this frontier fort around which cling many memories of the Revolution.

3. Lochry's Fort, located on the plantation of Colonel Archibald Lochry, near St. Vincent's College, in Unity Township. While St. Clair's memorial, quoted in part above, indicates that this fort, or block house, was in existence in the spring of 1774, it was at least enlarged in the spring of 1781, as Lochry wrote President Reed on April 17 of that year, as follows:

"I have built a magazine (in the form of a Block house) that will be defended with a very few men." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 9, pages 79 and 80.)

4. Perry's Blockhouse, erected in the spring of 1774 and located on the plantation of Colonel James Perry on Big Sewickley Creek, in the Sewickley settlement.

5. Carnahan's Blockhouse, erected in the spring of 1774 on the plantation of Adam Carnahan, about two miles south of the Kiskiminetas and six miles below the mouth of the Conemaugh, in the present Bell Township. As the traveler passes through Perrysville, he can see the site of this fort, famous in Revolutionary annals as the assembling place of Colonel Archibald Lochry's unfortunate expedition.

6. Shield's Fort, or Blockhouse, erected in the spring of 1774 and located on the plantation of John Shields, near the Loyalhanna and less than a mile from the present town of New Alexandria.

7. Proctor's Fort, or Blockhouse, also called Fort Shippen, located near Old Unity Presbyterian Church, in Unity Township. It stood on the plantation of Colonel John Proctor.

8. Markle's (Maracle's) Blockhouse, sometimes called Markle's Station, erected at least as early as the spring of 1774, and located on the plantation of Gaspard Markle, in the Sewickley settlement and about two miles from the present town of West Newton. Gaspard Markle was a Pennsylvania-German from Berks County, who settled here in 1770. His mill, which stood near the fort, was erected in 1772, and was probably the first in Westmoreland County. This fort, on Sewickley Creek, in the present South Huntingdon Township, was the first stopping place of Lochry's expedition, mentioned above.

9. Fort Barr, originally a blockhouse, erected in the spring of 1774, but later enlarged to a stockade fort, was located on the plantation of Robert Barr, about one mile from New Derry. Robert Barr's family had suffered at the hands of the Indians during the raid of Shingas and Captain Jacobs into what is now Peters Township, Franklin County, in February, 1756, his father's house being burned and his brother, James, wounded on that occasion. (Author's "Indian Wars of Pennsylvania," second edition, pages 221, 268 and 802.) But, as we shall see in a later chapter, the family suffered still more at the hands of the Indians, in Westmoreland, during the Revolution.

10. Pomeroy's (Pomroy's) Blockhouse, erected in the spring of 1774, and located on the plantation of Colonel John Pomeroy, about one half mile from Millwood and between this village and New Derry. Some of Colonel Pomeroy's relatives had been killed by the Indians near Shippensburg, in the Cumberland Valley,

in July, 1763. (Author's "Indian Wars of Pennsylvania," second edition, pages 436, 861 and 862.) As we shall see in a subsequent chapter, he was commander of Fort Ligonier for some time during the Revolutionary War.

11. Wilson's Blockhouse, erected probably as early as the spring of 1774, and located on the plantation of Major James Wilson, about one mile northeast of the present village of New Derry.

12. Fort Palmer, erected very likely as early as the spring of 1774, and located on the plantation of John Palmer, in the present Fairfield Township, about seven miles from Ligonier. This fort is famous in the history and traditions of the Ligonier and Conemaugh valleys. Many people in its vicinity were killed by the Indians during the Revolutionary War. Unhappily, however, most of this tragic history will likely remain forever unrecorded.

13. Walthour's Fort (Fort Walthour), famous in Revolutionary annals, was erected as early as the spring of 1774, according to St. Clair's memorial, quoted above. It stood on the plantation of the Pennsylvania-German, Christopher Walthour (Waldhauer), a little more than a mile east of Irwin and about eight miles west of Greensburg. The traveler on the Lincoln Highway passes near the site of this historic Westmoreland fort. About four miles to the northward was Byerly's Station, mentioned in former chapters.

14. Fort Allen, erected in the spring of 1774, near historic Zion (Old Harrold's) Lutheran Church, in Hempfield Township, about three miles west of Greensburg, on the left hand side of the road leading from Greensburg to West Newton. This fort, which stood in the Herold's (Harrold's) settlement, was erected by the Pennsylvania-German pioneers of this place and Brush Creek and was named in honor of Andrew

Allen, of the Pennsylvania Council. In the old records, it is mentioned as being "between Wendel Oury's (Uhrig's) and Christopher Truby's." Colonel Christopher Truby, its commander during most of the period of its service, was one of the two original land owners of the present Greensburg, and his dust reposes in the old German Lutheran Cemetery in the capital city of Westmoreland.

Petitions From Westmoreland Forts

In June, 1774, the following petition to Governor Penn was sent from four of the forts named above, namely, Proctor's Fort, Hannastown Fort, Shield's Fort and Fort Allen:

"The Petition of the Inhabitants of Westmoreland County Humbly Sheweth: That there is the greatest Reason to apprehend that this part of the Country will be immediately involved in all the horrors of an Indian War; That our Circumstances at this Critical Juncture are truly alarming. Deserted by far the greater part of our neighbours and fellow subjects, unprovided with places of strength to resort to, with Amunition, Provisions and almost every other necessary Store, Our houses are abandoned to pillage, Labour and Industry entirely at a stand, Our Crops destroyed by Cattle, our flocks dispersed, and the minds of our people distracted with the terrors of falling, along with their helpless and unprotected families, the immediate Victims of Savage Barbarity.

"In the midst of these scenes of Desolation and ruin, next to the Almighty we look up to your Honour, hoping from your known Benevolence and Humanity, such Protection and Relief as to your Honour shall seem meet. And your Petitioners, as in Duty bound, will Pray."

The petition from Proctor's Fort (Fort Shippen) had seventy-eight signers, nearly all Scotch-Irish, such as John Proctor, Samuel Sloan, James Campbell, Ferguson Moorhead, Robert Ralston, James Wallace, John Taylor and James Carnahan, but such Pennsylvania-Germans as George Hellingbar and Henry Zane; that from Hannastown Fort, a general petition for the county, had one hundred and thirty-four signers, nearly all Scotch-Irish, such as Robert Hanna, John Erwin, William Jack, John Christy, William and David Shaw, Hugh Brownlee, James Beatty, Adam Maxwell and John Guthrey (Guthrie), but two Pennsylvania-Germans—Joseph Studybaker (Studebaker) and Adam Oury; that from Shields' Fort had fifty signers, also nearly all Scotch-Irish, such as John Shields, Alexander Barr, Archibald Trimble and Samuel, John and Alexander Craig; and that from Fort Allen had seventy-seven signers, almost all Pennsylvania-Germans, among them being Christopher Trubee (Truby), Adam and Stofel Uhrig, George Bender (now generally Anglicized to Painter), Frantz Raupp, Ludwig Aterman (Otterman), Adam George, Heinrich Klyn (now Kline), Peter Altman, Heinich Schmidt, Anthony Walter, Philip and Peter Klingenschmidt, Christopher Herolt (Herold), Dewalt Macklin (now Mechling), Conrad Hiester, Nicholas Shener (Shanor), Christian Baum, Peter Uber, Adam Bricker, Conrad Houck, Peter Wannemacher (Wanamaker) and Baltzer (Balthaser) Mayer, the Lutheran catechist and schoolmaster of the Herold's and Brush Creek settlements.

All the names of the signers of the Fort Allen petition are on the monument which the Pennsylvania Historical Commission has erected to mark the site of this frontier fort. It stands on the grounds of the present

Reformed Church at Herold's and near the site of the historic Zion (Old Harrold's) Lutheran Church and schoolhouse, very likely, as pointed out in Chapter XIII, the first church and first school in that part of Pennsylvania west of the Allegheny Mountains.

German Settlers Love Religious Liberty and Oppose Slavery

At this point, attention is called to the fact that, in all the region west of the Laurel Hill, there were no stronger Pennsylvania adherents during the territorial dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania, than the Pennsylvania Germans of the Herold's and Brush Creek settlements, who erected Fort Allen by the side of their church and schoolhouse. There were two principal reasons why the Pennsylvania Germans preferred the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania to that of Virginia:

1. The Pennsylvania-Germans were lovers of religious liberty—a principle that was planted on Pennsylvania soil by the Lutheran Swedes on the Delaware, before William Penn was born, and that received such a majestic impetus by the great Quaker that Pennsylvania soon became an asylum for the persecuted of every sect and every creed—a principle that had an uninterrupted growth in Pennsylvania, but that did not flourish in Virginia in Colonial days. Under Virginia law prior to the close of the Revolutionary War, not only were children of Unitarian parents taken from them and given to Trinitarians, but clergymen of other denominations than the Established Church (Episcopal) were obliged to receive Episcopal ordination; otherwise, they could not perform legal marriages, and could not collect their tithes. When Lawrence Washington, more than twenty years prior to the time of which we are writing, sought to persuade Pennsylvania Germans to settle on lands of the Ohio Company,

these lovers of religious liberty pointed out to him that they desired to have clergymen of their own faiths, Lutheran and Reformed, mostly. This led Lawrence Washington to write to the London representative of the Ohio Company; "It has been my opinion, and I hope ever will be, that restraints on conscience are cruel to those upon whom they are imposed, and injurious to the country imposing them. . . . They all [the Pennsylvania Germans, whom he interviewed] assured me that they might have from Germany any number of settlers, could they but obtain their favorite exemption." ("Writings of Washington," edited by Jared Sparks, Vol. 2, page 481; "Memorial History of the Pittsburgh Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church," by Rev. E. B. Burgess, D. D., pages 13 and 14.) Later many Pennsylvania-Germans settled at and near Woodstock and other places in the Shenandoah Valley. Then, in 1772, the Lutheran clergyman, Rev. John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg, later renowned General of the Revolution, a Pennsylvanian, son of the Lutheran Patriarch, Rev. Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg, and grandson of Conrad Weiser, went to the Shenandoah Valley to become pastor of the German Lutherans at Woodstock. He was obliged to receive Episcopal ordination. These facts were in the minds of the Pennsylvania-Germans of Westmoreland and other parts of the western country, when Virginia was endeavoring to bring Western Pennsylvania permanently under the jurisdiction of the Old Dominion. Hence their preference for Pennsylvania jurisdiction.

It is no serious digression to add, in this connection, that Rev. Peter Muhlenberg, soon after going to Virginia, became an intimate friend of George Washington. At the outbreak of the Revolution, he was selected to command the Eighth Virginia Regiment. His fare-

well sermon, preached to his congregation in January, 1776, is memorable in the annals of Virginia and the Nation. On the appointed day, a large congregation greeted him. Clad in his clerical gown, he preached a burning sermon on the issues of the hour, closing with the statement: "There is a time to pray, and a time to fight; now is the time to fight." The benediction pronounced amidst a death-like silence, he threw aside his gown, revealing himself in the full uniform of a Continental officer, and ordered the drums to beat for recruits. With the noble men who there gathered around him by the hundreds, he marched to the battlefields of the Revolution and to immortality, fighting valiantly at Germantown, Monmouth and Stony Point, and leading the last assault at Yorktown, when the American arms finally triumphed. His statue stands in the Capitol of the Nation he helped to establish, and the dramatic incident at Woodstock has been immortalized by the poet, Read, in "The Rising of 1776."

2. The Pennsylvania-Germans were opposed to slavery. The student of history will recall that the ancestors of this great racial stock inherited an abhorrence of slavery from the days when the Roman Empire attempted to enslave the ancient Germans—the student of history will recall that the ancient Germans were on the point of being subjugated and Romanized, when, under their great leader, Hermann, called Arminius by the Romans, they slew the twenty thousand Roman soldiers of the legions of Quintillius Varus, in the pathless depths of the Teutoburg Wood, in A. D. 9, causing the Roman Emperor, Augustus, to pace his palace in anguish, exclaiming, "O, Varus! Varus! Give me back my legions! Give me back my legions!" But for this victory of Arminius over the Romans, one of the most terrible disasters that ever befell the Roman

legions, there likely never would have been an Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain—Britain likely never would have been called England, and the great English nation might never have had an existence.

Such, then, is part of the historical background of the Pennsylvania-Germans. Down the centuries had come their abhorrence of slavery. Therefore, it is not strange that the Pennsylvania-Germans, as early as 1688, under the leadership of the great scholar, Francis Daniel Pastorius, the "Pennsylvania Pilgrim" of Whittier's poem, issued the first protest against slavery on the American Continent. This spring at Germantown was the source of the rill that became the mighty river that overflowed on the battlefields of the great Civil War. And yet, many so-called educated Pennsylvanians seem to think that the agitation against slavery in America began in New England among the templed hills of the Puritans! The Pennsylvania-Germans of Herold's and Brush Creek brought with them into the Westmoreland wilderness their opposition to slavery—an institution that flourished in early Virginia, but an institution that Pennsylvania later abolished, in 1780—and they did not wish to see this institution become firmly planted in the soil of the western country. Hence, again, their preference for Pennsylvania jurisdiction.

Being champions of the two principles mentioned above, it is no wonder that but very few, if any, of the Pennsylvania-Germans joined in the general flight over the mountains in the trying times of which we are writing. Furthermore, the importance of their helping to save Western Pennsylvania for Pennsylvania jurisdiction, is seen when we consider what would likely have happened if Virginia had been able to bring the region west of the Laurel Hill permanently under

the jurisdiction of the Old Dominion. In that case, the Braddock Road and the Forbes Road would have become the avenues over which the Virginia influence for the extension of slavery would have passed into what is now Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and these states would likely have become slave states. But owing to the fact that Virginia jurisdiction did not prevail in Western Pennsylvania, these historic roads became the avenues over which the Pennsylvania influence in opposition to the extension of slavery passed into Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and made them free states. And, mark well, these were the pivotal states in the election of Abraham Lincoln.

Battle of Point Pleasant—End of Dunmore's War—Logan's Speech—Murder of Cornstalk

We have seen Logan, Chief of the Mingoes, with his mind set on revenge for the murder of his family, raiding the Southwestern Pennsylvania frontier. We have seen the settlers abandoning their plantations and fleeing over the mountains. In the meantime, Governor Dunmore was busy raising an army of three thousand troops to invade the Indian country.

General Andrew Lewis commanded one division of the army, and Dunmore the other. Lewis' division of eleven hundred troops marched down the Kanawha River to Point Pleasant, West Virginia, where they were attacked on the morning of October 10, 1774, by one thousand Shawnees under the command of Cornstalk. Cornstalk, as has been seen, had opposed the entrance of his tribe into war with Virginia, but the rest of the chiefs overruled him. It is claimed that on the evening before the battle he made another attempt to bring about peace, and was again overruled.

The battle raged throughout the entire day, and

above its din could be heard the voice of Cornstalk as he encouraged his warriors, and shouted, "Be Strong! Be Strong!" He displayed masterly generalship, so maneuvering the Indians that the Virginians were forced into a triangle whose sides were the Ohio and Great Kanawha rivers, and whose base was the Indian forces. His tactics won the admiration of General Lewis and his officers.

The original plan of the campaign was that the forces of both Lord Dunmore and General Lewis should meet at Point Pleasant. Dunmore had marched over the Braddock Road to Fort Pitt, then called "Fort Dunmore by him and other Virginians, with a force of twelve hundred troops, reaching that place in the latter part of August. Here his force was divided, seven hundred, under Dunmore going down the Ohio by boats, and five hundred, under Major William Crawford, going by land with the cattle. Both divisions reached Wheeling about September 30th, and then went to the mouth of the Hockhocking, from which place Dunmore sent messengers to General Lewis, among whom was Simon Girty, ordering him to cross the Ohio, proceed towards the Shawnee towns, and join Dunmore's forces near Chillicothe, instead of Point Pleasant, as originally planned. Before Lewis could carry out these new orders, he was attacked at Point Pleasant by Cornstalk and his warriors. In the meantime, in July, Major Angus McDonald, with a force of four hundred Virginia troops, marched over the Braddock road to Laurel Hill, thence to Redstone, thence to Cat Fish Camp (now Washington, Pa., the "camp" being named for the Delaware chief, Cat Fish), thence to Wheeling, West Virginia, where his force was increased to seven hundred and where he, with the assistance of Captain William Crawford, erected Fort Fincastle, later named Fort Henry in honor of Patrick Henry. Leaving

Captain Crawford in command of Fort Fincastle, McDonald, in the latter part of July, marched against the Indian town of Wakatomica, near Dresden, Ohio, with four hundred troops. He destroyed this town and fought another battle in its vicinity, considerably weakening the Shawnees.

At nightfall Cornstalk's forces withdrew, crossed the Ohio, and headed for the Shawnee villages. What his losses were was never ascertained, but during the battle, the Shawnees were observed to throw many of their slain into the Ohio. As for the Virginians, seventy-five of their force lay dead on the field, and one hundred and forty were wounded. A council of the chiefs was held, and although Cornstalk was bitterly opposed by many of the chiefs, he was able to persuade them to seek a peace with the Virginians.

Accordingly, in November, Cornstalk entered into a treaty of peace with Lord Dunmore, at Chillicothe, Ohio. On this occasion, he made a very impressive speech, boldly charging the whites as being the cause of the war, and dwelling at length upon the atrocious murder of the family of Logan, chief of the Mingoës. It is said that his powerful, clarion voice could be heard distinctly over the whole camp of twelve acres. Among those present was Colonel Benjamin Wilson, who speaks thus of Cornstalk's address:

"When he arose he was in nowise confused or daunted, but spoke in a distinct and audible voice without stammering or repetition and with peculiar emphasis. His looks while addressing Dunmore were truly grand and majestic; yet graceful and attractive. I have heard the first orators in Virginia, Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee, but never have I heard one whose powers of delivery surpassed those of Cornstalk on that occasion."

By the terms of the treaty of peace, the Shawnees were compelled to recognize the Ohio River as the eastern boundary of their lands. Thus Lord Dunmore accomplished what he and his Virginians set out to do in bringing on this unjust war—Virginia got title to the Shawnee lands on the Ohio “by right of conquest.”

Logan returned from the Holston raid at the time when Cornstalk's defeated warriors returned from the terrible battle of Point Pleasant. The chiefs assembled in council. Both Logan and Cornstalk argued for peace, and the council decided not to continue the war. A deputation of chiefs was then sent to Lord Dunmore to sue for peace. Dunmore agreed to a conference, whereupon runners were sent to invite all the chiefs to assemble at Camp Charlotte, the place of the conference.

Logan refused to attend the conference. Then Lord Dunmore sent Colonel John Gibson, the alleged father of the infant of Logan's sister, whose life was spared when the rest of Logan's family was murdered, as a special messenger to invite and bring the great chieftain to the conference. Logan refused again to attend the conference, and proposed that he and Colonel Gibson take a walk into the woods to talk matters over. At length they sat down on a log under a large elm, still standing on the Pickaway plains, about six miles south of Circleville, Pickaway County, Ohio, and known to this day as “Logan's Elm.”

Here, with Colonel Gibson as his only auditor, and with tears streaming down his face, Logan delivered his famous speech, one of the finest specimens of eloquence in the English language, as follows:

“I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and I gave him not meat; if ever he came cold or naked, and I gave him not clothing.

“During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained in his tent, an advocate for peace. Nay, such was my love for the whites, that those of my own country pointed at me as they passed, and said, ‘Logan is the friend of white men.’ I had even thought to live with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, cut off all the relatives of Logan; not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any human creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace. Yet, do not harbor the thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan. Not one.”

Gibson wrote down the speech, and read it the next day at the conference at Camp Charlotte. Thomas Jefferson, in his “Notes on Virginia,” published in 1781 and 1782, gave “Logan’s Lament,” as he called it, world-wide publicity. Colonel John Gibson, on April 4, 1800, made an affidavit before J. Barker, of Pittsburgh, as to the authorship of the great speech, and the accuracy of his translation of the same. Logan spoke in Delaware. Says Heckewelder, “For my part I am convinced that it was delivered precisely as it was related to us, with only this difference, that it possessed a force and expression in the Indian language which it is impossible to transmit to our own.”

Thomas Jefferson challenges Cicero, Demosthenes, and both European and American statesmen to surpass this speech—the cry of the wrongs of the Indian race that came up from the breaking heart of Logan, and made his name immortal. It is at once bold, lofty, and sublime; and yet it is permeated with a note of

sadness. It has been recited in the schools throughout the United States for more than a hundred years. It was copied in England, and has been translated into French, German, and other modern languages as a specimen of classic oratory. The Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society has erected a monument near "Logan's Elm" bearing the following inscription:

"Under the spreading branches of a magnificent elm tree nearby is where Logan, a Mingo chief, made his celebrated speech."

During the last few years of his life, Logan wandered from tribe to tribe, a broken man, drowning his sorrow in whiskey and rum. He was killed in a quarrel by his nephew, Tod-kah-dohs, near Detroit, in 1780. His wife was a Shawnee. He had no children. Heckewelder states that, in 1779, Logan adopted a white woman as his sister to take the place of the sister killed by Greathouse and his band. Standing more than six feet in height, with noble features, and with the Indian gift of oratory, Logan was a fine specimen of the American Indian before ruined by the white man's whiskey.

The following lines were composed for occasion of the dedication of monument near "Logan's Elm."

*"Logan, to thy memory here
White men do this tablet rear;
On its front we grave thy name,
In our hearts shall live thy fame.
While Niagara's thunders roar,
Or Erie's surges lash the shore;
While onward broad Ohio glides
And seaward roll her Indian tides,
So long their memory, who did give
These floods their sounding names shall live.
While time in kindness buries
The gory axe and warrior's bow.
O justice, faithful to thy trust,
Record the virtues of the just."*

After making the treaty of peace with Lord Dunmore, Cornstalk remained at peace with the whites. During the spring of 1777, when most of the Ohio tribes were going over to the English, the old chief came to the Moravian missionaries in Ohio, and warned them that the Shawnees, except those in his own tribe, were going over to the British; that he was powerless to prevent them, and that ammunition was being sent them from Detroit, to be used against the Americans. On a previous visit to the Moravians with more than one hundred of his warriors, he adopted missionary Schmick and his wife, making Schmick his brother and Mrs. Schmick his sister.

Seeing that there was danger of a general Indian uprising, Cornstalk late in the summer of 1777, taking with him a young chief named Red Hawk, went to Point Pleasant to warn Captain Matthew Arbuckle, of the Virginia troops, of the threatened uprising. He and Red Hawk were then arrested and detained as hostages. While thus held, one afternoon his son, Ellinipisco, came to visit his father. Unhappily, on that same day two soldiers who were out hunting on the opposite side of the river, were attacked by two Indians, who killed and scalped one of them. A company of men brought the body of the dead soldier to the fort, and then the cry went up: "Let us go and kill the Indians." The company, under the command of Captain Hall, went to the house where Cornstalk was detained. Captain Arbuckle endeavored to restrain them, but was threatened with death, if he interfered. Cornstalk's son was blamed with having brought the hostile Indians with him, but this he strenuously denied. Turning to his son, Cornstalk said: "My son, the Great Spirit has seen fit that we should die together, and has sent you here to that end. It is His will and let us

submit; it is all for the best." The old chief then arose and with great dignity advanced to meet the soldiers, receiving seven bullets in his body, and sinking in death without a groan. Ellinipisco was then instantly killed, and Red Hawk, who had hidden himself in the chimney, was dragged out and hacked to pieces.

Thus, one of the bravest and noblest of the Indian race, while a hostage and on a mission of mercy, was barbarously murdered by those whom he sought to befriend. His exalted virtues and his most unhappy fate "plead like angels, trumpet-tongued, against the deep damnation of his taking of."

It seems that Cornstalk had a presentiment of approaching death. On the day before he was murdered, he was admitted to a council held at the fort, where he said: "When I was young and went to war, I often thought each might be my last adventure, and I should return no more. I still live. Now I am in the midst of you, and if you choose, may kill me. I can die but once. It is alike to me whether now or hereafter."

In 1896, a monument was erected in the court house yard at Point Pleasant to the memory of this brave and energetic warrior, skillful general, and able orator. Here he fought courageously. Here he died heroically. May his well-deserved fame be as enduring as the granite of his monument—as enduring as the hills and mountains of the land he loved.

A Fact Overlooked—A Conclusion Erroneously Drawn

An important fact which all Pennsylvania historians have overlooked, so far as the author has been able to find, except Dr. George P. Donehoo, in his "Pennsylvania—A History," is the fact that Lord Dunmore's War and the territorial dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania, nearly ruined the latter Colony's Indian

trade at Pittsburgh. On account of Dunmore's war against the Shawnees, all Indians were afraid to go to Pittsburgh to trade, as by so doing they were in danger of losing their lives at the hands of Dr. Connolly's forces. The Pennsylvania traders, therefore, were very anxious to have a fort and a town at some other place. Some were in favor of erecting a stockade and town at Turtle Creek; others at Kittanning. Arthur St. Clair was in favor of the Kittanning location, as there was a direct traders' path, the Kittanning and Franks-town trails, from this place to the Juniata, and another to the West Branch of the Susquehanna. Governor Penn then gave orders for "erecting a Trading Place at the Kittanning," and in the latter part of August, 1774, Pennsylvania traders, setting out from Pittsburgh with goods for the contemplated post at Kittanning, were captured and their goods seized on Connolly's orders. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, pages 551, 557, 573 to 575.)

In concluding this chapter, we call attention to Theodore Roosevelt's statements, in his "Winning of the West," that Lord Dunmore's War was "most important" in its results; that "it kept the Northwestern tribes quiet for the first two years of the Revolutionary struggle;" that "above all, it rendered possible the settling of Kentucky and the Winning of the West;" and that, "had it not been for Lord Dunmore's War, it is more than likely that when the Colonies achieved their freedom, they would have found their western boundaries at the Allegheny Mountains."

Over against the conclusion of Theodore Roosevelt, we set the conclusion of a Pennsylvania historian, who certainly has made a much more exhaustive study of Dunmore's War than the author of "The Winning of the West" ever dreamed of making, and whose

power of appraising historic values is of very high order—Dr. George P. Donehoo. After quoting Roosevelt's conclusion, Dr. Donehoo says, in his "Pennsylvania—A History:"

"The very opposite is true. Lord Dunmore's war accomplished nothing, save the laying of the foundation for the fearful bloodshed of the Revolution, when the Indians of Ohio arose almost to a unit to avenge their wrongs against the Americans. The Shawnee simply waited to avenge themselves upon the Virginians for the deaths of their warriors at Point Pleasant, and for the murder of Cornstalk. The Delaware, Mingo and Wyandot went with them to avenge themselves for the death of Logan's family, and for all the other crimes which were committed against them during this war, which nearly drove all of the settlers across the Allegheny Mountains before the Revolution. The war of 1774 accomplished nothing but the purpose which Lord Dunmore and Dr. John Connolly had in mind when they started it—the breaking of the peace of 1765—and the driving of the Shawnee, Mingo and Wyandot into the arms of the British."

Once more other scenes beckon us, and we hasten to Fort Ligonier and Westmoreland as the Revolutionary War sweeps over the western country.

CHAPTER XV

Fort Ligonier and Western Pennsylvania in the Revolution (1775—1776)

Scenes of Horror—Scalp Bounties

In this chapter, we begin the story of the Revolutionary War, as it affected Fort Ligonier and the region west of the Laurel Hill. In this and subsequent chapters, we shall witness scenes of horror in the cabin homes of the pioneers, who rose to the defense of their borderland; we shall see the Senecas, the Shawnees, the Wyandots, the Mingoes, the Munsees and later other Delawares, instigated by the British, stain the soil of the region west of the Laurel Hill with the blood of its inhabitants, combatants and non-combatants alike; we shall see bands of Indians—sometimes by themselves, sometimes accompanied by Tories and British—hideously painted, roaming over the hills and through the forest seeking the peaceful abode of the industrious pioneer, who, with his devoted wife and loving children, had built a home in the western wilderness; we shall see these painted Indians, both by day and in the dead hours of the night, dashing with dreadful yells upon the defenseless family; we shall see them brain the father and husband with their tomahawks before the eyes of his wife and children; we shall see them plunge the bloody knife into the bosom of the wife and mother; we shall see her gasp out her life, quivering in the blood of her-

self and husband on the cabin floor; we shall see them tear off the bloody scalps of the father and mother; we shall see them dash out the brains of the helpless children, or carry them away into captivity. Our flesh will creep and chills will run down our pulses as we contemplate these scenes of horror.

But before we come to a conclusion that the Indian was

“In truth, the veriest devil

That e’er clutched fingers in a captive’s hair,”

let us remember that the bloody deeds of white renegades equalled, and often exceeded, the most horrible atrocities committed by the Indians; let us remember that many white men, actuated by an unrelenting hatred for the whole Indian race, made no distinction between good Indians and bad Indians, but were simply Indian hunters and killers at all times, whether in peace or in war, and without regard to age or sex; let us remember that Pennsylvania offered bounties for Indian scalps in the French and Indian War, in Pontiac’s War and in the Revolutionary War, even the scalps of Indian women and of boys down to the age of ten years; let us remember that Virginia offered bounties for Indian scalps during the French and Indian War, even the scalps of boys down to the age of ten years; let us remember that the Puritans of New England offered bounties for Indian scalps without any distinction as to age or sex, the climax of Puritan malignity; let us remember the massacre of the peaceable Conestogas during the Pontiac and GUYASUTA War, the blotting out of one of the most historic Indian tribes in America; let us remember the cold-blooded murder of the ninety-six peaceable, friendly, unarmed and defenseless Moravian Delawares at Gnadenhuetten, Ohio, by militia from

Washington County, Pennsylvania, during the Revolutionary War; let us remember that the eternal pages of history will say that the American Indian never committed more horrible tortures upon captives white or red, than civilized white men—Christians, both Catholic and Protestant—committed upon one another in the days of religious persecutions only a few centuries ago. Let us remember these unspeakably horrible deeds committed by the children of light; and then let us be honest enough to admit that there is no record of more horrible deeds committed by the untutored children of the forest.

And let us remember the British scalp bounties during the Revolutionary War, before we conclude that the American Indian was the most hellish of men. There is not a darker chapter in the history of modern times—there is not a darker chapter in the history of the world since men began to record events, than the account of the butchery of old men and defenseless women and children, during the Revolutionary War, by Indians instigated by the British and in the British pay. Children were slaughtered before the eyes of their agonized parents; wives were slaughtered in the presence of their husbands; children were compelled to gaze upon the bloody and mutilated corpses of their parents; the smoke of burning settlements, like the Hannastown settlement, darkened the heavens, and hung as clouds of gloom over many beautiful valleys; in the cabin homes of the pioneers was heard the cry of deepest lamentation—an agonizing cry that went up to God, as the Indian allies of the British carried away the bloody scalps of loving parents and tender babes, to receive the British scalp bounty for their ghastly service in the British cause. The aged father, whose form was bent

by a life of toil and hardship on the frontier; the aged mother, whose hair was silvered by child-birth pain and a life full of care and rich in service; the widow, lingering by the grave of her buried love; the matron, devoted and ministering to her children; the young man of talent, promise, and joyous parental hope; the boy just opening into adolescence; the maiden in the loveliness of grace, beauty, and virtue; the child, angel-eyed and silken haired, prattling at its parent's knee; the tender and helpless babe on its mother's breast—the merciless Indian dashed out the brains of all these, tore off their reeking scalps, carried them to British agents, and received the British scalp bounty for their dreadful work.

In weighing the conduct of an individual, of a group of individuals, or of a nation, we should take into consideration their mental endowment, moral standard, social aptitude and the kind of temptations they meet or that may have been thrust upon them. And so, in reading the accounts of the Indian atrocities during the Revolutionary War, we should not lose sight of the fact that the British gave their Indian allies these scalp bounties as an inducement, well knowing that Indian warfare meant suffering and death to the innocent and the helpless. The Indian had no back-ground of centuries of Christian civilization—no knowledge of the God of Revelation. Who, then, stands with the greater condemnation before the Judgment Seat of Almighty God? Is it the untutored Red Man, with passions wild as the storms of his native mountains? Or, is it the anointed children of civilization, education and Christianity, who were the instigators of his deeds of blood and death?

(For various scalp bounties mentioned above, see Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 7, pages 75, 76, 88, 89; also Vol. 9.



A war poster, used by the Americans during the Revolutionary War, relating to the bounties which the British paid their Indian allies for American scalps. This was found in 1921, in the attic of the old Langley Building, which occupied the site of the present George Washington Hotel, Washington, Pennsylvania.

Across the top of the poster are the words: "A SCENE ON THE FRONTIER, AS PRACTICED BY THE HUMANE BRITISH AND THEIR WORTHY ALLIES."

The British officer, evidently Colonel Henry Hamilton, "the hair-buyer," is saying to the Indian who is handing him an American scalp: "Bring me the scalp, and the King, our Master, will reward you."

On the Indian's rifle is a placard reading: "Reward for 16 Scalps."

Below the picture are the lines:

"Arise, Columbia's sons, and forward press;
Your Country's wrongs call loudly for redress;
The savage Indian with his scalping knife,
Or tomahawk, may seek to take your life.
By bravery awed, they'll in a dreadful fright,
Shrink backward to the woods in flight;
Their British leaders then will quickly shake,
And for those wrongs shall restitution make."

—*Courtesy of* EARLE R. FORREST,

author of "A History of Washington County, Pennsylvania."

pages 141, 188 to 192; Pa. Archives, Vol. 8, pages 167, 176, 283, 369 and 393; Author's "Indian Wars of Pennsylvania," second edition, pages 66, 67, 282, 283, 472, 473, 506 to 509; Sylvester's "Indian Wars of New England," Vol. 1, pages 169 and 170; Baker-Carothers' "Virginia and the French and Indian War," pages 83, 84, 85, 91, 92, 124, 137.)

Before describing the breaking of the storm of blood and death in the vicinity of Fort Ligonier and in other parts of the original county of Westmoreland as the Revolutionary War swept over the region west of the Laurel Hill, we shall devote a few pages to other facts which should be known by those who wish to make a study of the Revolutionary period of Western Pennsylvania, as follows:

Captain Neville Comes to Fort Pitt—Efforts to Secure Friendship of the Indians

After Dr. John Connolly fled from Pittsburgh in June, 1775, he and Governor Dunmore laid plans to raise a British regiment on the borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia, which regiment was to march to Detroit, then a British military post, where it would be supplied and equipped; then with the co-operation of the western Indian tribes, all under command of Connolly, the regiment was to rendezvous at Fort Pitt; thence to march through Western Pennsylvania and Virginia, and form a junction with Dunmore in April, 1776. But these plans were wrecked by the capture of Connolly in November, 1775, as stated in Chapter XIV. While Connolly was busy with his plans, the Pennsylvania and Virginia delegates in the Continental Congress—among whom were Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry—united in a cir-

cular letter, on July 25, addressed to the people of Western Pennsylvania, urging both Virginia adherents and Pennsylvania adherents to mutual forbearance. On August 7, perhaps before the letter came to the attention of the Provincial Convention of Virginia, it passed a resolution directing Captain John Neville, with his company of one hundred Virginians, to take possession of Fort Pitt. Captain Neville took possession of this post on September 11, marching from Winchester. The occupation of the fort by Neville and his Virginians gave Arthur St. Clair considerable concern, and he wrote from Pittsburgh to Governor Penn, on September 15, as follows:

“Curiosity has led me to this Place to be present at the Treaty with the Indians, which was appointed for the 10th instant, and that I might have it in my power to give you the earliest notice if anything happened that appeared necessary for you to be apprised of. The Treaty is not yet opened, as the Indians are not come in, but there are accounts of their being on the way, and well disposed. We have, however, been surprised with a Manoeuvre of the People of Virginia that may have a tendency to alter their Disposition. About one hundred men marched here from Winchester and took possession of the Fort on the 11th, which has so much disturbed the Delegates from the Congress that they have thoughts of removing to some other place to hold the Treaty.” (Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, page 659.)

However, Captain Neville soon made it plain by his conduct that he held Fort Pitt not so much as a Virginian as an American. Under the direction of the Continental Congress, he kept the post secure to the cause of the Colonies in resisting British tyranny. He

continued in command of Fort Pitt until succeeded by General Edward Hand, on June 1, 1777.

The Indian treaty to which Arthur St. Clair refers in his letter quoted above, was not held until late in October, 1775. It came about in this manner: In July, 1775, the Second Continental Congress initiated measures to secure the friendship of the Indians in the conflict with Great Britain. The frontier was divided into three departments. The middle department included the tribes west of Pennsylvania and Virginia; and three members of Congress—Patrick Henry, of Virginia, and Benjamin Franklin and James Wilson, of Pennsylvania—were appointed to hold a treaty with the western Indians at Fort Pitt. In July, Captain James Wood, with Simon Girty as interpreter, went from Fort Pitt to the Indian towns on the Scioto and Tuscarawas to invite the chiefs of the Shawnees, the Mingoes and the Delawares to the treaty, returning to Fort Pitt on August 11, by way of White Eyes' Town, New Comer's Town, Gnadenhuetten and Logstown. This treaty was attended by a few chiefs of the Senecas, Delawares, Shawnees, Mingoes and Wyandots. The principal Indian speakers at the treaty were Guyasuta, of the Senecas and Mingoes, and White Eyes, of the Delawares. Guyasuta, as an Iroquois, assumed to speak for all the western tribes, thereby arousing the anger of White Eyes, who thereupon declared the absolute independence of the Delawares, refusing to admit that the Iroquois had any rightful dominion over them and their lands. Waving his hand in the direction of the Allegheny, he declared: "All the land on the other side of that river is mine [the possessions of the Delawares]." Thus the council was far from being harmonious. However, the chiefs declared their intention

to remain neutral; and Guyasuta promised to use his influence at the Great Council of the Iroquois in New York, to obtain a decision in favor of peace.

The commissioners at this treaty selected Colonel John Gibson as Indian agent for the Ohio tribes. A little later Gibson was succeeded by Richard Butler. Then, in the spring of 1776, the Continental Congress took direct charge of Indian affairs, and chose Colonel George Morgan as Indian agent at Fort Pitt, George Croghan having been suspected of Tory sympathies. Morgan arrived at Fort Pitt early in May, and at once began to arrange for a more satisfactory treaty with the western tribes than the treaty of October, 1775. He sent agents to the various western tribes, employing in this service William Wilson, Peter Long, Simon Girty and Joseph Nicholson. He endeavored to keep the western tribes neutral.

The mission of William Wilson was the most important. He proceeded to the tribes in Ohio. Arriving at the Delaware capital of Coshocton, he was befriended by the Delaware chief, New Comer. On this occasion, New Comer, believing it unsafe for Wilson to proceed to the Wyandots at Sandusky, sent Killbuck to carry his message to them. Killbuck returned in eleven days with word from the Wyandot chiefs that they wanted to see Wilson and hear his message from his own mouth. Wilson then decided to go to see them, and New Comer directed Killbuck to accompany him. Scarcely had the journey begun when Killbuck became ill, and his place was taken by White Eyes. Proceeding, Wilson and White Eyes learned that the Wyandot chiefs had gone to Detroit. Wilson then boldly pressed on to the neighborhood of the British post, where he and White Eyes met the Wyandots. Both he and White Eyes addressed them urging them to attend the treaty. The Wyandot

chiefs betrayed Wilson's presence to the British commander, Henry Hamilton, to whom Wilson frankly told the object of his mission. Though greatly angered, Hamilton respected Wilson's character as an ambassador, and gave him a safe conduct through the Indian country to Fort Pitt, but scathingly denounced White Eyes, and ordered him to leave Detroit within twenty-four hours, if he valued his life.

In spite of Colonel Henry Hamilton's opposition, a number of chiefs of the Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots and Ottawas, owing to the efforts of William Wilson, attended a council with the Americans at Fort Pitt in October, 1776. The Ottawas were represented by one chief, the Wyandots by their Half-King, the Shawnees by Cornstalk and a few other chiefs, and the Delawares by their principal chiefs, the great New Comer of the Turtle Clan being their leader. Although many speeches were made on both sides and many presents given by the Continental Commissioners, the Delawares were the only Indians that were sincere in protestation of friendship for the Americans. Unusual solemnity was given to the conference by the fact that the venerable New Comer breathed his last, at Fort Pitt, before the treaty was concluded. At the conclusion of the treaty, George Morgan, Continental Indian Agent, wrote the president of the Continental Congress: "The cloud which threatened to break over this part of the country appears now to be entirely dissipated." (*American Archives, Fifth Series*, pages 599 and 600.) But soon all the western tribes, except the Delawares, became allies of Colonel Hamilton, the "Hair-Buyer General," as Colonel (later General) George Rogers Clark nicknamed this British officer on account of his horrible

policy of giving his Indian allies rewards for American scalps.

Colonel George Morgan was a very sane adviser on Indian affairs during the early years of the Revolution. For a number of years prior to his appointment as Indian agent, in April, 1776, he was a trader among the Indians as far west as the Illinois country, a member of the trading firm of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan, of Philadelphia, and had become noted among them for his generosity and absolute honesty. On May 12, 1779, just before he resigned as Indian agent, a number of Delaware chiefs, in appreciation of his fair dealings with them, offered to make him a present of the fertile "Sewickley Bottom," on which the town of Sewickley now stands. Although the chiefs urged, the Colonel refused to accept this generous gift. At that time he was educating at his own expense several sons of Delaware chiefs at Princeton College. One of his warmest friends was the Delaware chief, White Eyes, whose son, George White Eyes, he educated at Princeton.* Writing of this Indian boy on May 12, 1784, Colonel Morgan said: "Having now entered Virgil and begun Greek, and being the best scholar in his class, he will be prepared to enter college next fall." According to Colonel Morgan, Colonel Henry Hamilton, the "Hair Buyer General," harangued the Mingoes as follows when he sent them against the frontier with promises to give them rewards for American scalps: "That he wonder'd to see them so foolish as not to observe that the Big Knife was come up very near to them, and claimed one half of the water in the Ohio, and that if any of the Indians cross'd over to their side of the River, they immediately took him, laid his head on a Big Log and chopp'd it off—that he had now put them in a way

*His full name was George Morgan White Eyes. The Delawares called Colonel Morgan "Tamanend", the name of their greatest chief.

to prevent such Usage, and that if they met any of them, they should strike their tomahawks into their heads, cut off some of their hair and bring it to him." (See Morgan's Letter Book.) About 1796 Colonel Morgan took up his residence on a large tract of land at the present Morganza (named for him), Washington County. Here he was visited by Colonel Aaron Burr, when the latter was forming his plans of settlement in the Southwest. Morgan then wrote President Thomas Jefferson of Burr's plans, with the result that Burr was later tried in Richmond, Virginia, on the charge of treason. This friend of the Indians and constant patriot was the great-grandfather of the late David T. Watson, Esquire, of Pittsburgh, one of the ablest lawyers of his time.

First Battalion of Westmoreland County—Its "Rattlesnake Flag"—Nelson's Company

In accordance with the "Hannastown Resolutions" of May 16, 1775, mentioned in Chapter XIV, meetings were held in various parts of "Old Westmoreland" one week later, on Wednesday, May 24, to form military companies for the defense of American liberty. Arthur St. Clair advised Governor Penn of these meetings in a letter written on May 25, as follows: "We have nothing but musters and committees all over the country, and everything seems to be running into the wildest confusion. If some conciliating plan is not adopted by the congress, America has seen her golden days; they may return, but will be preceded by scenes of horror." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, page 628.)

The strong English in which the famous "Resolutions" are written plainly indicates that St. Clair had no small part in drawing them. But the prospect of

civil war appalled him for a time, and caused him to make the above forecast, which soon proved to be correct.

The Westmoreland yeomen soon formed themselves into companies and were arranged in two battalions. John Proctor, the first sheriff of Westmoreland County, was elected Colonel of the First Battalion of Westmoreland County; Archibald Lochry was elected Lieutenant-Colonel; and John Shields was elected Major. James Carnahan, then sheriff of Westmoreland County, was elected Colonel of the Second Battalion of Westmoreland County; Providence Mountz was elected Lieutenant-Colonel; and James Smith, whose captivity among the Indians has been mentioned in a former chapter, was elected Major.

Colonel Proctor's battalion adopted as its banner the famous "Rattlesnake Flag," a banner of crimson silk, having, in the corner, on a blue field, the red and white crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, with the emblems worked in gold. Above a rattlesnake coiled to strike, are the characters: "1. B. W. C. P." meaning, First Battalion, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. Below the serpent is the motto: "Don't Tread on Me." Near the banner's upper margin, are Colonel Proctor's initials, "J. P." The standard bearer was Lieutenant Samuel Craig, of the Derry settlement, by whose descendants the flag was preserved for many years. It is now in the Pennsylvania State Museum. Although this historic banner, which was unfurled before the Declaration of Independence and before the Colonies had a flag, was never carried into battle, yet it was doubtless carried to Philadelphia early in 1777, when the Battalion marched to that city. When on this march,

Colonel John Proctor wrote from Carlisle to the Pennsylvania Council of Safety, on January 27, as follows:

"I am one My Martch with a party of Melisha from the County of Westmoreland, of the first Batallion, of about 240; we are like to be Scarse of Cash, and will not be able to Retch Philadelphia without a Suplay, and hawve Dispatched the Bairor, Leut. Coll. Archabold Lochry to your Honourable Bord, and I hope you will Send by Him the Sum whitch you may think Nesery, Vitilin is Very high, and Hard to be got." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 5, page 202.)

Colonel Proctor's letter brought results. On January 31, the Council of Safety made the following order:

"An order was drawn on Mr. Nesbitt in favour of Lieut. Colonel Arch'd Lockry of Col. John Proctor's Battalion of Westmoreland Militia, for four Hundred pounds, for advanced money and subsistance for said Battalion now on their march to Head Quarters, to be paid by him to Colonel Proctor, to be charged to John Moore, Esq'r, to whom Col. Proctor is to be accountable." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 11, page 110.)

On September 12, 1775, the Continental Congress passed a resolution requesting the Assembly or Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania to raise one battalion for the services of the Colonies. The captains were recommended by the Pennsylvania Assembly, on October 25, and commissioned by Congress two days later. In the meantime, Captain John Nelson, of Westmoreland County, had enlisted a company of independent riflemen, mostly Westmorelanders. Nelson offered the services of himself and troops to Congress—one captain, three lieutenants, four sergeants, four corporals and seventy privates—and they were enlisted for Canadian service early in 1776. Many Western Penn-

sylvanians, among them being scores of Arthur St. Clair's friends, neighbors and acquaintances, were in the Second Pennsylvania Battalion, raised upon the authority of the resolution of Congress, dated December 9, 1775; others were in the famous Rifle Regiment of Colonel Samuel Miles, organized early in 1776.

Committee of Safety—Westmoreland Delegates to Constitution Convention—County Lieutenants

Congress, in May, 1775, resolved to raise a Continental army. Washington was appointed to command the forces of the Colonies. Pennsylvania's quota was fixed at 4,300 men, and the Pennsylvania Assembly recommended to the commissioners of the several counties to provide arms for this force, and directed the officers of the military association to select a number of "Minute-Men" equal to the number of arms they had, to be ready to march on the shortest notice in case of emergency. To assist in making these measures effective, a Committee of Safety was appointed. William Thompson of Westmoreland County, was a member of this committee, having been the first person returned to the Assembly at the election in 1773.

The Committee of Safety prepared articles for the government of the "Association for the Defense of American Liberty." Thus this historic Westmoreland Association, at first voluntary, was, by resolution of the Pennsylvania Assembly which required all able-bodied men to belong to the military organization, a compulsory militia. The township assessors were required to furnish the names of all able-bodied men of military age; and a fine of two pounds and ten shillings, besides the regular tax, was levied on those who had not joined the association. One of the articles of government con-

tained the provision that, in case any associator called into actual service had a family not able to maintain themselves in his absence, the justices of the peace and overseers of the poor should make provision for their maintenance.

In June, 1776, a conference of the Committee of Observation for the different counties was held in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, at which the delegates from Westmoreland County were Edward Cook and James Perry. This conference decided that a convention should be called for the purpose of forming a state government, and provided that each county should elect eight delegates to the convention. For the purpose of this election, Westmoreland County was divided into two election districts; the first district being all that part of the county south of the Youghiogheny, whose inhabitants were to vote at Spark's Fort, in the present Perry Township, Fayette County, and the second district being all the rest of the county north of that line, whose inhabitants were to vote at Hannastown. The delegates chosen by the people of Westmoreland County were: (1) James Barr, of the Derry settlement, later a member of the General Assembly and associate judge of Westmoreland County, still later an associate judge of Armstrong County, dying near Worthington, in the latter County, in August, 1820. (2) Colonel Edward Cook, of the present Washington Township, Fayette County. He was later, in 1781, a commander of rangers for defense of the frontier; also Sub-Lieutenant of Westmoreland County in 1780 and 1781, and County Lieutenant from January 5, 1782, which office he held at the time of the erection of Fayette County, in the autumn of 1783. On November 21, 1786, he was appointed a justice with jurisdiction including the

county of Washington, and on August 7, 1791, he became associate judge of Fayette County. During the "Whiskey Insurrection" of 1794, Colonel Cook was chairman of the Mingo Creek meeting and had much to do with allaying the excitement of this turbulent period. He was an ancestor of the late Alexander Guffey, historian and postmaster at Pittsburgh. (3) John Moore, who, with James Barr and Clement McGeary, was judge of the election held at Hannastown, while George Wilson, John Kile and Robert McConnell were judges of the election held at Spark's Fort. (4) Colonel James Smith, of the Sewickley settlement, born in the present Franklin County, captured by the Indians in 1755, wrote an illuminating account of his captivity, mentioned in former chapters. A member of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1776 and 1777. After the Revolutionary War, he removed to the present Washington County, Kentucky, where he ended his days in 1812. (5) Colonel James Perry, who settled first on the Monongahela, near the mouth of Turtle Creek, later had a mill on Big Sewickley Creek. From March 21, 1777 to the end of the Revolution, he served as Sub-Lieutenant of Westmoreland County. (6) John Carmichael, who, prior to 1775, settled in the present Franklin Township, Fayette County, a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1777. (7) James McClellan who settled in what is now Franklin Township, Fayette County, about 1769, a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1778, father of General Alexander McClellan. (8) Christopher Lobengier, who came from the present Dauphin County and settled in Mount Pleasant Township, Westmoreland County, in 1772, a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature from 1791

to 1793, the son of Christopher Lobengier, a native of Wittenburg, Germany.

The convention sat from July 15 to September 28, 1776. Under the state government thus brought into being, the chief county officer was the County-Lieutenant. He had both civil and military duties, having control of the militia and arms of the county. Virginia had a similar officer in its system of government.

The first County-Lieutenant of Westmoreland County was Colonel Archibald Lochry. He came into office on March 21, 1777, and served at a most critical time. He was killed, as will be seen later, in his unfortunate expedition in the summer of 1781. Colonel Edward Cook, who was one of his Sub-Lieutenants, was Colonel Lochry's successor, holding this office until the erection of Fayette County, and Colonel Alexander McClean was one of the Sub-Lieutenants. Colonel Charles Campbell then became Colonel Cook's successor as County-Lieutenant of Westmoreland County. Colonel James Pollock, who lived in the vicinity of the present village of West Fairfield, eight or nine miles from Fort Ligonier, was also Sub-Lieutenant of Westmoreland County, but was superseded, on April 1, 1778, by George Reading, because he (Pollock) "hath not taken the Oath of Allegiance to this State." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 11, page 455.)

Upon the erection of Washington County, James Marsel (Marshall) was appointed County-Lieutenant of this County. Colonel Dorsey Pentecost held the same office in the Virginia County of Yohogania, which embraced practically the same territory as the Pennsylvania county of Washington; and David Shepherd held the same office in the Virginia county of Ohio.

*Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment—Morgan's Riflemen—
Seventh and Thirteenth Virginia Regiments*

In Chapter XIV, reference was made to the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. At this point, we shall set forth some additional facts as to the raising and services of this famous command in which the ancestors of so many Western Pennsylvanians rendered distinguished service to the American cause. In July, 1776, when it became certain that the most of the powerful Iroquois were going over to the British, General Washington urged the raising of regiments on the frontiers. Then the Congress, by resolution of July 15, ordered the raising of a regiment of seven companies from Westmoreland County and one from Bedford County for the defense of the Western Pennsylvania frontier, to erect and garrison forts at Kittanning, Le Boeuf and Erie. This regiment, at first known as "the Battalion commanded by Col. Aeneas Mackay" and later as the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, was speedily raised. The yeomen of "Old Westmoreland" rose to the defense of their borderland. Between August 9 and December 16, 630 men enlisted. Its original field officers, commissioned by Congress in the summer of 1776, were: Colonel, Aeneas Mackay, of Pittsburgh, one of the justices of the Pennsylvania court at Hannastown; Lieutenant-Colonel, George Wilson, of Georges Creek, in the present Fayette County; Major, Richard Butler, former Indian agent at Pittsburgh; Quartermaster, Ephraim Douglass, a Pittsburgh trader; Commissary, Ephraim Blaine, of the Cumberland Valley, grandfather of Hon. James G. Blaine; Adjutant, Michael Huffnagel, of Hannastown; Paymaster, John Boyd, of Pittsburgh; and Chaplain, Rev. David McClure, a native of Rhode Island, who had gone as a missionary

to the Delawares on the Tuscarawas in 1772, and having been rejected by the Indians, returned to Westmoreland County where he did itinerant preaching until June, 1773, when he returned to Rhode Island, never having joined the regiment to which he was appointed chaplain. The captains were Van Swearingen, Moses Carson (who later deserted), Wendel Ourry (Uhrig), David Kilgore, Eliezer Myers, Samuel Miller, James Piggott and Andrew Mann.

The nucleus of this regiment was Captain Van Swearingen's company of riflemen, formed largely in the present Washington County in May, 1776, for the defense of the western frontier. Van Swearingen had come from Berkeley County, Virginia, with his father, John Swearingen, and his brother, Andrew, and settled in the present Springhill Township, Fayette County at least not later than the spring of 1774. At first a justice of the peace, he became a noted Indian fighter and gained the name of "Indian Van" on account of his exploits with the Indians. When Washington County was organized in March, 1781, he was appointed the first sheriff of this county. His daughter, Drusella, became the wife of the noted scout, Captain Samuel Brady; and his brother, Andrew, commanded a company of rangers that patrolled the Washington County frontier during most of the period of the Revolutionary War, going to the relief of Fort Henry (Wheeling) on September 1, 1777, and serving in General Lachlan McIntosh's expedition to the Tuscarawas in the latter part of 1778. In October, 1776, Andrew was appointed justice of the peace for the Virginia county of Yohogania; and after the Revolution, he was justice of the peace in Chartiers Township, Washington County.

The regiment was mustered in at Pittsburgh, and in the autumn of 1776 it rendezvoused at Kittanning, where Van Swearingen's company had already been for some time. The regiment erected a stockade on the left bank of the Allegheny, just below the present town of Kittanning, built rude cabins as winter quarters for the men, sent scouting parties up and down the Allegheny, and prepared to advance to the present Franklin, Waterford and Erie to build forts there. But at that time Washington's army, greatly diminished in numbers, was obliged to face the large British reinforcements landed at New York. Hence it was thought necessary to hurry troops from the frontiers to the front. Therefore on December 4, a call was received from the Board of War for the regiment to march across Pennsylvania and join Washington's army in New Jersey. Colonel Mackay, with the larger part of the regiment, was then at Kittanning, the rest being out scouting. He immediately ordered that the regiment rendezvous at Hannastown on December 15. In letters written at Kittanning on December 5, one by Colonel Mackay to the Board of War and the other by Lieutenant-Colonel George Wilson to Colonel James Wilson, of the Derry settlement, it is seen how poorly equipped the regiment was for a long winter march and yet how willingly the call of duty was obeyed. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 5, pages 92 and 93; also Pa. Archives, Sec. Ser., Vol. 10, page 641.) Amid a storm of protest from the people on the now unprotected frontier, the regiment, on January 6, 1777, began its march of more than 300 miles through the icy winds and snows of the bitter, cruel winter. More than 100 miles of the winter march was across mountain ridges where the storms howled day and night. Encampments were made in the more sheltered places

amid heavy timber, and great fires were kept burning all night that the soldiers, all without tents or sufficient food or clothing, might not freeze to death. Hunting parties managed to procure some game, but for most of the journey the only food consisted of cakes and bread. Many of the soldiers died on the way. While the march was being made, Washington won the victories of Trenton and Princeton.

Towards the end of February, the regiment arrived at Quibbletown, New Jersey. Here encamped in miserable quarters, one third of the men were ill of fevers and putrid sore throat, due to the exposure of the terrible march. Within two weeks, fifty members of the regiment died, among them being Colonel Aeneas Mackay and Lieutenant-Colonel George Wilson. Then under the arrangement of March 12, 1777, Daniel Brodhead became Colonel, Richard Butler Lieutenant-Colonel, and Stephen Bayard, a son-in-law of Colonel Mackay, Major. Others who later served as captains, were James Montgomery, John Finley, Basil Prather, Matthew Jack, Nehemiah Stokely, Thomas Cook, Samuel Dawson, James Francis Moore, John Clark, James Carnahan, Joseph L. Finley, John Crawford and Samuel Brady.

In the "Life of Timothy Pickering," is the following reference to the suffering of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, both on the march and in the New Jersey camp:

"March 1, 1777, Saturday.

,"Dr. Putnam brought me a billet, of which the following is a copy:

"Dear Sir,—Our Battalion is so unfortunate as not to have a Doctor, and, in my opinion, dying for want

of medicine. I beg you will come down tomorrow morning and visit the sick of my company. For that favor you shall have sufficient satisfaction from your humble servant, James Piggott, Capt. of 8th Batt. of Pa., Quibbletown, Feb. 28, 1777.

“I desired the Dr. by all means to visit them. They were raised about the Ohio, and travelled near five hundred miles, as one of the soldiers who came from the Dr. informed me, for 150 miles over mountains, never entering a house, but building fires and encamping in the Snow. Considerable numbers, unused to such hardships, have since died. The Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel among the dead. The Dr. informed me he found them quartered in cold, shattered houses.”

The story of the eastward march of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment is eloquent to every Western Pennsylvanian, as well as to every other American who appreciates the suffering and sacrifices out of which came the American Nation. In a future chapter, we shall view the westward march of such members of this regiment as had not been transferred to other commands or did not find a grave under the snow and in the frozen soil of Pennsylvania and New Jersey—hastening back to the defense of their own loved borderland.

In June, 1777, General Washington formed Morgan's Rifle Regiment, with Daniel Morgan, of Virginia, as colonel. This corps of 500 of the best sharp-shooters in the Continental Army was not composed almost exclusively of Virginians as is commonly believed. Indeed, Virginia contributed only 163 men. More were chosen from the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment than from any other command. It contributed 139, including Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Butler, Captain Van Swearingen, Captain Basil Prather and Lieutenant John

Hardin, later the renowned General Hardin of Kentucky. The First Pennsylvania Regiment contributed 54 men from that part of the same recruited along the Susquehanna. Thus it is seen that Pennsylvania contributed 193 and Virginia 163, while Maryland contributed 65 soldiers to this famous command whose praises have been sung by Bancroft and all other major historians of the United States.

In Chapter XIV, mention was also made of the Seventh Virginia Regiment and the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, known as the West Augusta Regiment. Both were raised among Virginia adherents in the valleys of the Monongahela and Youghiogeny. William Crawford, whose name has run through many pages of this history, entered the Revolutionary service in 1776 as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fifth Virginia Regiment, later being promoted to the command of the Seventh Virginia Regiment. Thus far his military services in the cause of liberty were east of the mountains, but late in 1776, being assigned the duty raising a new regiment, he returned to his home on the Youghiogeny, and devoted his fine vigor to raising the West Augusta Regiment. With two hundred of his new levies, he joined the main army of Washington, near Philadelphia, in August, 1777, and took part in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown.

*Indians Go Over to the British—Hamilton Sends Them
Against the Frontier—More About Scalp Bounties*

We have seen that, during the year 1775, the Indians remained quiet; but early in the Revolutionary War, or, to be specific, in May, 1776, Sir Guy Johnson, Colonel John Butler and other British agents held a great council with the chiefs of the Six Nations, at Fort

Niagara, New York, at which the overwhelming majority of the sachems of the Iroquois Confederation voted to accept the war hatchet against the Americans. (American Archives, Fourth Series, Vol. 6, page 764; Fifth Series, Col. 1, page 867.) The League of the Iroquois decided to take no part in the conflict, but to allow each tribe of the Confederation to decide for itself. A large part of the Tuscaroras and nearly all the Oneidas, owing to the influence of Rev. Samuel Kirkland, remained neutral; but the other tribes of the historic Confederation went over to the British, and spread terror, devastation and death throughout the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania.

Likewise, the Shawnees, the Wyandots, a large part of the Delawares, and other western tribes, through the influence of the British at Detroit, took the British side, and raided the frontiers of Western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Virginia and Kentucky.

The British officer, Sir Henry Hamilton, who was in command at Detroit, was directed, on October 6, 1776, to enlist the Indians in the British service, and have them ready for operations against the western frontier the next spring. Hamilton incited many Indian incursions against the frontier, and gave the Indians rewards for scalps. About June 1, 1777, he began to enlist and send out war parties against the frontiers of Kentucky, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. We shall soon see these war parties on the Westmoreland frontier. About the end of July, 1777, he reported to his superior commander at Quebec, that he had sent out fifteen war parties, consisting of 30 white men and 289 Indians, an average of 21 in each band. These Indians were chiefly Wyandots and Miamis, of Northwestern Ohio, and Shawnees of Southern Ohio. The

Mingoes, too, joined the British. Later, as will be seen, a large part of the Delawares turned against the Americans. On September 16, 1778, Hamilton reported to General Haldimand that, since May, 1778, the Indians under his command captured 115 Americans, 85 of whom they killed and then delivered their scalps to him. Said the Virginia Council, on June 16, 1779, after Colonel (later General) George Rogers Clark had captured the "Hair Buyer General" at Vincennes, Indiana, on February 25 of that year: "Governor Hamilton gave standing rewards for scalps, but offered none for prisoners, which induced the Indians, after making their captives carry their baggage into the neighborhood of the fort [Fort Detroit,] there to put them to death."

Heckewelder says, in his "History of the Indian Nations," that the instructions of Colonel Hamilton and other British officers at Detroit to their Indian allies, were "to kill all the rebels," and that a veteran Wyandot chief, having observed to one of these officers that it was surely not meant that American women and children should be killed for the scalp bounties, received the reply: "*Kill all; destroy all; nits breed lice.*"

The following extract from Leeth's "Narrative," found on page 7 of Butterfield's "Washington-Irvine Correspondence," pictures one of the scenes at Detroit when Colonel Hamilton was engaged in the work of rewarding the Indians for American scalps:

"When we arrived there on the bank of the Detroit River, we found Governor Hamilton and several other British officers, who were standing and sitting around. Immediately the Indians produced a large quantity of scalps; the cannon fired; the Indians raised a shout, and the soldiers waived their hats, with huzzas and tremendous shrieks, which lasted some time. This ceremony

being ended, the Indians brought forth a parcel of American prisoners, as a trophy of their victories; among whom were eighteen women and children, poor creatures, dreadfully mangled and emaciated, with their clothes tattered and torn to pieces in such a manner as not to hide their nakedness; their legs bare and streaming with blood, the effects of being torn with thorns, briars and brush . . . If I had had an opportunity, I should certainly have killed the Governor, who seemed to take great delight in the exhibition."

Some historians have made an attempt to "white-wash" the "Hair Buyer General," pointing out that on one or more occasions he urged the Indians to act with humanity. But he knew when he turned them loose on the isolated settlements with instructions to "strike their Tomahawks into their heads, cut off some of their hair, & bring it to him," that no rules of humanity would be likely to be observed. He knew that, in localities too remote for warning, men would be killed while at work in their fields; that women and children would be slaughtered with the tomahawk and knife or burned to death in their cabin homes; and that the Indians, mindful of his instructions to them, would "cut off some of their hair, & bring it to him."

Hamilton seemed to believe with Lord Suffolk, who, in November, 1777, while discussing the war against the "rebels," declared that "there were no means which God and Nature might have placed at the disposal of the governing powers, to which they would not be justified in having recourse" to crush the "rebels." It was this ferocious speech of Lord Suffolk that brought from William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, the reply: "But who is the man, who has dared to authorize and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping knife of

the savage? . . . What! to attribute the sanction of God and Nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping knife. They shock every sentiment of honor."

The British agents in New York were no better than Hamilton. They sent the Senecas and various other tribes of the Six Nations in alliance with them, against the frontiers of New York and both Eastern and Western Pennsylvania. They gave their Indian allies ten dollars each for the two hundred and twenty-seven scalps of principally old men, women and children, killed at the Wyoming massacre of July 3, 1778.

England adopted the ferocious and horrible policy of sending the Indians against the American frontier, in opposition to the advice of some of her best and ablest statesmen, notably William Pitt, as noted above. This great man described this shameful policy as "letting loose the horrible hell-hounds of savage war." (Butterfield's Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pages 6 and 7.)

Not all the British leaders were "hair buyers." A fine example to the contrary was Lieutenant-Governor Edward Abbot, commandant on the Wabash, who, on June 8, 1778, protested vehemently to Sir Guy Carleton against the irresponsible and uncontrollable turning loose of Indians against these poor, unhappy people of the frontier settlements.

Those who attempt to "white-wash" Colonel Henry Hamilton, also point out that, in the latter days of the Revolutionary War, Pennsylvania offered bounties for Indian scalps. And, of course, Pennsylvania did this very thing, as pointed out earlier in this chapter. But it was a retaliatory measure, a measure of self-preservation, brought about by the terrible atrocities, committed by the Indians in the British service. In spite of all

the "white-washing" that can be done, the nickname of "Hair-Buyer General," given Governor Hamilton by General George Rogers Clark, will stick to him in the eternal pages of history.

The duty of the historian is not to "smooth-over" reprehensible things, but to record the facts and let the truth shine forth in its naked, never-dying splendor, or in its shocking repulsiveness, as the case may be—the purpose of history being to record the noble achievements of the good and great of past ages to inspire us, to record their high ideals and sublime faith to lead us to the dim, distant uplands towards which men are struggling and scrambling, and to record the mistakes of the past to warn us.

CHAPTER XVI

Fort Ligonier and Western Pennsylvania in the Revolution (Continued)—1777

*The Storm Breaks Upon the Westmoreland Frontier—
Capture of McFarlane and Moorehead and
Murder of Simpson—Lochry's Rangers*

Andrew McFarlane, who was one of the Pennsylvania justices captured and taken to Staunton, Virginia, by order of Dr. John Connolly, in April, 1774, had, upon his return, removed from Pittsburgh to Kittanning, in order to carry on his trade with the Indians without interference on the part of the Virginia authorities, the Pennsylvania Indian trade at Pittsburgh having been destroyed by the Virginia adherents during the territorial dispute and Dunmore's War. McFarlane's trade at Kittanning was quite extensive. Indians from the upper Allegheny and even from Ohio dealt with him. After the departure of the troops of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment from Kittanning early in December, 1776, to rendezvous at Hannastown, and thence march over the mountains to join Washington's army, McFarlane wrote a letter to the commissioners of Westmoreland County, urging them to send a company of armed men to Kittanning to protect the little settlement of traders who had come there from Pittsburgh. Also, William Lochry and John Moore, on December 26, 1776, wrote the following letter to Thomas Wharton

of the Pennsylvania Council of Safety, urging the importance of sending militia to Kittanning:

“By the removal of Coll. Mackay from the Kittanning, the frontiers of this County is laid open and exposed to the Mercy of a faithless, uncertain Savage Enemy, and we are Inform’d by Andrew McFarland, Esq., who lives at the Kittanning, that he is much afraid that the Mingoes will plunder the Country, and that he will not think himself Safe if there is not a Company of Men Stationed there, and if he removes, a number more of the Inhabitants will follow; the Kittanning is a post of importance, and we think a few men Stationed there would awe the Indians, and perhaps prevent much mischief, and as we are not certain there is any legal Representatives of the people of this State now sitting but the Council of Safety, we beg the favour of you to lay this letter before them, not doubting but that they will take the matter into Consideration, and take such steps as the importance of it Requires.” (Pa. Archives, Vol. 5, page 135.)

Accurately speaking, McFarlane’s trading house was a little below the present town of Kittanning, where the town of Manorville now stands. Soon after William Lochry and John Moore wrote the above letter, Captain Samuel Moorehead, of Black Lick Creek, in the present Indiana County, organized a company of rangers with Andrew McFarlane as Lieutenant to protect the goods of McFarlane and those of other traders at Kittanning and also to protect the supplies which the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment had left at that place. It seems, however, that few of the rangers took post at Kittanning, and that, at the time of McFarlane’s capture, about to be related, there were only two men with him at his trading post.

On February 14, two British subalterns, two Chippewas, and two Iroquois Indians, sent by the British commandant at Fort Niagara to descend the Allegheny, arrived on the west side of the Allegheny opposite McFarlane's trading post at Kittanning, and shouted toward the other shore, calling for a canoe. McFarlane, thinking that the Indians had come to trade or possibly to bring some important news, crossed in a boat to the western shore. Upon stepping from his boat, he was seized by the Indians and told that he was a prisoner, his capture being witnessed by his wife "and some men at the settlement." His captors carried him to Quebec where, through the efforts of his brother, James, then a lieutenant in the First Pennsylvania Regiment, he was exchanged, in the autumn of 1780, and rejoined his wife, Margaret Lynn Lewis, a sister of General Andrew Lewis, at Staunton, Virginia. Soon thereafter he opened another trading house on Chartier's Creek, Allegheny County, where he lived for many years.

Upon the capture of her husband, Mrs. McFarlane with her infant in her arms fled through the wilderness to Carnahan's block house, more than twenty miles distant, and located in Bell Township, Westmoreland County, about two miles from the Kiskiminetas River.

(Andrew McFarlane's brother James was the Captain James McFarlane who was killed, on July 17, 1794, during the "Whiskey Insurrection," in the attack on the home of General Presley Neville, United States Revenue Collector, near Woodville, Allegheny County. The unfortunate Captain's body was carried to the home of his brother, Andrew, near Elrama, still standing and the oldest building in that part of the Monongahela Valley. The next day funeral services were held in the Mingo Creek Presbyterian Church, five miles

away, and his body was buried in the Mingo Creek Cemetery.)

In March, 1777, Fergus Moorehead, of Indiana County, visited his brother, Captain Samuel Moorehead, whose rangers were then located at Kittanning. On March 16, as he and a soldier, named Simpson, were on their way back to Indiana County, following the Kittanning Indian Trail, they were attacked by a band of Indians, near Blanket Hill, Armstrong County. Simpson was killed and scalped, and Moorehead was taken prisoner. He was compelled to run the gauntlet, and was then taken to Quebec, where he was turned over to the British, who treated him much worse than did the Indians. After eleven months, he was exchanged. On March 18, Captain Samuel Moorehead found the dead body of Simpson.

An account of the capture of Fergus Moorehead is given on both pages 445 and 464 of Vol. 2 of the "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania." That on page 445 is wrong as to the year of the event. That on page 464 is correct, quoting the letter of Devereux Smith, written at Han-nastown, on March 24, 1777.

Following the capture of Andrew McFarlane and Fergus Moorehead and the murder of Simpson, terror gripped the frontier inhabitants of Westmoreland, and every rustling of the leaves of the forest trees that surrounded the cabin homes brought visions of the rifle and bloody scalping knife. The following letter, written on May 20, 1777, by Colonel Archibald Lochry, County-Lieutenant, to President Wharton, of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council, describes the conditions in Westmoreland at this time and the measures he adopted:

“On my arrival on the forth of April I found this County in a Confused situation. The Alarm of Simpsons Being kill’d and Moorehead being Missing struck such Terror on the Minds of the People that the fruntears Waire Entirely fled into the Hart of the Settlement and a greate Numbers Over the Mountains. In Order to Put a stop to the Peoples Entirely Evacuating the Country, I Ventured to Raise Sixty Men and Stationed them On the frontears Between Twolicks and the Mouth of Kiskaminetus in Fore Divisions under the Command of Two Captains and Two Lieuts, which covered that frunteir so Well that the People are in general Gon Back to their Plantations and fell to their Labours. I flatter Myself When your Excellency is Enformed What Bennifit these Raingers Hass Benn to this Distresst Fruntier, you Will Not Hesitate One Moment in Allowing them to Be Paid By the State—they are Engag’d for Two Months, if not sooner Discharg’d by Bregedear Genneral Hands Order, and Promised the same Pay and Rations of Continantal Troops.” (Pa. Archives, Vol. 5, page 344.)

Gibson and Linn's Powder Exploit

To add to the danger on the Western Pennsylvania frontier upon the outbreak of the Revolution, powder became so scarce and so expensive that it could hardly be obtained. To relieve this situation, one of the most heroic missions in Revolutionary annals was undertaken and carried out by a company of resolute frontiersmen led by Captain George Gibson and Lieutenant William Linn. Gibson and Linn, at the very outbreak of the Revolution, raised a company of young men about Pittsburgh and in the Monongahela Valley, and entered the service of Virginia. The company marched to the

Virginia seaboard, and its members so distinguished themselves for their valor that they were called "Gibson's Lambs." They were soon sent back to the Monongahela Valley, and Virginia commissioned Gibson and Linn to descend the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans to secure a supply of powder from the Spanish Government and return to Fort Pitt with it.

Fifteen of "Gibson's Lambs"—the bravest of the brave—were selected to accompany the two officers. The mission was kept secret, even in Pittsburgh, from which it started, it being reported there that the men were going down the Ohio on a trading venture. The courageous voyagers left Pittsburgh, on July 19, 1776, at a time when a journey down the Ohio was dangerous in the extreme, inasmuch as some of the Shawnees and Miamis were already at war with the Kentucky settlements. On their way down the Ohio, they passed refugees fleeing to Fort Pitt from Indian ravages in Kentucky. Arriving at what is now Maysville, Kentucky, Lieutenant Linn and Sergeant Lawrence Harrison went from that place overland to what is now Louisville, where the others, with the barges, waited for them. In the Kentucky wilderness, Linn and Harrison met a friend, John Smith, who had been hunting land and was on his way back to his home on Peters Creek, on the Monongahela, and persuaded him to accompany the expedition. The company now united, the entire voyage was made in safety, the British post at Natchez being passed in the night and the company arriving at New Orleans in about five weeks.

Louisiana was then a Spanish province, governed by Don Louis de Unzaga. Gibson bore letters of recommendation and credit to Oliver Pollock, a Phila-

delphian, and other American merchants then living in New Orleans.

Through Pollock, negotiations were made with the Spaniards for securing the powder. British agents soon discovered the purpose of the mission of the Americans, complained to the Spanish authorities, and as a result, Captain Gibson was arrested and put in prison, where, however, he was treated with great kindness. Pollock went ahead with the negotiations, and purchased twelve thousand pounds of powder, which was divided into two lots. Three thousand pounds were marked as "merchandise" and placed on a vessel sailing for Philadelphia. The other lot, nine thousand pounds, intended for the Western Pennsylvania frontier, was put into casks, and placed by Lieutenant Linn on the barges, anchored in a secluded place above the city. The entire cost of both lots was \$1,800.00. Spain was at peace with Great Britain, but her agents, influenced by the wealthy merchant, Oliver Pollock, were willing to give secret aid to the Americans.

On the night when the vessel sailed for Philadelphia, Captain Gibson escaped from prison. He at once boarded the ship, and safely accompanied it and its precious cargo to Philadelphia. On his arrival at Philadelphia, Gibson communicated to the Virginia authorities that Linn was returning up the Mississippi and Ohio with his cargo. Orders were then sent to Fort Pitt for the raising of a body of one hundred militia to descend the Ohio and meet Linn. The Ohio was considered the most dangerous part of the journey, as the voyagers might be attacked and killed by bands of Wyandots and Miamis on their way to or return from raiding the Kentucky frontier. The relief force was

hardly ready to leave Fort Pitt when word was received that Linn and his companions had arrived in safety at Wheeling, on May 2, 1777, having been seven months on the voyage up the rivers. At Wheeling, Lieutenant Linn turned his precious cargo over to David Shepherd, County-Lieutenant of the Virginia County of Ohio, who conducted it under guard to Fort Pitt, where it was turned over to Colonel William Crawford, of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, and stored in the brick magazine of the fort.

Every man in this heroic and patriotic enterprise was a Virginia adherent in the territorial dispute. But in the conflict with Great Britain, every one of them was an American first. They gave a revelation of their true patriotism in distributing the powder to all the Western Pennsylvania frontiersmen, regardless of their attitude in the boundary dispute. Much of this powder was supplied to the two regiments from Western Pennsylvania in the Continental Army, and Colonel George Rogers Clark drew his supply from it for his expedition to the Illinois country, to be described in a later chapter. Both Gibson and Linn were promoted and given a reward of money by the Virginia Legislature for their more than heroic work. Both later met death at the hands of the Indians, Gibson being killed at St. Clair's defeat, as mentioned in a former chapter, and Linn being murdered on March 5, 1781, near his settlement, about ten miles from Louisville, Kentucky.

*The Terrible Summer and Autumn of 1777 in the Present
Westmoreland County*

But for the timely arrival of Gibson and Linn's powder at Fort Pitt, it is likely that the western settlements would have been wiped out of existence by the Indian

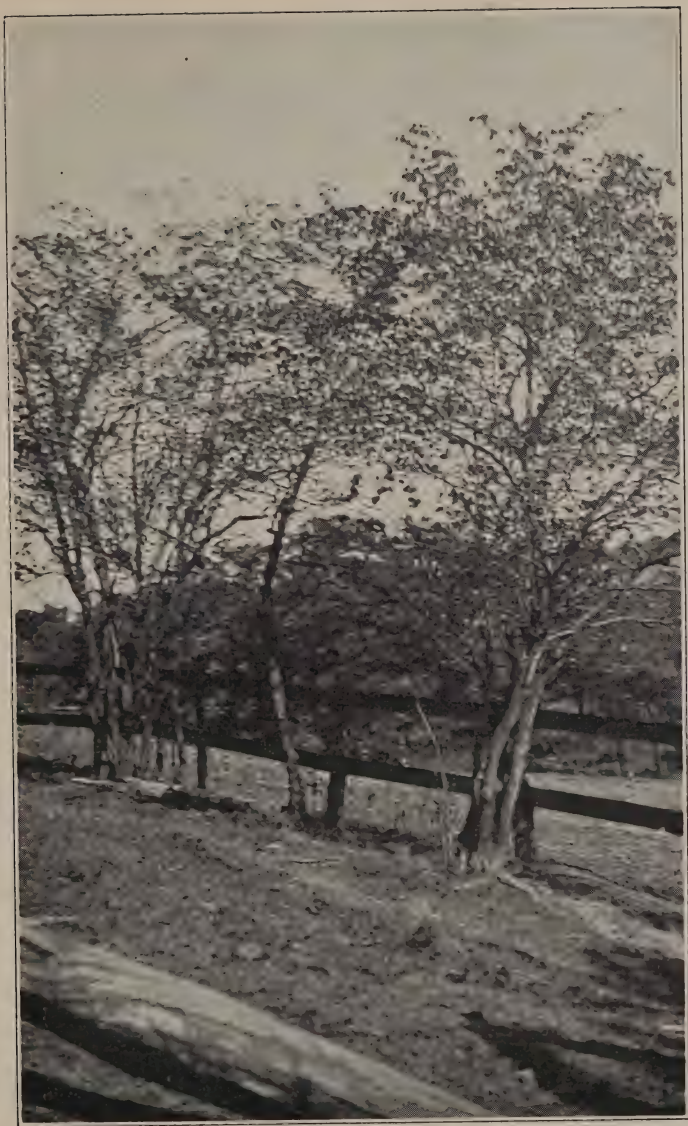
allies of the British, in the summer and autumn of 1777. On June 7 of that year, the friendly Delaware chief, Killbuck, wrote a letter from the Tuscarawas to Colonel George Morgan at Fort Pitt, advising him that a band of Munsee Delawares, Mingoes and Mohicans proposed to invade the Turtle Creek and Brush Creek settlements, coming by way of Kittanning. The son of the Mingo Chief Pluggy, was their leader. He lived at Pluggy's Town where the town of Delaware, Ohio, now stands.* (Pa. Archives, Vol. 5, pages 444 and 445.) Soon thereafter, bands of Indians spread terror, devastation and death in the settlements of the present counties of Westmoreland and Indiana. Most of the inhabitants sought safety in flight. Those of the present Indiana County fled across the Conemaugh and Kiskiminetas to Fort Wallace, Fort Barr, Fort Palmer and others. Exactly two weeks later, two white men were murdered by Indians, on the Allegheny, about 20 miles above Fort Pitt. (Pa. Archives, Vol 5, page 443.)

Some time in August, 1777, six or seven men were reaping oats in a field about six miles from Carnahan's Blockhouse, a place of defense in Bell Township, Westmoreland County. One of the reapers wounded a deer, and while searching for it in the woods, discovered an Indian and signs of others. The reapers then hastily went to John McKibben's house, where several families had gathered for safety, and where Fort Hand was erected the following winter. From this place, word was sent to Carnahan's Blockhouse, advising the occupants to be on the lookout for Indians. The next day a party went out from McKibben's to scout, and near the oat field found the spot where the Indians had secreted themselves the day before. That same day, the Indians plundered the houses of James Chambers and several

* Pluggy's warriors were bloody raiders of the Westmoreland frontier.

other settlers in the neighborhood, which had been deserted when their occupants fled to McKibben's and Carnahan's. Also on the afternoon of this day, Robert Taylor and David Carnahan went from Carnahan's to McKibben's to learn what intelligence they could of Indians being in the neighborhood. They had almost reached Carnahan's Blockhouse on their return, when they saw several Indians rushing toward the house. Taylor and Carnahan exerting all their powers, succeeded in reaching the blockhouse before the Indians, and then made the door fast. The Indians proved to be fourteen in number, and there were few men in the blockhouse, some of its defenders being absent. Darkness was now settling down over the hills of the harried county of Westmoreland. John Carnahan, one of the occupants of the blockhouse, having opened the door and stepped out to get a shot at one of the Indians, was himself shot and instantly killed. Having fallen near the door, his body was dragged in, and the door was again fastened. Firing on both sides was continued for some time, and then the Indians departed, taking with them several horses, probably to carry off their wounded. John Carnahan was buried near the blockhouse. (*Frontier Forts of Pa.*, Vol. 2, pages 333-335.)

Robert Campbell lived with his parents near Pleasant Grove Presbyterian Church in Cook Township, Westmoreland County. In July, 1777, he and his brothers, William and Thomas, were working in the harvest field when they were captured by a band of Senecas. After capturing the boys, the Indians went to the Campbell home, where they killed and scalped the mother and her infant. Their bodies were found the next day. Albert, in "History of Westmoreland County," in the chapter on Cook Township, says that the Indians also killed the



Group of trees just back of the barn on the farm of the late Charles B. Carnahan, in Bell Township and within site of Perrysville, Westmoreland County. John Carnahan and an Indian, both of whom were killed during the attack on Carnahan's blockhouse, are buried under these trees. See page 368. This blockhouse, from which Colonel Lochry's unfortunate expedition started in the summer of 1781, stood in the garden just below the Charles B. Carnahan residence. See pages 516 to 522. An appropriate monument marks its site.

father, Robert Campbell, Sr., in the field; but on page 112 of the same work, he says that the father was away from home when the family was attacked. They also captured the girls, Polly, Isabella, and Sarah. The youngest girl, who had difficulty in riding a horse upon which the Indians placed her, was killed about a mile from the home, and her body was found a few days later. The three boys and two girls were then taken across the Kiskiminetas below the mouth of the Loyalhanna, and carried to New York. After four years, the two girls were released, and returned to their home. Robert escaped in 1782, and succeeded in returning home. At the close of the Revolutionary War, William was exchanged, and also returned home. Thomas never returned. What became of him is unknown, except the tradition that he was sold to a British officer and sent to England. The inscription on the tombstone at the grave of Robert Campbell in the cemetery of the Pleasant Grove Church recites his terrible experiences with the Indians.

The Andrew Harman family, Pennsylvania Germans, lived in 1777 near Williams' Block house about midway between Stahlstown and Donegal, Westmoreland County. Some time during the summer of this year, Mr. Harman and three of his neighbors were returning from some gathering in the neighborhood, when they were fired upon by Indians from ambush, and all killed except one, who throwing his arms about his horse's neck, rode beyond the reach of the Indians. His body was found the next day with his horse standing by its side.

During the incursions into the southern part of what is now Indiana County, in the summer and autumn of 1777, many of the settlers of the southeastern part of

this county fled across the Conemaugh to Palmer's Fort in Fairfield Township, Westmoreland County, as previously stated. Among these was George Findley, whose cabin stood near the town of Cramer, in East Wheatfield Township, Indiana County. Accompanied by an apprenticed boy, Mr. Findley returned to his plantation in September to care for some live stock. He and the boy were attacked by Indians. The boy was captured and killed, but Findley, though wounded, made his escape. As he ran, he looked back and saw the Indians scalping the boy. Findley returned to Palmer's Fort, and related his terrible experience. In a few days a band of settlers proceeded to the scene of the attack. They found the body of the boy, and buried it near the town of Cramer.* Findley's plantation was near the cabin of the Friendly Delaware, Joseph Wipey, who was killed in the spring of 1774.

During the harvest time of 1777, the Senecas, Min-goies and Wyandots raided the settlements north of the Kiskiminetas and Conemaugh, in what is now the southern part of Indiana County, extending their depredations across these streams into what is now Westmoreland County. Several persons were killed in the valley of Black Lick Creek, Indiana County, and others captured. The other Black Lick Creek settlers fled across the Conemaugh to Fort Wallace, near Blairsville. Among them was Randall Laughlin, whose lands were partly in the present Black Lick Township and partly in the present Center Township, Indiana County. Some of his horses having escaped from the pasture near Fort Wallace and returned to his Black Lick farm, he determined to venture back to his farm for them. Four of his neighbors accompanied him, Charles Campbell,

* About this time, Andrew Simpson was killed and John White wounded near the mouth of Black Lick Creek.

a major of the militia, John Gibson and his brother, and a settler named Dixon. They reached Laughlin's cabin, on September 25, and while preparing themselves a meal, were surprised by a band of Indians, probably Wyandots, led by a Frenchman. Being given the promise that their lives would be spared, the white men surrendered. They were also permitted to write a note, telling of their capture, and to tack it on the door of the cabin. They were then taken through the wilderness to Sandusky, thence to Montreal, thence to Quebec. Rangers who went in search of the missing men, found the note, and within the cabin, printed proclamations, from Henry Hamilton, the "hair-buyer" British Colonel, of Detroit, offering rewards to all who would desert the American cause. The rangers also found the scalped bodies of four settlers in the valley of Black Lick Creek.

Campbell, Laughlin, the Gibsons and Dixon were later exchanged. Dixon and one of the Gibsons died on shipboard while on the voyage to Boston, but the others returned to the Westmoreland frontier. Campbell became a man of great prominence in this county, succeeding Colonel Edward Cook as County Lieutenant.

On page 402 of Vol. 5 of the Pennsylvania Archives, is a copy of Governor Henry Hamilton's proclamations, found in the cabin of Randall Laughlin, as follows:

"A Proclamation

"By virtue of the power and authority given to me by his Excellency, Sir Guy Carleton, Knight of the Bath, Governor of the Province of Quebec, General and Commander in chief, &c., &c., &c.

"I assure all such as are inclined to withdraw themselves from the Tyranny and oppression of the rebel committees and take refuge in this Settlement or any of the posts commanded by his Majesty's Officers shall be humanely treated, shall be lodged and victualled, and such as are off in arms and shall use them in defense of his majesty against the rebels and Traitors till the Extinction of this rebellion, shall receive pay adequate to their former stations in the rebel service, and all common men who shall serve during that period, shall receive his majesty's bounty of two hundred Acres of Land.

Given under my hand and seal,

HENRY HAMILTON [Seal],

Lieut. Gov. & Superintendent."

In the meantime, the post at Kittanning was abandoned, General Edward Hand, then in command of Fort Pitt, having sent Captain Samuel Moorehead the following order, on September 14: "Being convinced that, in your present situation, you are not able to defend yourself, much less to render the continent any service, you will withdraw from Kittanning, bringing everything away, portable, leaving the houses and barracks standing." (Butterfield's "Washington-Irvine Correspondence," page 13.)

During October and November, 1777, when General Hand was endeavoring to recruit his army for an invasion of the Indian country, many raids were made into Westmoreland County, principally by the Wyandots, Mingoes and Senecas. These raids were no doubt instigated by Guyasuta, and possibly some of them were led by him. An incursion was made into the Ligonier Valley near the end of October, and eleven

men, among whom was Ensign Woods, were killed and scalped near Palmer's Fort. On October 22, two children were killed and two scalped within site of this fort; and three men were killed and a number captured within a few miles of Ligonier. On October 18, James Clifford shot an Indian while hunting with a dog, near Bunger's spring, about a quarter of a mile from Fort Ligonier. The Indian was not killed outright, and a party of militia immediately turned out from the fort to search for him. They traced him by blood on the path for about forty rods, at which point the Indian seemed to have stopped his wound with leaves. They were unable to find him.

On November 1, 1777, Lieutenant Samuel Craig, Sr., who was the standard bearer of the historic "Rattlesnake Flag" of Colonel John Proctor's First Battalion of Westmoreland County, and whose home was near Shields' Fort, located near the town of New Alexandria, was riding toward Fort Ligonier for salt, when he was waylaid and either killed or captured at the western base of the Laurel Hill. Rangers found his mare lying dead near the trail, with eight bullets in her body, but no trace of Craig was ever discovered, except a tradition that he had been captured, taken to the British, exchanged a few years after his capture, and died in Philadelphia when on his way home to Westmoreland.

Lieutenant Craig had two sons in the Revolutionary War—Lieutenant Samuel Craig, Jr., who was one of the survivors of Colonel Lochry's unfortunate expedition of 1781, and Captain John Craig, who was captured by the Indians and taken to Canada in the autumn of 1781, where he was released at the end of

the war. He was in command of the blockhouse at Freeport, in 1794 and 1795.

The elder Craig (Lieutenant Samuel, Sr.) had purchased the land of William Burnbridge, who lived the life of a hermit and hunter in the wilderness near New Alexandria, until his marriage to Patience Bickerstaff, who was one of the women accompanying Colonel Bouquet's army in 1764. Later Burnbridge was murdered on the Loyalhanna by an Indian named Jim Compass, who coveted the backwoodsman's fine rifle. (Patterson's "History of the Backwoods," pages 198 to 204.)

On November 1 or 2, William Richardson was killed and scalped, about three miles from Fort Ligonier. On the same day, two other men were killed and a woman was captured about three miles from where Richardson met his fate.

On November 4, a band of Indians led by a Canadian, attacked Fort Wallace, about a mile south of Blairsville, but their leader was killed and they were repulsed. On this occasion, the white leader of the Indians approached the fort, wading in the shallow mill race and waving a red flag. As he came near the palisade, he received seven bullets in his body from the rifles of the defenders; and when he fell, the Indians fled into the woods. In a bag, suspended from a cord around his neck, were found two of Governor Hamilton's proclamations like those found in Randall Laughlin's cabin in the valley of Black Lick Creek. At about the same time, also, Major James Wilson, hearing the firing of guns at the cabin of his neighbor, while at work on his farm, got his rifle and went to investigate. He found the neighbor killed, the head being severed from his body. Wilson then hurriedly took his wife and chil-

dren to Fort Barr, located on a tributary of the Loyalhanna, about five and one-half miles southwest of Fort Wallace.

The band of Indians perpetrating these outrages, was pursued by a party of rangers led by the celebrated Colonel James Smith, Captain John Hinkston, and Robert Barr. Smith and his rangers overtook the Indians on the east bank of the Allegheny River, near Kittanning, killed five of them, and returned in triumph to the settlements with the scalps of these Indians and with the horses which they had stolen. Colonel Archibald Lochry mentions this engagement in a letter written from "Westmoreland" to President Wharton, on December 6, 1777, as follows:

"I have sent the five Indian scalps taken by one of our scouting party, commanded by Col. Barr, Col. Perry, Col. Smith & Capt. Kingston (Hinkston), being volunteers in the action. The action happened near Kittanning; they retook six horses the savages had taken from the suffering frontiers. For the encouragement of other parties, I hope your Excellency will make a retaliation [reward] for these scalps." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 6, pages 68 and 69.)

Smith, in his Narrative, written many years afterwards, is mistaken as to the year in which this event took place, as the above letter of Colonel Lochry clearly shows. Smith says it was in 1778.

There is a tradition among many old families of Armstrong County—a tradition that has been handed down in the author's family for more than one hundred and thirty-five years—that Colonel Smith's battle with the Indians took place on what was formerly the farm of Joseph Snyder, on the east bank of the Allegheny, near Kelly Station, Armstrong County.

The early records do not show that any murders were committed by the Indian allies of the British in the present counties of Washington and Fayette, in the year, 1777, although a large war party was seen on the head waters of Buffalo Creek, in the former county. However, one of the most desperate battles of the western country was fought at Fort Henry (Wheeling, W. Va.), on September 1 and 2, to the relief of which Fort, Captain Andrew Swearingen, of Washington County, led his rangers at that time. But the valleys east of the Laurel Hill were invaded, principally by the Senecas from Western New York. The present Allegheny County, according to most authorities, had at least one frontier tragedy in the autumn of this year. Everet's "History of Allegheny County" describes the murder of seven members of the Peter Keyser family, near McKeesport. The father and his two sons, aged eighteen and twenty years, were sowing wheat, and the mother and four children were in the house, when the Indians came. Having killed the mother and these four children in the house, the Indians then went to the field and killed the father. The two sons ran to the river at a point near the village of Riverton. The younger was killed on its bank. The elder escaped to a block-house on the opposite shore. Thus seven of the family were killed. And in this same year, George Baker, his wife and five children were captured by Indians and taken to Detroit. Baker, like Peter Keyser, was a German. He had settled on the east side of Raccoon Creek, in what is now Moon Township, Allegheny County. It seems that this family received more humane treatment than the Indian allies of the British usually accorded their captives. One of the smaller children cried a great deal on the journey to Detroit,

much to the annoyance of the Indians. Yet, due to the pleadings of Mrs. Baker, its life was saved. In the manuscript letter books of Col. George Morgan, then Indian Agent at Fort Pitt, is a letter written from Coshocton, Ohio, on March 14, 1778, for the Delaware chiefs, White Eyes and Killbuck, also for Jonathan Morehouse of Fort Pitt, another captive from Bedford County and "George Baker, his wife and five children," in which letter Mr. Baker states that he and his family were kindly treated. Baker and his family returned home after a captivity of about five years.

*Letters from the Westmoreland Frontier—Rebuilding of
Fort Ligonier*

Colonel Archibald Lochry, County-Lieutenant of Westmoreland County, wrote Thomas Wharton, President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, the following letter, on November 4, 1777, giving a vivid picture of the reign of desolation then prevailing and mentioning many of the atrocities we have just described:

"The Distressed situation of this Country is such that we have no Prospect but Desolation and Destruction. The whole county on the north side of the road [the Forbes Road] from the Aleaney Mountains to the River is kept close in Forts, and can get no subsistence from their Plantations; they have made application to us requesting to be put under pay and Receive Rations, and as we could see no other way to keep the people from flying & letting the Country be evacuated, we were Obligated to adopt them measures (Requesting your Excellency to give the necessary orders to enable us to put them in Execution; if these very measures is not adopted, I see no other Method that can secure

the People from giving up the Country; these people while they support these fruntear Posts are certainly serving the publick) & Certainly cannot Continue Long so to do, unless supported by the Publick. Lieut. Col. Charles Cample and four other persons is maide Prisoners on the waters of Blacklegs Creek; four other men kill'd and scalped near the same place, one man kill'd near Wallace's fort on Cunnomoch, eleven other Persons Kill'd and scalped at Palmer's fort, Near Legonear, amongst which is Ensign Woods; at the Place where Col. Cample was maide Prisoner, four raskely Proclamations was Left by the Savages from the Governor of Detroit Requesting all Persons to come to him, or any other of the Garrisons occupied by His Majesties Troops, and they should Receive Pay & Lodgings as they rank with us, every Private Person for encouragement to have 200 Acres of Land. In short, there is very few Days there is not some murder committed on some part of our fruntears. (If your Excellency would Please to adopt our measures and give the necessary orders for Putting them into Execution; I hope with Divine assistance we shall be able to Hold the Country till we are Enabled by more Effectual Measures that is carrying an Expedition in their Country.) We have likewise Ventured to erect two Stockaide forts at Legenear & Hannas Town at the Publick expense, with a Store House in each to secure both Publick and Private Property in, and be a place of Retreat for the suffering fruntears in case of necessity, which I flatter myself will meet with your Excellencys approbation." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 5, pages 741 and 742.)

In the above letter; Colonel Lochry mentions two matters that will be treated later in this chapter—the

erecting of a stockade at Ligonier and an expedition into the Indian country. Also in the following letter written by him to President Wharton, on December 6, he mentions this expedition:

"I wrote to your Excellency by Col. Shields [Col. John Shields, of Shields' Fort in the Derry settlement], giving a State of the Ravages Committed by the Indians on the Inhabitants of this County; they have still continued to Destroy and Burn Houses, Barns and Grain, as you will see more Particularly in a Petition from the People to the Honorable Assembly, praying Relief. My Situation has been Critical; General Hand required more men than I could Possibly furnish from two Battalions, which is all I can pretend to have jurisdiction over, on acc't of the unsettled Boundary between this State and Virginia. I sent One Hundred men, for the Remainder was Stopt at his Order; at the same time the frontears of our County lay exposed to the Marcy of the Savages; not a man on our fruntears from Legenear to the Alegenia River, except a few at Fort Hand, on Continental pay. [Fort Hand had just been erected, about three and one-half miles southwest of Apollo. See General Hand's expedition later in this chapter.] I was obliged, by the advice of the sub-lieutenants & other Principal People of the County, to adopt the Measures I before Laide down to your Excellency; I requested General Hand's approbation on the Plan, which he Declined, as you may see his Letter of the 18th of October; if our Measures had not been adopted, I am very certain there would not been Many Persons on the North Side of the Great Roade [the Forbes Road] now; if there is not Stors Laide in this Winter, in the Spring they Must undoubtedly Leave the Countery; they have no Salt to lay up Meat, of

which there is a great Plenty; their Grain is all Burn'd & Destroy'd on the North of the Connemoch; if there is no Store of Provisions for next summer, and the people hindered from Getting Spring Crops, the Country is undoubtedly Broke up. The Plan we have adopted Has Been Put in Execution at the Expense of a few Individuals, which Cant Be Long Continued without supported by the Publick." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 6, pages 68 and 69.)

From Colonel Lochry's letters it is clear that the fort at Hannastown was strengthened, either by repairing the stockade or erecting a new one. As to Fort Ligonier, the fort he speaks of as being built in the autumn of 1777, was the Revolutionary Fort used throughout the war, much different from the former Fort Ligonier. The Revolutionary Fort Ligonier was a stockade fort. Its exact site cannot be pointed out, but very likely it stood near the former fort and utilized some of its remains, such as the ditch. The new structure was likely nearer the creek and on lower ground than the old fort. One infers this from the statement in Thomas Galbraith's Journal, about to be quoted, that, during its building, water flowed into the ditch. The new fort, however, likely embraced within its limits the magazine of the old fort, and was within proximity to the spring whose waters were used by former garrisons.

The name given the new Fort Ligonier by the people of the neighborhood at the time of its erection, was Fort Preservation. But this name soon became lost both to memory and tradition. No other name could supplant that of historic Fort Ligonier. There are only a few instances in which the name of Fort Preservation is associated with the fort, and they are in the musty



Forbes Road Marker at Twelve Mile Run, near St. Vincent's College. This marker stands on the left hand side of the old Lincoln Highway as one travels east. Both Colonel Archibald Lochry and Colonel John Proctor, noted figures in the Revolutionary history of "Old Westmoreland," lived in this vicinity. See pages 41 and 381.

records of the Supreme Executive Council. On Friday, September 25, 1789, is this entry:

"The Comptroller and Register General's report upon the account of Robert Lauglin for smith's work, done at Fort Preservation or Ligonier, in the year, 1777, by order of Thomas Galbraith, amounting to ten pounds, six shillings and eight pence, was read and approved." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 16, page 170.)

And on September 30, 1789, is this entry:

"The Comptroller and Register General's report upon the following accounts were read and approved, vizt: Of William Osburne, for teams hired to transport baggage, &c., to Fort Preservation or Ligonier, in September and October, 1777, amounting to twenty-two pounds and ten shillings." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 16, page 176.)

Colonel Archibald Lochry and Colonel John Proctor, whose letters contain much of the Revolutionary history of Fort Ligonier and other parts of Westmoreland, were neighbors and close friends. Lochry dated his correspondence at "Twelve-Mile Run," which flows into Fourteen-Mile Run before the latter empties into the Loyalhanna, his residence being, as pointed out in a former chapter, near St. Vincent's College. Lochry made Proctor the executor of his will, of record in Westmoreland County in Will Book I, page 31. He had two brothers—William, like himself, one of the justices of Westmoreland County, and Captain Jeremiah Lochry, who served through the Revolutionary War, and died at the house of Samuel Moorehead, in Salem Township, January 21, 1824, at the great age of 92 years.

*Thomas Galbraith's Journal, Kept at Ligonier During the
Building of the Stockade Fort of the Revolution,
Then Called Fort Preservation*

At the time of repairing Fort Ligonier, or, more accurately speaking, building Fort Preservation, in the autumn of 1777, Thomas Galbraith, who had been a resident of Ligonier for several years and the owner of large tracts of land in the vicinity (once having title to the land on which the town of Ligonier stands), was in the service of the state of Pennsylvania, evidently for the distribution of Continental supplies at Ligonier, for which the state was responsible. On October 21, 1777, he and Colonel John Proctor were appointed commissioners for Westmoreland County for the purpose of seizing the personal property of those who had deserted the American cause and joined the army of the King. He was also one of the representatives to the Pennsylvania Assembly in the autumn of 1777. But while the work on the fort was in progress, he kept the following diary, or journal, which mentions many of the atrocities we have described in this chapter, and gives a very vivid picture of those times of suffering and desolation, the matter in the brackets being ours:

"Sept'r 28th. [1777] 12 o'clock an Express from Palmer's Fort that George Findlay come in wounded and some more men missing. In the Evening Capt. Shannon with 16 Men was ready to March, but the Night's being very dark thot it most advisable to wait till day break.

[The Captain Shannon mentioned above was Captain Samuel Shannon, who was captured in Col. Archibald Lochry's expedition in 1781.]

[Sept.] 29.

"When Day appeared the Men Marched to Palmers

Fort and were reinforced with 9 Men more, then proceeded for Findlays about Twenty Miles distance from Ligonier. 4 Miles from Palmers we met with Capt. Hinkson & 12 Men returning from burying a Boy that the Indians had kill'd & scapl'd at Findlays. We proceeded to Rogers within a mile of the place that Night & next Morning we examined the Woods—could find but 4 Tracks leading into the Laurel Hill towards Bedford. As they had so much start, judg'd it more prudent to take the Kittanning Path in order to meet with any partys that might be coming into the Inhabitants. We cross'd over the Chestnut Ridge, Brushy Valley, Blacklick Creek, Yellow Creek, & Twolicks Creeks to James Wilkins without discovering any Signs of Indians. We encamp'd before the House & kindl'd Fires. The Inhabitants in all this part of the County having fled some Weeks before.

[Sept.] 30.

“Before Day we left the Fires and march'd into the Woods in order to have an equal chance with the Enemy shou'd they be on Watch. After Day Broke we took a course across the Country to discover if any partys from the Alleghenny had lately come into the Inhabitants. About Nine O'clock we came on the Tracks of a large party of our People steering a Course for the River. We thot it needless to proceed any further, as that Party was to range the course we were steering. We then took a Road for Wallaces Fort & came there about 12 o'clock from which place the Men Went the Day before to look for Col. Campbell who was thot to be kill'd with 5 more Men. [Charles Campbell, who was Captured on Black Lick Creek, on September 25.] We return'd that night to Ligonier.

[Oct.] 1.

“This Day we were inform’d the Men who went from Wallaces Fort to look for Col. Campbell had return’d. The Indians had taken him & the other Men Prisoners by a Memorandum left along with five proclamations from the Comn [Commandant] of Detroit offering a continuance to all officers in their Stations & Ranks in the King’s Army if they wou’d repair to his Standard at Detroit.

“Memorand: On our return to Ligonier 4 Miles Distance we were informed of Thomas Woods being kill’d about five miles from the Town, which occasioned us to make a forc’d March after Dark into the Town to have the greater certainty.

[Oct.] 3.

“Capt. Shannon & myself went up to Col. Lochry [Archibald Lochry, County-Lieutenant] to know if he had adopted the Plan of Building a Fort & Magazine at Ligonier for the Support of the Country and to keep the Communication open to Fort Pitt. He informed us that he approv’d of the same, & wrote a letter of Instructions to Col. Pollock [James Pollock, then Sub-Lieutenant of Westmoreland County] to appoint persons to superintend the Works & go on with them immediately.

[Oct.] 4.

“Sent Col. Lochry’s Letter to Col. Pollock.

[Oct.] 5.

“Col. Pollock came to Town and appointed Capt. Shannon & myself to Superintend the Works. We immediately collected the People & inform’d them of Col. Lochry’s Orders. They desir’d to know the Pay, which we cou’d not exactly ascertain. As an unwillingness

seem'd to prevail with some of working at an uncertainty, Col. Pollock propos'd riding up to Col. Lochry and having every thing done to their satisfaction.

[Oct.] 6th.

“Col. Pollock & Capt. Shannon rode up to Col. Lochry, who wrote to the People that he cou'd not ascertain the Pay, but assur's them of pay equal to those engag'd in the same Business in the Continental Service.

[Oct.] 7th.

“We laid out the plan of the Fort & began with the Trench—Enter'd 2 Teams in the Service.

[Oct.] 8th.

“Continued digging the Trench, cutting & haling pickets.—Enter'd three Teams.

[Oct.] 9th.

“Continu'd digging the Trench, cutting & haling pickets.—Began to set pickets.

[Oct.] 10th.

“Employ'd as the day before.

[Oct.] 11th.

“Employ'd as the day before.

[Oct.] 12th.

“Being Sunday, the People refus'd to work.

[Oct.] 13th.

“At two O'clock, P. M., an Express from Capt. Lochery at Stoney Creek that he had three Brigade of Packhorses with Continental Stores under esorte; that a Man had been kill'd & Scalp'd the day before within half a Mile of that place; that he look'd upon it unsafe to stir them without a further reinforcement, as he

had only fifteen Guns to defend one hundred & forty Packhorses with their Drivers. At Day break Capt. Shannon with 24 Men march'd to Stoney Creek to his Relief. The works lay still for want of men—there being only a Guard for the Town left.

[The "Capt. Lochery" mentioned above was not Colonel Archibald Lochry, the County-Lieutenant, whose name runs through this Journal, but likely his brother, Jeremiah Lochry. Stoney Creek was a station on the Forbes Road where it crossed this stream, the present Stoyestown, Somerset County.]

[Oct.] 14th.

"About 4 o'clock this afternoon the escorte arrived safe at Ligonier without any Accident on the Road; the Works lay still.

[Oct.] 15th.

"The Horse Masters apply'd to the militia Capts., vis, Knox & McGuffey, for a Guard of Twenty men to escorte them to Hanna's Town, which they refus'd. Capt. Shannon with 20 Men then set off & convey'd them to Capt. Lochry's, when he was reliev'd. Nothing done in the Works this Day.

[Oct.] 16th.

"The Escorte return'd from Capt. Lochry's. A few Pickets set & some work done in the Trench.

[Oct.] 17th.

"Carried on the digging of the Trench.—cutting, haling & sittin up Pickets.

[Oct.] 18th.

"About sunrise James Clifford shot at an Indian near the Mill Creek, about a quarter of a Mile from the Fort. A Party Immediately turn'd out. From the

blood it appear'd he was shot through the Body—a large stream spouting out on each side of the path, as he ran, for about 40 Rods when the Blood was stopp'd & the Tracks of three or four making into a close thicket. The Party examin'd the Thicket as narrowly as possible, but could make no discovery; impossible to discover any Track. The remaining part of the day employ'd in the Trench & setting up the Pickets.

[Oct.] 19th.

“A party was order'd out to reconnoitre if any skulking parties were near the Town or any Tracks. About 10 o'clock return'd without making any discovery. Col. Pollock came & held a conference with me & Capt. Shannon on the propriety of having a Militia Officer to Command the Garrison & regulate the Militia; as Capt. Shannon's Company consisted altogether of Volunteers, the Militia look'd upon him with a Jealous Eye of reaping all the Honour of erecting the Fort by the Indefatigable labour of his Men; we inform'd him [that] many of the Militia had come to the works with a design to draw provisions & look at others working; I told them [that] unless they did Duty in the Works, I shou'd absolutely refuse to Issue provisions to any such without an express order from the Lieut. of the County. Col. Pollock informed us the whole Battalion was order'd into pay & service. I told him when in actual service I would issue, but not otherwise. To remove all Jealousies it was agreed upon that a Commandant shou'd be appoint'd to Issue the Orders of the Superintendants to the Officers of the several Companys. The following is a list of the Companys & the number of their Men:—

Captn Knox & 20 privates,

Captn Shannon—27 privates.

A Lieut. of Capt. McGuffey & 4 privates.

Captn Knox was appointed Commandant of the Garrison & of the Militia then in the Works.

[Oct.] 20th.

“Capt. Knox proceeded in the Orders of the Supr. in dividing the Men into proper partys. The Works went on well.

[Oct.] 21st.

“The Works went forward briskly.

[Oct.] 22nd.

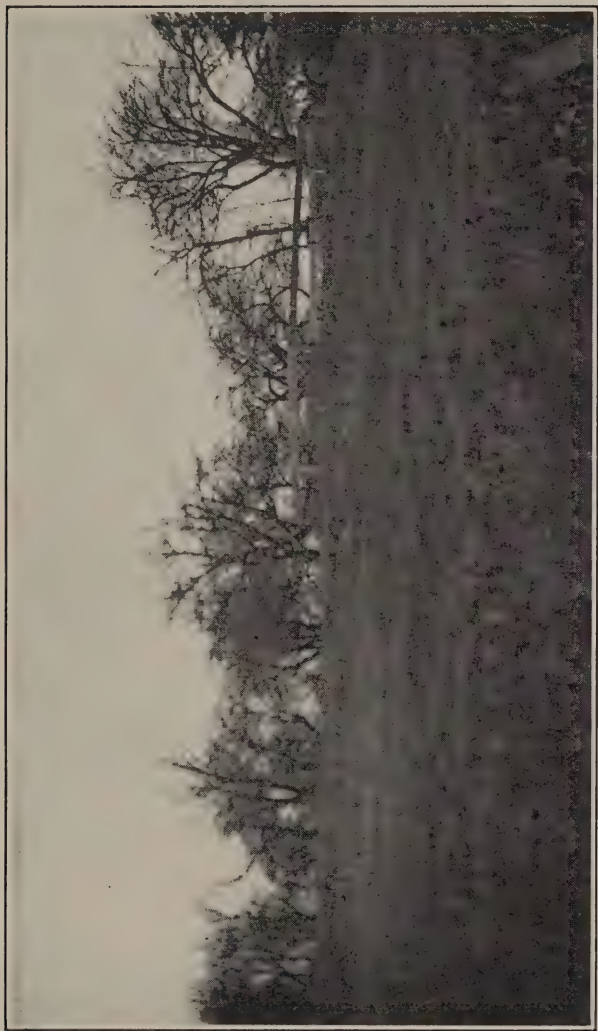
“The People began to grow tir’d of Work—disputed the Authority of the Superintendents—disallowed of Captn Knox & fell into confusion—About five O’clock P. M., news was brot that about two hours before the Indians had kill’d two children & scalp’d them; two more they scalp’d alive within 200 yards of Palmer’s Fort. A party pursued them, & in a short time the People of the Fort fired off their Guns to give those persons notice who had gone to their plantations, which the party in pursuit hearing, imagin’d the Fort to be attack’d, immediately quit the pursuit & return’d.

[Oct.] 23.

“The People fell to work again—a few Loads of Pickets cut & haul’d & some Men appointed to repair the out houses for the reception of the Inhabitants.

[Oct.] 24th.

“The People fell into confusion again—many of them went home; this morning Daniel Grafins House & Grain was burnt within a mile & a half of Palmers Fort. The People return’d in again. James Clifford on his return saw an Indian on the opposite side of Mill Creek—he imagined him [the Indian] to be one of his



Site of Palmer's Fort. Located on the left hand side of the road leading from Ligonier to New Florence, as one travels from the former place to the latter, at a point less than one mile beyond the Fort Palmer Presbyterian Church; in other words, just across the highway from the former Fort Palmer post office. The children who were killed and scalped on October 22, 1777 (see pages 373 and 378), were playing in a walnut grove between the fort and the church, about 400 feet from the fort. An underground passage way led from the fort to a spring, a distance of about 200 feet.

own Company & challenged him—on which the Indian immediately whipped on his Horse, & it being very Dark got into the Woods. On receiving this news at the Town, Capts. Shannon & Knox with 19 Men about Midnight set off to examine the Houses on Mill Creek between the Ford & Laurel Hill before Day Break, which they accomplish'd before day without discovering any appearances of Fires. On their return in the Morning, being rainy, they discovered a Track about a Mile from Ligonier which cou'd not be made out any further than a few Rods, as the Leaves had fallen much & the Weeds kill'd with the frost. Near to where the Indian was kill'd they discover'd two more tracks, but raining hard the tracks cou'd not be made out with any degree of certainty. The Artificers wrought at the Gates. Clifford's Team discharg'd.

[Oct.] 25th.

“Rain'd. McDowell & Johnston's Teams hawling Fire wood for the Inhabitants.

[Oct.] 26th.

“Being Sunday the People went out in Partys to their Plantations. In the afternoon an escorte came from Bedford with two Brigades of Pack horses loaded with Continental Stores. The Horse-Masters made application to the Military Officers for an escorte, which was refused.

[Oct.] 27th.

“Rainy—Col. Pollock & Capt. Knox set off this afternoon for Col. Lochry's. Before they set off, Capt. Shannon & myself requir'd some men to turn a run of Water out of the Trenches, [which] was washing & filling them. He gave us for answer he [Pollock] cou'd do it himself in Fifteen minutes. Without doing

it himself or ordering men to do it, we were obliged to hire two Men to turn the Water & dig a Trench to carry it off clear of the Works. This day the Sergeant of Capt. Knox's Company & Lieut. Curry lodg'd a Complaint with Capt. Knox against me as Commissary—that I wou'd not issue their Provisions & was partial in favour of Capt. Shannon. When he spoke to me on the Complaint, I told him the Flour was not come in; that I had offered the Beef yesterday but they wou'd not take a part without the Whole. This evening they received the Beef. This Day we receiv'd an Acco't of Jno. Cunningham being shot at & pursued by an Indian 10 miles below Ligonier. Cunningham had shot a Turkey & as he went to pick it up, the Indian fired at him.

[Oct.] 28th.

“This morning Lieut. Curry sent over his Provision return. I had not Flour to spare, & told his Man that I wou'd issue double Rations of Beef. The Fellow insulted me, when Mr. George Reading [Colonel James Pollock's successor as Sub-County-Lieutenant] lent me the Quantity.—Rained the whole day excessive hard—the Loyalhanna overflowing the Banks.—Partys out for a considerable Distance round the Town Reconnoitering;—made no discovery.—2 Springs spouted out in the Trenches, which keeps them full of Water.

[Oct.] 29th.

“This day snow'd & rain'd excessive hard—Nothing done except a few reconnoitering—Wm. Halferty made a return of the Grain and Forage brot into the Garrison. The Waters still continue high.—Capt. Ourrie [Uhrig] gave us agreeable news of the Enemy being pent up near Philada. and a Defeat unavoidable;

fresh Courage & more Whiskey wou'd make our People Fight the English or the D; a Scout order'd for to-morrow to Range the Chestnut Ridge between Palmers Fort and Ligonier.

[Oct.] 30th.

"This day Capt. Shannon & myself rode up to Col. Lochry's. At Capt. Lochry's a complaint was made to me by the former Magistrates that Col. Proctor [Colonel John Proctor], while in the Assembly, had laid past for the use of the Magistrates the Votes and the Different Assemblies from 1744, together with a complete set of the Laws, which had not been sent to them. They desired the Copyes may be Furnish'd them as their Propertys, from an Ordinance of Convention pass'd the 3d Sept., 1776. The Scout, turn'd out this Morning consist'g of 18 Men, return'd without any Discovery of any Indians or Tracks.

[Oct.] 31st.

"This day Lt. Col. Pomeroy came to take Command of the Garrison. The Trenches continued full of Water. The teams employ'd in haling Pickets—the Men in Cutting.

[The Col. Pomeroy mentioned above, was Colonel John Pomeroy, of Pomeroy's Fort, in the Derry settlement. The name is variously spelled. Colonel Pomeroy and William Jack were the witnesses to Colonel Archibald Lochry's will, dated November 26, 1778. On this occasion, he signed his name "John Pumroy".]

[Nov.] 1st.

"The People employed in Cutting, Hawling & Setting of Pickets & clearing the Trenches of Water—Set up the North Gate, 10 feet Wide—12 Feet High in the clear.

[Nov.] 2nd.

“The People generally inclined to go Home. Many Familys did go about 2 o’clock, P. M. Mr. Woodruff came and inform’d us that Wm. Richardson was found kill’d & scalped about 3 miles from Ligonier—3 Strokes of a Tomhawk in his head & the upper part of his Scull broke in. About 3 miles from Richardsons 2 men were killed & Scalp’d & a Woman missing. 24 of our Men turn’d out and bury’d Richardson. There appeared only 4 tracks. It was Dusk before we got him bury’d. Return’d to Ligonier.

[Nov.] 3d.

“Employ’d in setting, cutting & hawling Pickets.—The Forage Guard went to Richardsons to thrash Oats and Wheat yesterday.—As a party was returning to Palmers Fort from a Scout about a mile from that, one of the party being a small distance behind was call’d on to stop—first in a low voice, a second time louder, & a third time very loud. The Person made up to the Party, but being dusk did not return to the place until the next morning. found the [Here the manuscript is illegible. Probably the meaning is that the next morning the scouting party returned to the place where the voice called, and found the tracks of Indians.]

[Nov.] 4th.

“Employed about the Pickets—digging the Trench—the Forage Guard continued at Richardson’s—Col. Pollock came down from Hannas Town & informed us that Gen. Hand had returned to Fort Pitt—that the expedition was set aside for this season. Clifford began to Hawl with his Team. Yesterday Morning Capt. Shannon with 5 Men sett off to meet the Scout

from Barr's Fort & Wallace's Fort to range the Chestnut Ridge for fifteen miles, which they did without any discovery of Indians except at Places where the People were kill'd. They likewise found a Mare belonging to Samuel Craig who had been coming to Ligonier for Salt on Saturday—he is supposed to be taken prisoner, as his body cou'd not be found. These Scouts fired the Ridge in many places. Capt. Shannon return'd. Col. Pomroy demanded from me the Continental Salt to have it in his own keeping. I refus'd delivering it without an Order from a Continental Officer. Let him have half a Bush for Palmers Fort & $\frac{1}{2}$ a bushl. for Barrs Fort. Sent 2 Light Horse Men up to Col. Lochry for an Order to detain some of the Arms & Ammunition for this Fort. About one half a Mile from Ligonier, it being very dark, they heard some human Voices, but cou'd not distinguish who they were.

[Nov.] 5th.

“The Light Horse Men return'd with the news that Yesterday about 11 o'clock Wallace's Fort was attacked by a number of Indians on one Side while a White Man on the Other Side came wading up the Tail Race of his Mill with a Red Flag which seem'd to be intended as a deception for the attack. When the Man appear'd open to the Fort in the instant of the Attack, 7 Balls were fir'd thro' him. 2 of the Balls went thro' 2 Letters he had ty'd in a Bag which was hung round his Neck down his Breast. From what cou'd be discover'd by the Letters they were proclamations from Detroit to the same amount of those found with Col. Campbell.—The same day the People about Palmer's Fort were fir'd on. Several partys were discover'd about there & Squirrel Hill.

"Tomorrow we expect an Attack. This evening Capt. Shannon & 2 Men set off for Col. Lochry's for ammunition. Return'd at Night with 41 lbs. Powder, 15 lbs. Lead. As the Light Horse return'd some of our working party being near the place where they heard Voices, they went and examin'd the Ground. found 5 Indian Tracks. At the same time the Indians fir'd on the People at Palmers Fort they fir'd on the Forage Guard about one and a fourth miles from the Fort without doing any damage.

"This day Capt. Williams brot seven Men, part of 25 Order'd by Col. Pollock out of his Company into the Works. Immediately on receiving the news they all ran away, having first drawn their provisions. 25 Men more were order'd from Capt. McGufichs comp'y. He having only 6 Men & those in the Works, the Men cou'd not be furnish'd. Capt. Shannon having 27 Men constantly in the Works of his Volunteer Comp'y, he sent orders for 27 Men to relieve.

[Nov.] 6th.

"This day Centries posted out & Guards. Some Pickets set & hawl'd. I demanded an Escorte to Bedford on public Business from Col. Pollock & Capt. Knox, which they refus'd. I apply'd to Capt. Shannon of the Volunteer Company who with 3 Men escorted me. We left Ligonier at 8 o'clock P. M. Came over the Laurel Hill to Jollys. Very Dark.

[Nov.] 7th.

"We came safe to Bedford. The People on the Road all Fled for 42 Miles from Ligonier.

[Nov.] 8th.

"I left Capt. Shannon on his Return to Ligonier. As I came thro Bedford news had come that a Man was kill'd directly after I passed the Mountains (upon it)."

Thus it is seen that Thomas Galbraith left Fort Ligonier on the evening of November 6, and arrived at Bedford on November 7, at which place he made the last entry in his journal, on November 8th. The information which the Pennsylvania Council of Safety obtained from "verbal accounts," and which, in a communication from Lancaster, on November 14, 1777, they addressed to the Pennsylvania delegates in the Continental Congress, was in all probability received from the writer of this journal. The Council's communication is as follows:

"This Council is applied to by the people of the County of Westmoreland in this Commonwealth with the most alarming Complaints of Indian Depredations. The letter, of which the enclosed is a copy, will give you some idea of their present situation.

"We are further informed by verbal accounts that an extent of 60 Miles has been evacuated to the Savages, full of Stock, Corn, Hogs & Poultry, that they have attacked Palmer's Fort about 7 miles distant from Fort Ligonier without success; and from the information of White Eyes & other circumstances, it is feared Fort Ligonier has, by this time, been attack'd. There is likewise reason to fear the ravages will extend to Bedford & along the frontier. We shall order out the militia of Bedford County, & take such other steps as may be immediately necessary for the relief of those settlements, but we may find they are greatly deficient in the articles of arms, & especially ammunition & Flints. In Fort Ligonier, when our Informants left it, there was no more than 40 lb. of powder & 15 lb. of Lead—Flints are sold at a Dollar a piece.

"We must beg the assistance of Congress in these articles—arms we dare hardly ask, but ammunition &

Flints we hope may be supplied by Congress both to Westmoreland & Bedford; and we must also intreat the attention of Congress to the general Defense of the Frontier. We know not the situation of Gen. Hand, his forces or his views; but we have reserved the militias of Bedford & Westmoreland, for the purpose of co-operating with him in those parts of the State, & the neighborhood.

“Mr. Thomas Galbraith will call on you in a few Days on his way to Ligonier; the supplies should be furnished to him from Carlisle, to be carried from thence on Pack Horses. He will explain more at large their situation & it might not be amiss to communicate to him what may be expected from Gen. Hand, as well as what Congress shall order.” (Pa. Archives, Vol. 6, pages 3 and 4.)

Many persons in Bedford County lost their lives at the hands of the Indian allies of the British in the autumn of 1777; but accounts of these atrocities will not be included in this volume, as they were east of the Laurel Hill.

In Thomas Galbraith's journal, it is seen that Colonel John Pomeroy was in command of the militia at Fort Ligonier for at least part of the time in the autumn of 1777. The fort had various commanders during the Revolutionary War—usually the chief officers of the independent companies of militia. As will be seen in the following chapter, Captain Samuel Moorehead's company of rangers was located there in the spring of 1778. The fort was the principal depot of State and Continental supplies, in the present Westmoreland County, throughout the Revolution, although such supplies were stored at other places, such as Michael Rugh's Blockhouse, about two miles south of Greensburg.

General Hand's Expedition of 1777—Fort Hand in Westmoreland—Shawnees Join the British

Brigadier General Edward Hand, an Irishman by birth and physician by profession, whose brilliant service in the battles of Long Island, Trenton and Princeton, as Colonel of the First Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, had won him promotion, was, about May 1, 1777, assigned to Fort Pitt to defend the western border. On Sunday, June 1, 1777, he arrived at Fort Pitt, unaccompanied by troops, except an escort of militia light horse, which had met him west of the Allegheny Mountains, and took command of this post, succeeding Captain John Neville. The garrison consisted of but two companies of the Thirteenth Virginia (West Augusta) Regiment, recruited in and near Pittsburgh and along the Monongahela Valley, and some independent militia.

As has been seen in this chapter, the Wyandots, the Mingoos, Senecas and some Munsee Delawares, yielding to British influence, began raiding the Westmoreland frontier soon after General Hand arrived at Fort Pitt. The outrages committed at and near Kittanning before his arrival were the work of the Senecas. Some of the Shawnees and Miamis were already at war upon the Kentucky settlements. The only important posts below Fort Pitt at this time were Fort Henry at Wheeling and Fort Randolph at the mouth of the Kanawha, where Point Pleasant now stands. These were garrisoned by small detachments of Virginia militia. It was a far-flung frontier line that General Hand was called upon to defend, extending from Kittanning, forty-five miles above Fort Pitt, to the mouth of the Kanawha.

General Hand, then only thirty-three years old, had not been at Fort Pitt long until he decided that the best way to put a stop to the bloody raids into the settlements, was to invade the Indian country and destroy their towns and fields of corn, beans, pumpkins and other food supplies. His plan was to descend the Ohio to the mouth of the Great Kanawha, and march from this place to the towns of the Mingoes and Wyandots on the head waters of the Scioto, especially Pluggy's Town and Upper Sandusky. "I have many difficulties," he wrote his friend, William Russell, "yet I hope to drink your health in pure element at Sandusky before Christmas," meaning at the Wyandot town of Upper Sandusky, in the present Wyandot County, Ohio. He sent letters to the County Lieutenants of Westmoreland and Bedford counties, also to the County Lieutenants of the frontier Virginia counties, asking for troops; and his project was approved by the Continental Congress. He expected five hundred troops from Bedford and Westmoreland counties and fifteen hundred from the Virginia counties. The latter were to assemble at Fort Henry and Fort Randolph. But his demands were unreasonable. The harried frontiersmen had all they could do to defend their own firesides—their own borderland. Therefore, owing to the distressed condition of the western frontier and to the fact that most of the able-bodied men of this region were in the Continental Army in the East, owing to the fact that there was friction between General Hand and the County-Lieutenants, and owing also to the fact that some of the partisan hatred connected with the boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia flamed up anew, Bedford County raised no troops for this expedition, Westmoreland County raised only about a

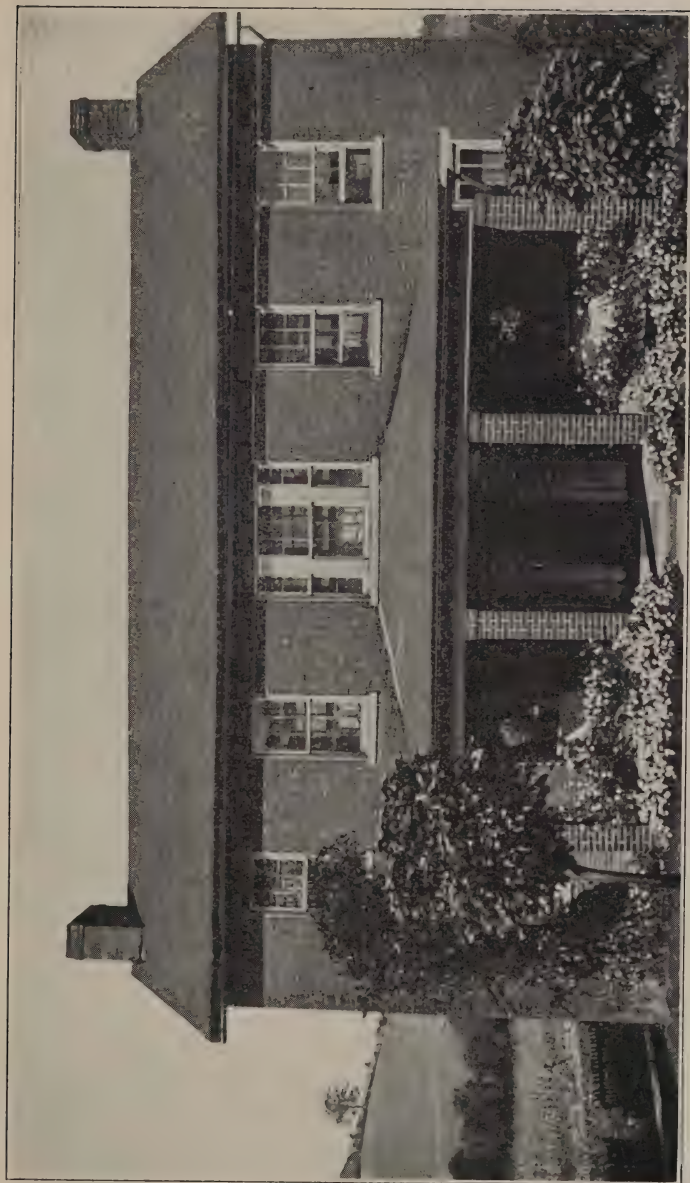
hundred through the exertions of Colonel Archibald Lochry, and Virginia only a few squads. The Westmorelanders marched to Fort Pitt to join General Hand, as we have seen in Colonel Lochry's letter of December 6, quoted earlier in this chapter.

On October 19, General Hand left Fort Pitt, and went to Fort Henry, where he waited about a week for the assembling of the Virginians. Only a few appeared. Then Hand returned in disgust to Fort Pitt. In the meantime, some Virginia militia assembled at Fort Randolph, and, hearing no word from General Hand, dispersed. Thus the expedition ended in failure. Throughout the autumn, the Indian raids into the region east of Fort Pitt continued with unabated fury, as we have seen; and the most that General Hand could accomplish was a partial defense of the settlements by acting on the defensive. He wrote his wife early in November: "If I can assist the inhabitants to stand their ground, I shall deem myself doing a great deal."

During the summer of 1777, two companies from the present counties of Washington and Greene were stationed at Fort Henry. One was commanded by Captain Brice Virgin, of Catfish Camp, the present Washington, and the other by Captain Van Meter, of Greene County. As related elsewhere, the fort was attacked on September 1 and 2 by more than 200 Indians—Wyan-dots, Mingoes and a few Shawnees. Captain Andrew Swearingen, with fourteen of his rangers, came down the river before dawn, and succeeded in entering the fort in safety. The Indians were driven off, but not before fifteen of the Americans were killed and five wounded. General Hand's disappointment was great that he was unable to inflict a telling blow on the Indians for the gallant defenders they killed at Fort

Henry. The settlement at this place (Wheeling, W. Va.) had been established by Pennsylvania-Germans and Scotch-Irish, in 1769. Among the former, were the the Zanes and the Wetzels, and among the latter, the McCulloughs—names that fill many pages of border history, Lewis Wetzel being said to have killed twenty-six Indians in the neighborhood of Wheeling and in Kentucky.

On October 18, the day before General Hand left Fort Pitt for Fort Henry, he wrote Colonel Lochry that, Kittanning having been abandoned, he had ordered that another post on the Allegheny and Kiskiminetas frontier be erected at Continental expense. (Darlington's "Fort Pitt," page 227.) This was Fort Hand, named for him, in the present Washington Township, Westmoreland County. Work on it was immediately begun, and, as we have already seen in Colonel Lochry's letter of December 6, troops were occupying the new post at that date, on Continental pay. Fort Hand was erected near the house of John McKibben and almost on the historic Indian trail that crossed the Kiskiminetas just below Apollo and led to Chartier's Town, thence to the Forks of the Ohio—the trail that Conrad Weiser followed when on his way to the Logstown treaty of August and September, 1748, and that was now being used by the hostile Indians in laying waste the Westmoreland frontier. Carnahan's Blockhouse, about four miles eastward and in the present Bell Township, was the nearest point. Yet so greatly did this part of Westmoreland suffer from Indian raids that communication between these two posts was often cut off. Had it not been for the services of Colonel Lochry's rangers, mentioned in his letter of May 20, quoted earlier in this chapter, part of whom were sta-



Brick residence on the farm of J. B. Kerns, about a mile from North Washington, in Washington Township, Westmoreland County. This house stands on ground that was within the stockade of Fort Hand, the only fort erected in Westmoreland County by order of the Continental Congress during the Revolutionary War. See pages 400 and 464. The major part of the fort was in the field between the house and the row of trees in the background. About thirty feet to the left of the left front corner of the house is the spring, still in use, which was within the stockade.

tioned at Carnahan's and at John McKibben's before the erection of Fort Hand, this part of Westmoreland would have been entirely deserted in the summer and autumn of 1777.

Much data relative to Fort Hand, Carnahan's Blockhouse and other places in Westmoreland County during the Revolutionary War, is contained in the manuscript collection of Dr. Lyman C. Draper, who interviewed many persons who were able to give him direct and positive information. Dr. Draper's collection was completed about 1846, and he intended to use the data in a History of the Pioneers. The collection has long been in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

At this point attention is called to the fact that, while General Hand was in command of Fort Pitt, he erected what is generally called the General Hand Hospital, which was the military hospital in connection with this fort, but located several miles from the fort itself, within the limits of the present town of Crafton. General Hand choose this location as being less damp and foggy than the location of Fort Pitt. The hospital was completed in 1778. An appropriate monument now marks its site, having been unveiled on September 5, 1932.

Thus far in this chapter, we have seen no Shawnees among the bands of hostile Indians raiding the Westmoreland frontier. While a few Shawnees were among the Mingoes and Wyandots that attacked Fort Henry, and while a few also made incursions against the Kentucky frontier at an earlier date, yet the great body of the Shawnees did not take up arms against the Americans as early as did the Wyandots and Mingoes. Their villages being on the Scioto, they were farther removed from British intrigue at Detroit than were the Mingoes

and Wyandots. Another reason for their delay in attacking the Americans was the influence of their great chief, Cornstalk, who held them in check. On July 12, 1777, General Hand, who kept a watchful eye on the Shawnees, wrote Jasper Yeates, his wife's uncle and later Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, that two clans of the Shawnees had declared for the Americans and that the other two clans were leaning to the British interest. Two weeks later, Captain Matthew Arbuckle, of Fort Randolph, reported that "the neutral portion are wavering;" while, on October 6, this officer wrote General Hand: "I am well satisfied the Shawnees are all our enemies." On the very day this letter was written by Captain Arbuckle, he was detaining two of Cornstalk's clan, who had come to Fort Randolph, professing their friendship and warning him that the most of the Shawnees were likely to join the British. A little later, Cornstalk himself came to Fort Randolph to warn the Americans to be on their guard, and he, too, was detained. His son soon joined him on this mission of mercy, and was also detained. Then, on November 10, the noble Cornstalk, his son and Red Hawk were murdered in cold blood by Virginia militia, at Fort Randolph, as pointed out in Chapter XIV. When General Hand heard of this atrocious murder, he wrote the Continental Board of War: "From this event, we have little reason to expect a reconciliation with the Shawanese." The General's prophecy was correct. To avenge the murder of Cornstalk and to avenge the wrongs committed upon them by the Virginians in Lord Dunmore's War, the Shawnees, almost to a man, went over to the British, and proved themselves the most unrelenting foes of the Americans. Their operations in the Revolutionary War were di-

rected, almost entirely, against the Kentucky and Virginia frontiers and that part of the Southwestern Pennsylvania frontier which they knew Virginia claimed. (See Butterfield's Washington-Irvine Correspondence," page 14.)

*Forts and Blockhouses Erected West of the Laurel Hill
During the Revolutionary War*

Thus we see that, in the region west of the Laurel Hill, the year of 1777 ended in gloom. Furthermore, at that time, Washington's army was suffering in the Gethsemane of the Revolution—Valley Forge. In order that the reader may more fully appreciate how largely the Revolutionary War was fought in the region west of the Laurel Hill and how largely, also, the sufferings and sacrifices out of which came the American Nation took place in this same region, we close this chapter with the following list of places of refuge and defense, erected almost entirely by the harried frontiersmen when the Indian allies of the British swooped down upon them with rifle, tomahawk and scalping knife—a list which should be studied in connection with the lists of forts and blockhouses set forth in Chapter XIV:

In the present Westmoreland County, the following were erected:

1. Fort Crawford, located where the town of Parnassus now stands. This fort was erected by Colonel William Crawford early in the summer of 1778, who, in May of that year, took command of the Virginia forces in the Western Department. The fort was named for him at the suggestion of General Lachlan McIntosh. Throughout the Revolution, it was a depot of military supplies. Garrisoned part of the time by Continental soldiers and the rest of the time by independent com-

panies of militia. Colonel Crawford commanded this fort at intervals in 1778, 1779 and 1780. In the spring of 1779, Lieutenant Lawrence Harrison, of the Thirtieth Virginia Regiment, occupied this post. His troops ranged along the Allegheny, Puckety Creek and upon the Kiskiminetas as far as Fort Hand. Other commanders were, Ensign Coleman and Captain Thomas Campbell. An Indian trail crossed the Allegheny at the shallows of this river, near the mouth of Puckety Creek, near which the fort was located.

2. **Rugh's Blockhouse**, the large two-story log house of Michael Rugh, erected during the Revolutionary War, about two miles south of Greensburg and near the County Home. It was one of the places where military supplies were kept for distribution throughout the latter part of the Revolutionary War, Michael Huffnagel, contractor for supplying Fort Pitt with provisions, having proposed to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, on December 20, 1781, "to supply the militia and ranging company of Westmoreland County, the ration to consist of the same articles as for the Continental troops . . . to be delivered at Hannastown and Ligonier . . . and at Rook's [Rugh] Blockhouse." (Butterfield's Washington-Irvine Correspondence," page 161.) In 1778, Michael Rugh and his family were captured by Indians and carried to Canada, but returned home three years later.* Rugh was a man of prominence in the latter years of the Revolution, being elected Coroner of Westmoreland County in 1781, and later in the same year was one of the Commissioners of Purchases. In September, 1787, he was appointed and commissioned a judge of the Com-

* The family consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Rugh, a daughter and a son. The son died in captivity.

mon Pleas Court of Westmoreland County. (Pa. Archives, Sec. Series, Vol. 3, page 176; Pa. Col. Rec. Vol. 15, page 269.)

3. Kepple's Blockhouse, erected during the Revolutionary War, about a mile and a half from Greensburg, on the road leading to Delmont. It stood on the farm of Michael Kepple, a brother-in-law of Michael Rugh, named above, and was much resorted to during the Indian raids of 1781 and 1782.

4. Williams' Blockhouse, later called Miller's Blockhouse, erected at least early in the Revolutionary War by Captain Richard Williams and located about midway between Stahlstown and Donegal. The Harman atrocity, already mentioned in this chapter, was committed near this frontier fort. Later many settlers were captured in this neighborhood. It was often resorted to in times of danger by the Gays, the Harmans, the Hayeses, the Campbells and the Pipers.

5. Stokely's Blockhouse, sometimes called Miller's Blockhouse, erected at least as early as the outbreak of the Revolutionary War and located on the farm of Nehemiah Stokely, on Big Sewickley Creek, about a half mile from Waltz's Mill. A man, named Chambers, was captured near this blockhouse during the Revolution, and returned after several years of captivity.

6. McDowell's Blockhouse, erected early in the Revolutionary War, in what is now the village of Madison, in Hempfield Township. James B. Oliver, Esq., of West Newton, father-in-law of Senator Edgar Cowan, was born in this blockhouse, June 2, 1781, to which his parents had fled during an Indian raid. Mrs. Peggy Oliver (mother of the said James B. Oliver, Esq.) was then a young and beautiful woman. Often

during Indian raids in the Revolutionary War, mounted upon her favorite horse, she rode on a gallop to the blockhouses and cabins of the Big Sewickley Creek Valley, carrying news and instructions on occasions when no one else would venture on such dangerous missions. She appeared to lead a charmed life.

7. Marchand's Blockhouse, erected at least as early as the beginning of the Revolutionary War, in Millersdale, Hempfield Township, about four miles southwest of Greensburg. It stood on what was later known as the Dr. David Marchand farm. John Yost Cort, great-grandfather of the Reformed clergyman and historian, Rev. Cyrus Cort, "had charge, in perilous times, of the women and children in that 'fort'."

8. Philip Klingensmith's Blockhouse. There is some doubt as to the exact location of this blockhouse. There is good authority for locating it at or very near the northeastern part of the town of Jeanette, and seemingly just as good authority for saying that it stood at a point in Penn Township about three miles northeast of Manor Station on the Pennsylvania Railroad, about one and a half miles northwest of Harrison City and about half a mile westward from Brush Creek. Philip Klingensmith owned a number of farms in addition to the ones claiming the above locations. Both Philip Klingensmith and Peter Klingensmith were among the signers of the Fort Allen petition of June, 1774, and it may be that this blockhouse was erected about that time. In the old records, the name appears as Klingelschmidt and Klingenschmidt. But wherever this blockhouse stood, it was the scene of one of the bloodiest atrocities of Revolutionary times in Westmoreland, as will appear in a later chapter.*

*Albert's "History of Westmoreland County", page 721, says it stood on farm in Penn Township owned by a Mr. Ferree in 1882.



Monument at the foot of St. Clair Hollow between Ligonier and Youngstown. Inscription thereon states that General Arthur St. Clair spent his last days in his small home at the head of this hollow. The monument is on the right hand side of the Lincoln Highway as one travels east. See page 272.

9. Fort Preservation, described earlier in this chapter.

10. Fort Hand, described earlier in this chapter.

11. Reed's Station, on the Westmoreland side of the Allegheny River, about two miles below the mouth of the Kiskiminetas. Some authorities claim that this blockhouse was erected during the Revolutionary War, but it was very probably not erected until 1791. Massey Harbison was captured within sight of this place in May, 1792.

12. Fort Reed. The fort at Hannastown was sometimes called Fort Reed.

13. Miller's Station, erected during the Revolutionary War, about three miles southeast of Hannastown, near George Station on the Pennsylvania Railroad, and on the left side of the railroad going eastward. This was a long, double log house, two stories high, with heavy doors, and windows which could be closed in times of danger. It stood on the farm of Captain Samuel Miller, of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. Here several persons were killed and fifteen captured at the time of the Hannastown raid, as will appear in a later chapter.

14. Adam George's Blockhouse, erected by Adam George during the Revolutionary War and located about a mile northeast of Miller's Station, mentioned above.

15. Teage Island Fort, erected during the Revolutionary War and located five miles northwest of Hannastown.

16. Adam Saam's Blockhouse, on the old Saam farm, later the Gaut, but now the Whitehead farm, near the car barn of the McKeesport-Irwin Traction Company. Adam Saam's German riflemen were valiant defenders

of the Brush Creek settlement during the Revolutionary War. His blockhouse was the principal place of refuge for the settlers in the neighborhood of the Long Run Presbyterian Church in North Huntingdon Township.*

In the present Washington County, the following places of refuge and defense were erected:

1. Rice's Fort, erected during the Revolutionary War, on Buffalo Creek, in the present Donegal Township. It stood on the farm of Abraham Rice, and was attacked by about seventy Indians, on September 13, 1782.

2. Wolf's Fort, erected during the Revolutionary War about five miles west of Washington and in the present Buffalo Township. It was a stockade enclosing the cabin of Jacob Wolf.

3. Miller's Blockhouse, erected by John Jacob Miller, Sr., about 1779, on the Dutch Fork of Buffalo Creek, in what is now Donegal Township. This blockhouse, one of the most historic in Washington County, was the headquarters for the German settlers of the Dutch Fork region, and was commanded by Captain John Jacob Miller, Jr. It was the scene of Ann Hupp's heroism and the murder of John Jacob Miller, Sr. and John Hupp, Sr., when it was attacked by twenty Shawnee's on the morning of March 30 (Easter Morning), 1782, who had surrounded the place during the night.

5. Hoagland's Fort. A blockhouse which later was known as Hoagland's Fort, was erected about 1780, in the present Smith Township. There is a tradition that Indians attacking this fort on one occasion were repulsed with scalding water, poured down upon them by some women who were in the loft.

*Conrad Byers' Blockhouse was in Mount Pleasant Township, Westmoreland County.

6. Roney's Fort. This was a large and strong blockhouse erected by Hercules Roney, about 1779, on his farm in West Finley Township.

7. Enlow's Blockhouse, erected by Abraham Enlow probably as early as 1775, on the "Big Flat" on Wheeling Creek, in the present East Finley Township.

8. Campbell's Blockhouse, erected likely during the latter part of the Revolutionary War, but perhaps not until a few years later, on Blockhouse Run, in West Finley Township. The McIntosh family was murdered by Indians near this blockhouse, in August, 1789.

9. Williamson's Station, erected about 1776 by Colonel David Williamson, of the Washington County militia, leader of the band that massacred the Moravian Indians at Gnadenhuetten, Ohio, March 8, 1782, and later Sheriff of Washington County. The station consisted of a triple cabin and springhouse, and was located on Buffalo Creek, a few miles northwest of Taylors-town, and in the present Donegal Township.

10. Taylor's Blockhouse, erected at a date unknown, where Taylors-town, Donegal Township, now stands.

11. Bayon's Blockhouse, erected during the Revolutionary War, in the present Cross Creek Township.

12. Woodruff's Blockhouse, erected likely during the Revolutionary War, in the southern part of Amwell Township.

13. Wright's Blockhouse. The location of this blockhouse is not known. It is mentioned in the records of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania and in the Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, Vol. 2, page 257, under lists of Washington County militia serving on the frontier from 1782 to 1785. The records of the Supreme Executive Council show that Alexander

Wright, of Wright's Blockhouse, Washington County, received a reward of twenty-five pounds in March, 1783, for two Indian scalps.

14. Walker's Blockhouse, erected likely during the Revolutionary War, in the present Donegal Township.

15. Wilson's Blockhouse, erected likely during the Revolutionary War, in the present Mount Pleasant Township. There was another Wilson's Blockhouse, erected probably during the Revolutionary War and probably on the Dutch Fork of Buffalo Creek, in Donegal Township, about twelve miles from the Ohio River.

16. Enoch's Blockhouse, erected by Enoch Enoch probably as early as 1775, about a mile from Lone Pine, Amwell Township.

17. McDonald's Fort, erected in 1781 or 1782 by John McDonald, where the town of McDonald now stands.

18. Wallower's Blockhouse, erected sometime during the Revolutionary War, in the present Donegal Township.

19. Zollarsville Fort, overlooking Ten Mile Creek, in West Bethlehem Township, is believed by many to have been an Indian fort. Bones and Indian implements have been found in the earthworks.

20. Downey's Blockhouse, believed to have been erected in Cross Creek Township during the Revolutionary War.

21. Dunn's Blockhouse, erected probably during the Revolutionary War, at Dunnsfort, on Buffalo Creek, in Donegal Township, and near the West Virginia line.

Hupp's Blockhouse, mentioned in Chapter XIV, erected by the German settler, Everhart Hupp, in East Bethlehem Township, some authorities say as early as

1769, is believed by some Washington County historians to have been the first blockhouse erected in Washington County. (Earle R. Forrest's "History of Washington County," page 49.)

In Chapter XIV, a list was given of the forts erected in Greene County during Lord Dunmore's War. Many other places of refuge and defense were erected at that time and early in the Revolution, on the West Virginia side of the line between this state and Greene County, among them being Statler's Fort, Martin's Fort and Harrison's Fort. Martin's Fort in the northern part of Monongalia County and very near the Greene County line, was attacked by a band of Indians in June, 1779, when ten occupants were killed and captured.*

In Indiana County, there were several places of refuge and defense at the time of the Revolutionary War. One of these was Fergus Moorehead's Blockhouse, about a mile and a half west of the town of Indiana, on the south side of the highway leading from Kittanning to Indiana and on the present Rinn farm. Fergus Moorehead located here in the summer of 1772, and probably his blockhouse was built in the spring of 1774, when Lord Dunmore's War caused terror throughout the settlements. Moorehead, as already noted, was captured by Indian allies of the British early in 1777. In 1781, he returned to his Indiana County home, and probably his blockhouse was built at that time. Inyard's Blockhouse, in what is now West Wheatfield Township, Indiana County, was in existence at the time of the Revolutionary War, but was probably built as early as the spring of 1774. It was about six miles from Fort Palmer, in Westmoreland County.

* During Dunmore's War, Ryerson's Fort was erected near Ryerson Station, Greene County; also Fort Morris on Sandy Creek, a few miles from Uniontown, Fayette County.

Robinson's Blockhouse, in the present Conemaugh Township, Indiana County, was erected about 1781. There was also a "Station at Black-Legs Creek," Indiana County, during the latter part of the Revolutionary War. Mention of this "Station" is made in a letter which Colonel Daniel Brodhead, then commandant at Fort Pitt, wrote Colonel Archibald Lochry, on April 2, 1780, directing him to order out sixty militia and to station one third of them at the "Forks of Black-Legs," where the officer in command of this part of the militia should make choice of a house on a commanding piece of ground convenient to water. (Colonel Daniel Brodhead's "Letter Book," No. 129.)

Among the places of refuge and defense in the vicinity of Pittsburgh, during the Revolutionary War, were: Rayburn's Blockhouse, where the town of Turtle Creek now stands; Myer's Station, near the mouth of Turtle Creek; and Couch's Fort, famous in the annals of the "Whiskey Insurrection," located about a quarter of a mile south of Bethel Presbyterian Church, in Bethel Township, Allegheny County.

Fort McIntosh, where the town of Beaver now stands, was erected by General Lachlan McIntosh, in October, 1778; and Fort Armstrong, within the limits of the town of Manorville, just below Kittanning, was erected in June, 1779, by Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen Bayard, acting under orders of Colonel Daniel Brodhead, who had in turn received his orders from General Washington.*

* During the Revolutionary War, Striker's Blockhouses (two blockhouses about 300 yards apart) were erected in Buffalo Township, Washington County; also Turner's Blockhouse in Robinson Township, Washington County; also McCartney's Blockhouse in Buffington Township, Indiana County; also McConaughy's Blockhouse at the junction of Two Lick Creek and Cherry Run, Indiana County.

CHAPTER XVII

Fort Ligonier and Western Pennsylvania in the Revolution (Continued)

(1778)

General Hand's "Squaw Campaign"

In Chapter XVI, we saw that General Hand returned from Wheeling to Fort Pitt about November 1, 1777, upon the failure of his contemplated expedition against the Wyandots. About Christmas, he learned that the British, coming along Lake Erie from Detroit, had built a magazine where Cleveland, Ohio, now stands, and had stored it with arms, ammunition, clothing and provisions for the use of Colonel Henry Hamilton's Indian allies in incursions to be made against the frontier the following spring. Hand then determined to lead an expedition from Fort Pitt to destroy this magazine and its supplies. He sent out calls for "brave, active lads" to assemble at Fort Pitt, each one mounted and provided with food for a short campaign. To encourage enlistment, he announced that all the plunder would be sold and the cash proceeds divided among his troops. By February 15, 1778, he had raised, by great exertions, five hundred horsemen for the proposed expedition, a great many of them being from the Youghiogheny Valley under the command of Colonel William Crawford.

On this date (Feb. 15, 1778), his expedition left Fort Pitt, descending the Ohio to the mouth of the Beaver and then ascending the Beaver to the mouth of the Mahoning. By the time the Mahoning was reached

that stream was almost impassible, and Hand was so disheartened that he was about to give up the expedition and return, when the footprints of some Indians were discovered on the high ground. These tracks led to a small Indian village, where Edinburg, Lawrence County, now stands. Hand's forces attacked the village, but found that it contained only one old man, and some squaws and children, the warriors being away on a hunt. The Indians escaped, except the old man and one squaw, who were both shot, and another squaw, who was taken prisoner. This woman captive informed Hand that ten Delawares of the Wolf Clan were making salt ten miles farther up the Mahoning. Hand then dispatched a detachment after these Indians, who proved to be four squaws and a boy. The soldiers killed three of the squaws and the boy, and captured the other squaw. These Indians were friendly to the Americans, according to Colonel George Morgan.

The condition of the weather making further progress impossible, General Hand led his army back to Fort Pitt with the two squaw captives. His formidable force of five hundred horsemen had slain one old man, four women, one boy, and captured two women. On Hand's arrival at Fort Pitt, the frontiersmen derided his recent exploits and dubbed the expedition the "Squaw Campaign." Discouraged and humiliated, he asked General Washington to relieve him, and on May 2, Congress voted his recall, and commissioned General Lachlan McIntosh to succeed him. On the same day (May 2, 1778), Congress resolved to raise two regiments in Pennsylvania and Virginia for the defense of the western frontier, to serve for one year unless sooner discharged—twelve companies to be raised in Virginia and four in Pennsylvania.

But soon after Hand arrived at Fort Pitt from his "Squaw Campaign," he turned his eyes to the wilder-

ness of Westmoreland through whose solitudes the Indian allies of the British were then stealing upon the cabin homes of the settlers. On March 22, he wrote Colonel Archibald Lochry:

"I am instructed by the Hon., the Commissioners appointed by Congress to fix on a plan for the defense of these frontiers, to desire that you may continue a hundred and fifty privates of the militia of your county, properly officered, on constant duty on the frontiers. Thirty of them to be added to Capt. Moorehead's company, stationed at Fort Hand, and the remaining one hundred and twenty placed at such stations as you will find best calculated for the defense of the county" ("Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania," Vol. 2, page 326, and authorities there referred to.)

The commissioners mentioned in General Hand's letter were Sampson Matthews, George Clymer and Samuel McDowell, who were sent to Fort Pitt by the Continental Congress to investigate conditions on the western frontier and to provide for carrying the war into the Indian country west of the Ohio. They reported that Colonel Henry Hamilton, British commandant at Detroit, was inciting the western tribes against the Americans; and they drew up and presented to General Hand a plan for the defense of the western frontier by militia alone, until recommendations made by them to Congress could be approved and carried into execution.

General McIntosh did not arrive at Fort Pitt until about August 6. In the meantime, General Hand remained long enough at this important post to hold a council with the Delaware chiefs, White Eyes and Killbuck, and two Shawnees then living among the Delawares at Coshocton. This council, arranged largely by Colonel George Morgan, Continental Indian agent, was held on June 17.

General Hand, as has been seen, was not a success as a defender of the western frontier. But he later attained great distinction, as virtual second in command in Sullivan's expedition against the Six Nations, in 1779, and as Adjutant General of the Continental Army before the close of the Revolution. He was a member of Congress in 1784 and 1785 and a signer of the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790. In 1798, when war with France threatened, Hand was made a major general in the Provisional Army. He died at his home at Rockford, Lancaster County, September 3, 1802.

*Flight of Pittsburgh Tories—The Tories of Sinking
Spring Valley*

From the beginning of the struggle for liberty, many partisans of King George were to be found on the Western Pennsylvania frontier. Some of these had been in the British service; some had been alienated from the American cause by the agents of Governor Henry Hamilton; some had grown dissatisfied with the perils and hardships of frontier life in time of war; and others were simply scoundrels, desiring plunder. The failure of General Hand's two expeditions stimulated the Tories on the western frontier to active efforts in the early spring of 1778.

Captain Alexander McKee, who had been Deputy Indian Agent under George Croghan, was the leader of the Tory movement in Western Pennsylvania, having been discovered in correspondence with the British as early as 1776. Finally General Hand ordered him to report to the Continental Congress. McKee then decided to escape. Hand, hearing of his plans, sent a detachment of soldiers to McKee's house on his plantation at McKee's Rocks to arrest him and bring him

to Fort Pitt. The detachment arrived too late. McKee, Robert Surphit, Simon Girty, Matthew Elliott, a man named Higgins, and two negro slaves belonging to McKee had escaped during the night of March 28, 1778. They fled to the Delaware capital of Conshoc-ton, where they made an attempt to turn the peaceable Delawares against the Americans. Their attempt, however, was thwarted by the Delaware chief, White Eyes, though Captain Pipe argued strongly for war, also by the prompt actions of General Hand, Colonel George Morgan and the timely exertions of the gentle Moravian missionaries on the Tuscarawas. They then went to the Shawnee villages on the Scioto, where they were heartily welcomed, as many of the Shawnees had already taken up arms against the Americans. At Colonel Henry Hamilton's request, they went from the Shawnee villages to Detroit, where they were given commissions in the British service. They then became merciless raiders of the frontiers, as underlings of the "Hair-Buyer British General," and continued their plotting against the Americans even to the end of the Post-Revolutionary Indian uprising.

They left behind them at Fort Pitt a number of sympathizers in the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, of which Colonel William Crawford was in command. Crawford, personal friend of George Washington and thoroughly loyal to the American cause, discovered a plot which had been planned by some members of this regiment, to blow up the fort. At the last moment, this scheme was frustrated, but not before Sergeant Alexander Ballentine and a score of other traitors, among whom were a few citizens of Pittsburgh, were able to get away in one of the boats of the garrison. On the night of April 20, they fled down the Ohio. They were overtaken by troops from Fort

Pitt, near the mouth of the Muskingum. Six soldiers and two citizens escaped to shore, and were soon lost in the woods; some were killed on the spot, and the rest were brought back to Fort Pitt, where they were tried by a court-martial, of which Colonel William Crawford was president. The leaders were found to be Ballentine, William Bentley and Eliezer Davis. These were executed, two shot and one hanged. The others were publicly whipped on the parade ground of the fort with 100 lashes on the bare back.

The cause of the Americans seemed almost hopeless at the time of the Tory troubles in Pittsburgh. The British were in possession of Philadelphia; the Continental Congress had been driven to York; the Western Pennsylvania frontier was filled with the agents of the "Hair Buyer British General," Henry Hamilton, sent to cause disaffection among the frontiersmen and the soldiers at Fort Pitt; the British flag flew for a time in the King's Orchard within the very shadows of Fort Pitt and was set up on a pole at Redstone (Brownsville); and Washington's army was suffering in that Gethsemane of the Revolution—Valley Forge. Colonel John Proctor, in a letter written from "Westmoreland County" to President Wharton, April 26, 1778, says the following:

"I am able to inform you that Capt. Alexander McKee with seven other Vilons is gon to the Indians, and since there is a Ser't and twenty od men gon from Pittsburgh of the Soldiers. What may be the fate of this country God only knowes, but at Prisent it wears a most Dismal aspect." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 6, page 445.)

Captain Alexander McKee was a son of Thomas McKee, a noted Indian trader who had a trading house where Dalmatia, in the lower part of Northumberland

County, now stands. He had another trading house just below the mouth of the Juniata, not far from Haldeman's Island. He also had a large trade with the Indians on the Allegheny. In 1756, he was in command of Fort Hunter. Thomas McKee died in 1772 at McKee's Half Falls on the Susquehanna.

At the time of his father's death, Captain Alexander McKee was at Fort Pitt, as assistant to George Croghan, then Deputy Indian Agent under Sir William Johnson, having for several years previous thereto carried on an extensive trade with the Indians of the Ohio and Allegheny in conjunction with Alexander Ross. Upon the erection of Bedford County (1771), he was made one of its justices, and upon the erection of Westmoreland County (1773), his jurisdiction was extended to that county. This leader of the Tory movement in Western Pennsylvania and later underling of Hamilton, the "hair buyer," had a large plantation where McKees Rocks now stands. This town bears his name. Upon his desertion to the British, his possessions passed to his brother, James McKee, who has many descendants in Allegheny County. By some authorities it is claimed that Alexander McKee's mother was a Shawnee squaw, and by others it is claimed that she was a white woman who had lived for many years among the Shawnees.

Matthew Elliott was an Irishman by birth. He had formerly lived in Eastern Pennsylvania and had engaged in trade with the Indians. He was a trader when Lord Dunmore's War broke out, and remained in the Indian country until after the battle of Point Pleasant, protected by the Shawnees. He was the messenger sent by the Shawnees to Lord Dunmore to ask terms of peace. After Lord Dunmore's War, Elliott again traded at Fort Pitt with the Indians beyond the Ohio.

Both McKee and Elliott, after serving the British throughout the remainder of the Revolutionary War and also throughout the Post-Revolutionary Indian Uprising, in both of which they were inveterate and unnatural enemies of the Americans and far outdid the Indians in cruelty, died in Canada. The former died on the Thames River, January 16, 1799, and was buried with much pomp. The latter died at Joseph Brant's place on Burlington Bay, in 1814. Elliott had great influence among the Shawnees, being married to a Shawnee woman.

While the Tory plotting leading to the flight of the Tories, Captain Alexander McKee, Matthew Elliott, Robert Surphlit, and Simon Girty from Fort Pitt, was going on, British agents from Niagara and Detroit visited several isolated settlements in the mountains of Pennsylvania, in an effort to persuade the mountaineers to espouse the British cause. One of these agents succeeded in deluding a number of frontiersmen in what is now Blair County, promising that any man who deserted the American cause should have two hundred acres of land on the conclusion of peace. He told these settlers that, if they would join a force of British and Indians coming down the Allegheny in the spring of 1778, they would be permitted to join in a general incursion against the frontier settlements, and receive their share of the pillage.

The frontiersmen who yielded to the persuasions of the British agent, held meetings in the isolated Sinking Spring Valley, in Blair County, in February and March, 1778, their leader being John Weston. In the meantime, after fully enlisting Weston, the British agent returned up the Allegheny, promising to come to Kittanning about the middle of April with a force of three hundred Indians and Tories to meet Weston's

followers, and then attack Fort Pitt and the frontier settlements. By about the first of April, Weston had increased his band to thirty, and was joined about that time by a man named McKee, who came from Carlisle. At Carlisle, McKee had been in communication with a British officer who had been held at that place as a prisoner of war, who gave McKee a letter addressed to all British officers, vouching for the loyalty of McKee and his associates. This letter was to be used in securing the protection of the plotters of the Sinking Spring Valley, when they would meet the force of British and Indians at Kittanning.

Presently word reached the plotters that a force of Indians had gathered at Kittanning, and occupied the stockade and cabins at that place, which had been deserted by the Americans the year before. Then, in April, Weston and his associates set out in their march over the mountains to Kittanning, crossing the main range of the Alleghenies at Kittanning Point, and following the Kittanning Indian Trail. On the afternoon of the second day, they encountered a band of one hundred Iroquois who were on a plundering raid of their own, and believed Weston and his men to be enemies. Weston ran forward waving his hand and shouting: "Friends! Friends!" The Iroquois being ignorant of the conspiracy, killed and scalped Weston, and then darted into the thickets. McKee waving in one hand the letter he had received from the British prisoner at Carlisle and in the other a white handkerchief, called out to the Indians: "Brothers! Brothers!" The Indians did not respond, but vanished into the forest.

Weston was buried where he fell, and his companions decided to proceed no further. Many perished from hunger in the wilderness. Some, after great suffering,

reached British posts in the southern colonies. Five returned to their homes, and were later lodged in jail at Bedford. The leader of these, Richard Weston, brother of the dead plotter, was caught in the Sinking Spring Valley by a party of Americans, and lodged in jail at Carlisle to await trial, but later made his escape. Those who had fled were charged with treason, and their estates were forfeited. After the Revolutionary War was over, a few returned to Pennsylvania, succeeded in procuring the removal of the attainder, and got back their land. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 6, pages 469, 542, 543; Hassler's "Old Westmoreland," pages 49 to 53.)

It is said that the friendly Indian, Captain Logan, for whom Logan's Valley in Blair County is named, gave the loyal settlers information as to the plotting of the Tories of the Sinking Spring Valley. This Indian lived for many years where Tyrone now stands. A band of rangers, upon learning of the march of the Tories, scoured the woods almost as far as Kittanning, five of their number being killed by lurking Indians. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 6, page 559.) Colonel Arthur Buchanan sent this force (Pa. Archives, Vol. 6, page 485.)

Soon after these Tory troubles, the Wyandots, under the leadership of their "Half King," Dunquat, attacked Fort Randolph, on May 16, and endeavored to draw the garrison into an ambush. Fortunately the commandant, Captain William McKee, had received intelligence of their coming and frustrated their plans to ambush his garrison. But one of his garrison was killed and one wounded in the attack. After killing or driving off the cattle of the garrison, the Wyandots withdrew at nightfall and made their way up the Kanawha to attack the Greenbrier settlement. An

express from Fort Randolph warned the Greenbrier settlers of the contemplated attack, but nevertheless a number of these settlers, and Virginia militia were slain before the Wyandots were driven off.

*George Rogers Clark's Expedition to the Northwest—
Fatal Voyage of David Rodgers*

In January, 1778, Colonel George Rogers Clark raised a force of one hundred and fifty Virginians, principally in the upper Monongahela Valley, and then marched to Fort Redstone, went into camp where West Brownsville, Washington County, now stands, and there constructed boats for his historic expedition to the Northwest, which won Indiana and Illinois from the British. Having constructed the boats and gotten a supply of powder from the stores which George Gibson and William Linn secured from the Spaniards in New Orleans, as related in Chapter XVI, Clark's forces left the camp at West Brownsville, on May 17, and then proceeded down the Monongahela and Ohio. The achievements of this heroic band are among the most brilliant in the pages of military history. In February, 1779, for a week, they marched through ice-cold water up to their breasts, pressing on with a dauntlessness and valor never surpassed. The British posts at Vincennes, Kaskaskia and Cahokia fell into their hands, adding Indiana and Illinois to the Continental domain. It was at Vincennes, on February 25, that Colonel Henry Hamilton, the "hair-buyer," surrendered to the great Virginian.

In the spring of 1778, Patrick Henry, then Governor of Virginia, directed Captain David Rodgers, a Virginian who had settled near Brownsville in 1773 and was later a justice of the peace for the district of West Augusta, to organize an expedition to bring

powder from the Spaniards at New Orleans to Fort Pitt. At this time, the powder which Lieutenant Linn had conveyed to Fort Pitt was almost exhausted. Some of it had been taken to Kentucky. The powder that Rodgers was to convey up the river to the fort was bought in advance, by correspondence with Oliver Pollock.

Upon receiving his orders from Governor Henry, Rodgers gathered up a force of forty settlers in the vicinity of Redstone, proceeded to Fort Pitt, and constructed two large flat boats. Among his force, was Basil Brown, one of the founders of Brownsville. Leaving Fort Pitt in June, Rodgers' force floated down to the mouth of the Arkansas River. At a Spanish fort near this place, he learned that the powder had been sent up the Mississippi to St. Louis. Leaving his boats and most of his men at the post, he, with six companions, floated in a canoe down to the Spanish capital of Louisiana, obtained there the proper papers, and then returned to St. Louis in the spring of 1779 and secured the powder.

England and Spain were at peace the time when the sale of the powder was made. However, it is probable that actual delivery was not made to Captain Rodgers until after Spain had declared war against Great Britain, in May, 1779.

The slow voyage up the Ohio was uneventful until the mouth of the Licking was reached, at which point the great war trail from the Maumee and the two Miamis to the Cherokee country crossed the Ohio. Here, on the afternoon of October 4, 1779, several Indians were seen crossing the Ohio to the Kentucky shore, about a mile up stream. Rodgers believed that the Indians did not see his boats, and decided to halt and attack them. Pulling his boats on the beach in

the mouth of the Licking, he penetrated the forest, where a strong force of Shawnee Indians, led by Simon Girty and Matthew Elliott, outnumbering Rodgers' party two to one, surrounded the voyagers and killed the entire party except thirteen. The Indians who had been seen crossing the Ohio were only decoys. Captain Rodgers was fatally wounded but, by the help of John Knotts, was able to hide in a dark ravine, where Knotts left the dying man in the morning, and returned through the wilderness to Redstone. Afterwards an unsuccessful search was made for the body of Rodgers, which had probably been devoured by wolves.

At the falls of the Ohio, the present Louisville, Kentucky, George Rogers Clark had detailed an escort for the protection of Rodgers' boats on their way up the Ohio. In addition to the booty which fell into the hands of the renegades, Girty and Elliott, important messages from George Rogers Clark also fell into their hands, revealing conditions and plans of the Americans in the west.

Robert Benham, commissary of the expedition, was wounded in both legs, but crawled into a tree-top. Here, on the afternoon of the second day, suffering greatly from hunger, he shot a raccoon which came within range of his rifle. At the sound of his gun, he heard a voice which he believed to be the shout of an Indian, and at once reloaded his rifle. Footsteps were heard approaching, and a white man covered with blood came out of the thicket. This was Basil Brown. He was wounded in the right arm and left shoulder, both arms being helpless. Benham pointed out the dead raccoon, and Brown kicked it to where Benham reclined, who built a fire, dressed and cooked the animal, and fed both Brown and himself. Benham then placed

his folded hat between Brown's teeth, and the latter, wading into the Licking, dipped the hat into the water, and carried it full to his thirsty companion. During the days which followed, Brown would drive rabbits, wild turkey, and other game, within the range of Benham's rifle, and when the latter had shot them, Brown kicked them to the fire, and Benham dressed and cooked the game. Thus, these two men lived in the wilderness for nineteen days, when a flat boat descending the Ohio, rescued them, and took them to what is now Louisville, Kentucky. Brown returned to the Red-stone settlement; but Benham, when the war was over, settled at the place which was the scene of Rodgers' disaster, the site of Newport, Kentucky.

*Bloody Combat With Indians Near Fort Wallace—
Relief Party From Fort Barr*

No sooner had the spring of 1778 opened than the Senecas and Wyandots began raiding the Westmoreland frontier. The bloodiest of these raids was in the latter part of April, when twenty rangers, commanded by Captain Hopkins who had gone out from Fort Wallace, were waylaid by a larger force of Indians. Nine of the rangers lay dead in the forest when the engagement was ended, and Captain Hopkins was wounded, while four of the Indians were killed. Colonel Archibald Lochry, in a letter written to President Wharton, on May 13, describes this engagement and its results, as follows:

"On the 28th of Aprile the Indians came into the Settlement at and about Wallace's Fort, attacked twenty of our men, which was reconnoitering the Woods, and Killed 9 of our Men, & wounded Capt. Hopkins Slightly, and we lost 9 Guns.

"In short, I am sorry to Inform you that the Fron-

tiers of this County is more Distressed by Reason of this Last Scrimmage than they ever were before, as by appearance there was a larger Body of the Enemy than ever before appeared at once, and with much more Vigour; the Great Road [the Forbes Road] is now the Frontier, and being Disappointed in their Expectations of an Early Campaign into the Indian Country. I am sorry to Inform you that I doubt a General Evacuation of the Posts on the Frontiers (Fort Pitt only Excepted), on the first or next appearance, or Attack of such a Body of the Enemy." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 6, page 495.)

Hassler, in his "Old Westmoreland" suggests that this was probably the combat referred to by Dr. Joseph Smith in his "Old Redstone," in which Ebenezer Finley, son of the pioneer preacher, James Finley, took part. According to Smith, a horseman dashed into Fort Wallace with the word that he had seen two men and a woman fleeing through the woods from Indians. About twenty of the militia at Fort Wallace then sallied forth, and at about a mile and a half from the fort were ambushed. Presently, the militia retreated toward the fort, in the meantime many being shot down or tomahawked. Ebenezer Finley having fallen behind his companions while trying to prime his gun, exerted himself tremendously to prevent his being overtaken. In this effort he succeeded in passing a comrade by pushing him on the shoulder with his elbow. At almost the same instant his comrade was brained with a tomahawk. Says Hassler: "Thus young Finley saved himself by sacrificing the life of another, and the pious author [Dr. Joseph Smith] would have it that Finley escaped by the interposition of Providence."

Hassler describes another engagement near Fort Wallace as taking place in 1778, as follows:

"The story goes that signs of Indians were seen near Fort Barr, and the settlers throughout the southern part of Derry took refuge there. They were preparing to withstand an attack, when brisk firing was heard in the direction of Fort Wallace. Major James Wilson, at the head of about forty men, promptly set out from Barr's to the relief of the other post. They arrived within sight of Fort Wallace, which they found heavily besieged; but as soon as Wilson's company appeared, the savages turned upon it and assailed it in overwhelming force. The principal conflict took place on a bridge over a deep gully, about 500 yards from the fort. Several Indians were there slain and others were thrown over the bridge; but Wilson's party was forced to retreat and fought desperately all the way back to Fort Barr. During this retreat two of Robert Barr's sons, Alexander and Robert, were killed, but their bodies were saved from the scalping knife. All others gained the stockade in safety, and the Indians soon afterward disappeared from the settlement."

We think it more probable that the second engagement at and near Fort Wallace—the engagement just described—was the combat in which young Finley was engaged. At least, Dr. Joseph Smith says the following, in his "Old Redstone," after describing how Finley succeeded in passing his companion: "A Mr. Moore, seeing Finley's imminent danger from a *bridge* on which he stood, stopped, and by his well-directed fire, again protected him, and enabled him to pass the bridge." ("Old Redstone," page 285.)

The following account of this same desperate engagement is from the pen of the Rev. William Cunningham, drawn largely from the journals of the times and traditions handed down in the family of Richard Wallace, of Wallace's Fort, and other Derry families to whom the writer was related:

“The Indians generally make their incursions in the fall of the year. During harvest time, also, they often become very troublesome. They lurked in the woods, and cut off the unsuspecting settler when he least apprehended danger. Major [James] Wilson used to relate how he stood with his rifle at his cabin door while his wife brought water from the spring.

“On certain occasions, the signs of Indians had been seen in the woods, for several days, and it was supposed that Barr’s Fort would be attacked the following morning. This fort stood about a mile north of New Derry. While they expected an attack there, they were much surprised to hear firing at Wallace’s Fort, about five miles distant. Great anxiety was felt by those at Barr’s Fort for their friends at Wallace’s. Major Wilson with others volunteered to go to their aid. Leaving, therefore, a barely sufficient force at Barr’s to protect the fort, and to keep the women in heart, they started. The firing continued all the time as they approached.

“When they reached Wallace’s the little party within were engaged in a hot conflict with a large number of Indians, who had made an early attack on the fort. The enemy no sooner perceived Wilson and his company than they turned upon them. There was formerly a bridge over the ravine, which is about 500 yards above the fort. Wilson, with a few of his party, had crossed this. Being compelled to retreat, he found the Indians had taken possession of the bridge. Here he was engaged hand to hand with them. He knocked several of them off, and thus prepared the way for himself and his friends.

“He then took his position near a large oak, on the bank beyond, and plied his rifle with deadly effect on them. But the Indians were too numerous for the

little band, and they were compelled to retreat. They kept up a retreating fire all the way back to Barr's Fort. About a mile from Wallace's (Alexander?) Barr was killed. When they had nearly reached the fort, Robert Barr also fell. He was engaged with several Indians, fighting manfully with the butt of his gun. Major Wilson shot one of the Indians, who fell dead on Barr. The next instant a tomahawk was buried in Barr's skull.

"Shortly after this an alarm was again given of the approach of Indians. All in the vicinity of Wallace's Fort fled to it. Major Wilson happened to be among them. A man, named Redick, when seeking the fort, was attacked by a party who had concealed themselves under the bridge aforementioned, but he was fortunate to make good his escape to the fort. It was supposed that the Indians were few in number, and Major Wilson, with characteristic bravery, proposed to attack them with a small party.

"Taking some six or eight men, he pursued and in a short time came up with them. They were found lying in the grass, on the top of what is known as Culbertson's Hill, about a mile from the fort, on the farm now belonging to John Stoffer. The Indians immediately fired. The band of Indians was much larger than they supposed, and Wilson and his party, with the Indians in pursuit, made for the fort.

"Loading and firing as they ran, they supposed they had killed several, but never certainly ascertained." ("Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania," Vol. 2, pages 347 to 354.)

Colonel Lochry, in his letter, quoted in part above, also gave the following "Just and True Return of the Public Arms" in his care as county-lieutenant:

"75 stand I purchased myself; 27 Stand I received

of the Militia that went to the Jersey from this county in the Year 1777; 72 Stand I received by Col. John Shields, and Col. Hayes Informs me of 80 Stand being on the Way, not yet come to Hand, which is in all 254 Stand; but when we Reduce 12 Stand that we Lost by the Enemy & 3 Carried away by Deserters, there remains 239 Stand. There is a Considerable Number of Old English Muskets which Gen. St. Clair formerly had in his care, belonging to this State and Distributed in this County; they are Unfit for service and hard to be Collected, as the Person that Possesseth them is under Obligation by Bond to Return them to Gen. Sinkler [St. Clair].”

Murders and Captures Near Fort Ligonier

When the Indian allies of the British invaded Westmoreland County in 1777, Robert Reed and his family sought refuge in Fort Ligonier. His eldest daughter, whose name is given as Rebecca by some authorities, but which should be Martha Ann, according to Laura McClure Good, of McKeesport, a great-granddaughter of Robert Reed, was a great favorite with the garrison and the refugee families, distinguishing herself in running foot races with various athletes of the garrison. In the summer of 1778, Martha Ann, her brother, George, Rebecca and James Means, children of Robert Means, left the fort to gather berries near a clearing about two miles away. On their way and just when they had ascended the hill on the other side of the Loyalhanna, the young men, who were walking ahead, met Major William McDowell, who was on horseback, coming towards the fort. At that instant, the whole party was fired upon by Indians lying behind a log. Young Reed fell dead, and McDowell's rifle was splintered by a bullet which glanced and wounded him

in the hand. Young Means ran back to protect the girls, who had started to run to the fort. He was captured. The Indians soon caught Miss Means and tomahawked her; but Miss Reed succeeded in outdistancing her pursuers as she fled toward the fort.

The garrison hearing the firing, a relief party headed by a young man named Shannon, proceeded in the direction of the firing. These met Miss Reed a short distance from the fort, and Shannon conducted her to safety, while the others proceeded to the scene of the firing, where they found the lifeless bodies of young Reed and Miss Means. Three years later young Means returned from his captivity and reported that the warrior who had chased Miss Reed was renowned as an athlete among the Indians, but had lost his prestige on account of his failure to catch the "white squaw." Later young Shannon married Rebecca (or Martha Ann) Reed.

The Ulery family lived about two miles south of Ligonier. In the month of July, most likely in the year 1778, the three girls, Julian, aged twenty, Elizabeth, aged eighteen, and Abigail, aged sixteen, were raking hay a short distance from their home, when they were attacked by Indians. The girls ran toward the house with their pursuers close on their heels. Abigail was unable to keep up with her sisters, and when the latter got into the house, they immediately closed and barred the door, thinking that Abigail had been captured. The father then shot through the door, wounding one of the Indians. In the meantime, Abigail ran into the woods above the house, and hid herself among leaves and weeds in a depression made by the uprooting of a tree. The Indians came near where she lay concealed; but the wounded member of the band was moaning so piteously that his companions, without mak-



The cabin door through which Mr. Ulery shot, fatally wounding one of the Indians. See page 432. The bullet hole is just below the right center. The Ulery home was near Brandt's schoolhouse, in Ligonier Township, Westmoreland County. The meadow in which Julian and Elizabeth Ulery were raking hay on the day following the first attack lay between their home and the site of Brandt's schoolhouse. A log house, constructed largely of the logs of the original cabin, stands on the exact location of the pioneer home. The gentleman in the picture is Samuel Slater, grandson of Abigail Ulery.

Courtesy of William B. Slater.

ing further search for Abigail, carried him away, and soon disappeared over the brow of the hill above the Ulery home. No doubt this Indian died, for shortly afterwards a newly made grave was found at that place, and many years later the grave was opened and human bones exhumed by Isaac Slater.

The following day, Julian and Elizabeth went to work in the same field, when Indians, evidently the same band that made the attack the day before, got between the girls and the house, and succeeded in capturing them. Julian and Elizabeth struggled desperately with their captors. Then, in the hope of making the girls reconciled to going along with them, the Indians gave them new moccasins. The captives still struggled, and were dragged along to the rivulet near Brant's school house, when the Indians became desperate and told them to make a choice between captivity and death. The girls struggled all the harder, and were then tomahawked and scalped on the spot. The Indians then hurried on, but presently returned to remove the moccasins from the girls, when they found Elizabeth partly recovered, and sitting up against a tree. An Indian then sunk his tomahawk into her brain. Julian was conscious but lay still, and the Indians thought her dead. She recovered but was never strong, and her scalp never healed. She spent her days on the homestead with her sister Abigail, whose descendants, the Slaters, have resided on this historic farm for a number of generations. The present Slater farm house stands only a few yards from the spot where the frontier cabin stood. Children attending the Brant public school play in the meadow where Julian and Elizabeth Ulery were captured and under the large oak by the rivulet where Elizabeth gasped out her sweet, young life.

The murder of Andrew Harman, in the summer of 1777, was described in Chapter XVI. Mrs. Harman and her sons, Andrew, the eldest, aged fourteen, John and Philip, spent the next winter at William's Blockhouse, and returned, in the spring of 1778, to the farm on Four Mile Run. Soon after returning to the farm, the widow one morning sent John and Andrew to chase some horses of a neighbor from a field of growing grain near a curve in the stream. From behind the upturned roots of a large tree which the storms had blown down and which the waters of the creek had washed, three Seneca Indians lay in wait for the boys. They readily captured little John, but Andrew fled some distance towards the house before one of the Indians caught him. Taking their captives up the steep hill back of the creek, the Indians soon reached a point from which they could see the Harman cabin and hear the mother calling the boys. The boys dared not answer the mother's calls, and the Indians asked them whether there were any men at the cabin. Andrew replied that there were, but as a matter of fact there were not. This reply likely saved the mother and youngest son from capture or death. At length, they left with their captives and soon stole a horse and mare belonging to a neighbor named Johnson. Killing the mare, they placed some pelfry and their camp kettle on the horse and set off for the upper part of the Allegheny. They spent the first night on the hill near Fort Ligonier, so near in fact that both the Indians and boys heard voices of the garrison, to which the Indians listened intently. One of the Indians had the tobacco pouch of Mr. Harman, which the boys recognized, and he was no doubt a member of the band who killed the father during the preceding summer. Both John and Andrew were adopted by the Senecas,

Andrew being among them when Colonel Brodhead led his expedition up the Allegheny in the summer and autumn of 1779. John died among them about a year after his capture, but Andrew after two years was sold to a British officer for a bottle of rum, who took him to London where he was kept for another two years as a servant. At the end of the Revolutionary War, he was exchanged and sent to New York, from which place he immediately went to his old home in the Ligonier Valley, where he found his mother overjoyed to meet him. With transports of joy, she fell into his arms. In the words of a neighbor woman who was present at the time, Mrs. Harman "might have been washed in her tears." The news spread through the valley that little Andy Harman, who had been carried off years ago, was now in his mother's house; and on the following Sunday, the cabin home was filled the livelong day with neighbors and friends who came to greet him. The mother and son lived long together. Throughout his long life, Andrew was a great favorite at wood-choppings and clearings where it was his delight to entertain the young with the stories of his experiences among the Indians and to imitate the Red Men in their war dances.

Alexander Negley Family's Flight to Fort Ligonier

Alexander Negley was born in Frankfort, Germany, in 1734, a direct descendant of the Swiss reformer, Jahn Nageli, a contemporary of Zwingli and Martin Luther. His father, Jacob Negley, died and was buried at sea, in 1739, as he, his wife, his son, Alexander, and two other children, as well as his two brothers and their families, were crossing the ocean to America. The widow and her children settled in Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

At the age of 18, Alexander Negley was married to Mary Ann Berkstresser. He served in General Forbes' campaign against Fort Duquesne, and later at about the beginning of the Revolutionary War, came with his family to Westmoreland County, and settled on a farm which is now part of "Rachelwood," the country estate of his great-grandson, James R. Mellon, near New Florence. The Negley cabin stood between two oaks, about a mile from Mr. Mellon's mansion. Early in the Revolutionary War, Mr. Negley enlisted in Captain Samuel Moorehead's company of rangers, who, as we have seen, rendered notable service in guarding the Westmoreland frontier. Some of Moorehead's rangers were stationed at Fort Ligonier part of the time in the spring of 1778, although the company's principal station was Fort Hand.

About March 1, 1778, scouts reported at Fort Ligonier that Indians were burning the cabin homes in the direction of the Negley farm. Moorehead's rangers were then divided into small detachments and ordered to ride through the wilderness and gather the families into the fort. Alexander Negley, with several companions, rode towards his farm; but when he arrived at his home, he was riding alone, as his companions had left him in order to help families along the way. Quickly hitching a horse to a sled, in which he placed Mrs. Negley and their three small children, Elizabeth, aged 6, Margaret, aged 2, and Peter, aged 4, he instructed his wife to drive with all possible speed towards Fort Ligonier, ten miles away, while he, with the assistance of his son, Jacob, aged 12, would cover their flight. His eldest son, Felix, a soldier in the Revolutionary War, was absent at the time.

Mrs. Negley started out very bravely, her husband and Jacob riding just far enough back to keep the

sled in sight. Thus the flight continued for a few miles. Then Mr. Negley, fearing that the Indians would follow the tracks of the sled and horses in the snow and would deflect to the side in order to get ahead of Mrs. Negley and ambush her and the small children, directed Jacob to keep within easy rifle shot of the sled and to fire on the first Indian he saw. This order given, Mr. Negley concealed himself in a thicket, thinking that, if the Indians attacked Mrs. Negley and the children, he could quickly ride to their rescue; while, in case the Indians continued to follow the tracks in the snow, he would be able to kill some or perhaps all of them as they came along the trail. He thus hoped to anticipate the ambush which he feared the Indians were planning.

For a half hour he waited in the thicket. Then, fearing that the mother and children would get so far ahead that he would not be able to hear the rifle shots in case they were attacked, he was about to leave his place of concealment and ride after them, when he saw three Indians following the trail far down the valley, one being on horseback. Further waiting until the Indians came within range, he shot the horse. The rider, however, was uninjured, and the three Indians dodged behind trees and began firing at the thicket in which Mr. Negley was concealed. He returned their fire as rapidly as he could in order to make them believe that there were several men in the thicket. For half an hour the combat between one man and three was kept up without injury to any one, but to the great delight of Mr. Negley, as every moment gained meant that his wife and children were that much nearer the protecting stockade of Fort Ligonier.

Finally the Indians began to approach the thicket, dodging from tree to tree after each shot fired by the

courageous white man. He then mounted his horse and rode rapidly after the sled, keeping the thicket between him and the Indians. As soon as he was out of range, he checked the speed of his horse and looking back, saw that the Indians were following him. As soon as they came within range of his rifle, he fired on them, and they returned the fire. Thus for several miles, he kept up a running fight with his pursuers, and at length came within sight of the sled and Jacob, who was riding only a short distance behind it. By this time, Mrs. Negley and the children were within a mile of the fort, and the dusk of evening was fast gathering.

With only a mile between his family and safety and with no hill to climb, Mr. Negley believed it was time to make a final dash for the fort, whereupon he rode rapidly to within calling distance and directed Mrs. Negley to drive as fast as the horse could go. Both Mr. Negley and Jacob now dismounted, killed their horses to prevent their being taken by the Indians, and fought the Indians on foot almost all the way to the fort in the gloom of descending night, while Mrs. Negley and her children reached the place of refuge in safety. At one time during the flight, the heroic woman was delayed for about ten minutes while she repaired a shaft of the sled, which became broken when the horse, frightened by the reports of the rifles of the Indians and her husband and son, jumped to one side causing the sled to bump against a rock.

Happily neither Mr. Negley nor Jacob was wounded. At least one of the Indians felt the effects of Mr. Negley's fire, as blood stains were found on the snow the following day. The Negley family remained at Fort Ligonier for several months, during which time Mrs. Negley, on April 8, 1778, gave birth to a son,

John, later the head of the Negley family of Butler County.

On account of her terrible experience with the Indians, Mrs. Negley was unwilling to return to the Westmoreland County farm. During the summer of 1778, Alexander Negley, with his entire family, moved to the vicinity of Fort Pitt, where he purchased a farm of three hundred acres on the banks of the Allegheny, the site of the present Highland Park, Pittsburgh. He has many descendants in Pittsburgh and other parts of Western Pennsylvania, among them being his great-grandsons, Richard Beatty Mellon, James R. Mellon and Hon. Andrew W. Mellon, present Ambassador to England.

*Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment Marches Back to the
Defense of the Harried Western Frontier*

In Chapter XV, an account was given of the eastward march of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment to join Washington's army. Now we shall describe its march back over the mountains in the summer of 1778 to the defense of the harried western frontier. As stated in a former chapter, General Hand was relieved of command of the Western Department and Fort Pitt on May 2, 1778, and General Lachlan McIntosh was commissioned to succeed him. At the same time, the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment and the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment were detached from Washington's army at Valley Forge, and ordered to Fort Pitt, Colonel Daniel Brodhead commanding the former and Colonel William Crawford, the latter.

General McIntosh, with the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, left Valley Forge in May, and marched to Lancaster, where the Continental Congress was in session. However, about 100 troops of the Thirteenth

Virginia Regiment were already "at or near Fort Pitt" and the command of this regiment was given temporarily to Colonel John Gibson. The Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment left Valley Forge about the middle of June, and proceeded by way of Lancaster to Carlisle, at which place it arrived early on the 8th of July. In the meantime, the Thirteenth Virginia had reached Carlisle and pushed on over the mountains toward the Ohio, and General McIntosh waited at Carlisle until the arrival of the Eighth Pennsylvania. In the meantime, also, General McIntosh learned of the Wyoming Massacre of July 3 and of the other terrible Indian raids on the West Branch and North Branch of the Susquehanna, causing the "Great Runaway" of the settlers of the West Branch. Upon the arrival of the Eighth Pennsylvania, he ordered Colonel Daniel Brodhead to march up the Susquehanna, drive out the Indians, and encourage the settlers to return to their deserted plantations.

On July 12, Colonel Brodhead left Carlisle for the Susquehanna, with about three hundred and forty troops, marching in light order and leaving the pack horses and baggage at Carlisle. Several detachments, among whom was Captain Samuel Miller, had already been sent on the road to Fort Pitt, to secure recruits and to prepare supplies for the regiment. Colonel Brodhead, upon arriving at Fort Augusta, held by one hundred men, sent details up both branches of the Susquehanna. Major Richard Butler was sent up the North Branch to Nescopeck, with two companies; Captain John Finley was sent with one company into Penn's Valley, west of the Susquehanna; while Colonel Brodhead, with the rest of the command, advanced up the West Branch to Muncy. He wrote from Muncy, on July 24: "Great numbers of the inhabitants returned

upon my approach, and are now collected in large bodies, reaping their harvests." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 6, page 660.) Major Butler's and Colonel Brodhead's detachments had no opportunity for battle with the Indians; but Captain Finley's company had an engagement on July 24, near General James Potter's plantation in Penn's Valley, about nine miles southeast of Bellefonte, in which two soldiers and one Indian were killed.

Captain John Brady of the Twelfth Pennsylvania Regiment, father of the famous Captain Samuel Brady, had erected a stockade at Muncy; and here Samuel, who was then a lieutenant in the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, visited him and other members of the family while Brodhead's troops were in this region. At the end of July, the Eighth Pennsylvania was relieved by the Eleventh Pennsylvania, whereupon Colonel Brodhead's troops, Samuel Brady being with them, proceeded to Carlisle, at which place they arrived on August 6. (Pa. Archives Vol. 6, page 680.)

The regiment rested at Carlisle one week before taking up the march over the mountains to Fort Pitt. Just before it left, Lieutenant Samuel Brady received the sad news of the fatal wounding of his brother James, who was shot and speared by a band of Seneca and Munsee Indians at Peter Smith's settlement, about a mile below Williamsport, on August 8. He was carried on a litter to his parents' home at Sunbury, where he lingered in a delirium for five days, and died before his brother, Samuel, coming from Carlisle, arrived at the Brady home. Learning that it was the Munsee Delaware chief, Bald Eagle, who killed his youngest and favorite brother, Samuel Brady took a vow of eternal hatred against this chief and the whole Indian race—a vow that was repeated a little later, when the

Indians killed his father. In the summer of 1779, on the banks of the Allegheny, far far from the harvest field on the banks of the Susquehanna where Bald Eagle killed young James Brady, this Indian Chief was slain by the avenging brother, Samuel, as we shall see in Chapter XVIII. On account of his brother's death, Samuel Brady, was excused from accompanying his regiment to Fort Pitt, and spent the month of September in securing recruits in Cumberland County. Later he joined the regiment at Fort Pitt, and entered upon his brilliant career as a scout.

In the meantime, the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment lost one of its gallant officers, Captain Samuel Miller, of Miller's Station, about two miles northeast of Greensburg. As we have seen, Captain Miller was sent in advance of the regiment to raise recruits in Westmoreland County and to procure supplies for the western forts and stockades. On July 7, he and nine other men, most of whom were Continental soldiers, were bringing grain to Fort Hand from the surrounding neighborhood when they were attacked by a party of Indians, likely Senecas, who lay in wait for them. The Captain and seven of his companions were slain. They were scalped and stripped, and were buried where they fell; but the exact spot is now unknown. This frontier tragedy and the others we have described in this chapter show how the soil of "Old Westmoreland" drank the blood of its heroic defenders in the terrible summer of 1778. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 6, page 673.)

On August 13, the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment took up its march from Carlisle for Fort Pitt. Over the mountains came these Western Pennsylvanians to the defense of their homes and firesides, their suffering borderland, marching by way of Bedford, Fort Ligonier and Hannastown and arriving at Fort Pitt on

September 10, having been almost three months on the way from Valley Forge. Says Hassler, in his "Old Westmoreland:"

"After it [the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment] reached Bedford, it was in its own country. From that place to Pittsburgh, all along the line of march, there were many joyful reunions, and doubtless the travel-stained soldiers were well served with food and drink as they passed through Westmoreland. Yet many tearful women sat at the wayside cabins and sad-faced parents looked in vain for the familiar figures of beloved sons. Nearly three hundred of the stout frontier youths who marched away to the East to help Washington did not return to the defense of their own borderland."

In the meantime, in the summer of 1778, Colonel William Crawford, of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, erected a fort on the east bank of the Allegheny, just above the mouth of Puckety Creek and within the limits of the present town of Parnassus. This fort was intended to cover the Indian trail which crossed the Allegheny at the ford near the mouth of the creek—a trail which the hostile Indians used many times in entering Westmoreland County. It was also a place of refuge for the surrounding inhabitants and a headquarters for scouts. It was garrisoned from time to time by both Continental soldiers and militia. It was called Fort Crawford in honor of its builder.

Treaty of Alliance With the Delawares

The Delawares of the Turkey and Turtle Clans on the Tuscarawas and Muskingum, owing principally to the influence of White Eyes, having maintained neutrality between the Americans and the British, during the early years of the Revolutionary War, and this

remarkable chieftain having shown an intelligent sympathy with the American cause and expressed the hope that the Delaware Nation might form the fourteenth state in the American union, Congress, in June, 1778, ordered a treaty to be held at Fort Pitt, on July 23, for the purpose of forming an alliance with these Indians, and requested Virginia to choose two commissioners and Pennsylvania, one for this purpose. Pennsylvania neglected to choose a commissioner, although Colonel George Morgan had solicited such appointment; but Virginia appointed General Andrew Lewis, the conqueror of Cornstalk, at Point Pleasant, and his brother, Thomas Lewis, a civilian. The time of the treaty was postponed to September, owing to the inability of the American troops to reach Fort Pitt in July.

Messengers were sent to the Shawnees, inviting them to come to the treaty with the Delawares; but they declined, except a small band under Ninwha, who lived with the Delawares at Coshocton. One of the messengers sent to the Shawnees was James Girty, brother of the notorious Simon Girty. James did not return from his mission, but deserted the Americans.

The main purpose the Americans had in mind in making an alliance with the Delawares was that the American troops might not be opposed by this powerful Indian tribe in a contemplated march against Detroit through the three hundred miles of wilderness west of Fort Pitt.

When Colonel Brodhead and his troops, the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, reached Fort Pitt, on September 10, they found the wigwams of the Delawares pitched near the shore of the Allegheny a short distance above the fort. The conference began on September 12, and the treaty was signed on the 17th. Besides

White Eyes, the Delawares were represented by Killbuck (John Killbuck, Jr., or Gelelemend, i. e., a leader), successor to New Comer of the Turtle Clan, Captain Pipe, successor to Custaloga, of the Wolf Clan, and Wingunund, the Delaware "wise man." These three chiefs appeared at the councils, in all their gaudy attire, painted, feathered, and beaded; while General McIntosh and his staff officers attended in new uniforms. The interpreter was Job Chilloway, a Delaware from the Susquehanna, who had learned the English language from having lived for a number of years among the white people.

General Lewis advised the Delaware chiefs of the intention to send an army against the British at Detroit, and asked the permission of the Delawares for the army to pass through the territory over which they claimed control.

By the terms of the treaty as finally concluded, all offenses were mutually forgiven; a perpetual friendship was pledged; each party agreed to assist the other in any just war; the Delawares gave permission for an American army to pass through their territory, bounded on the east by French Creek, the Allegheny and the Ohio as far as the Hockhocking, and agreed to furnish meat, corn, warriors and guides for the army. Afterwards General McIntosh made requisition upon the Delawares for two Captains and sixty warriors, one of the Captains being Killbuck. The United States agreed to erect and garrison a fort, within the Delaware country, for the protection of the old men, women, and children; and each party agreed to punish offenses committed by citizens of the other, according to a system to be arranged later. The United States promised the establishment of fair and honest trade relations; and lastly, the United States guaranteed the integrity of

the Delaware nation, and promised to admit it as a state of the American Union, "provided nothing contained in this article be considered as conclusive until it meets the approbation of congress." With reference to the promise to admit the Delaware nation as a state of the Union, the commissioners must have known that this was an impossibility.

But the guileless White Eyes never suspected that he and his people were being imposed upon. Said he: "Brothers, we are become one people. We [the Delawares], are at a loss to express our thoughts, but we hope soon to convince you by our actions of the sincerity of our hearts. We now inform you that as many of our warriors as can possibly be spared will join you and go with you."

At this treaty, White Eyes requested that Colonel John Gibson be appointed as Continental Indian agent, saying: "He has always acted an honest part by us." This request of the great Delaware chief was, of course, a reflection on Colonel George Morgan, then Indian agent. Morgan was in Philadelphia at the time of the treaty, and when he learned of its terms, he denounced it as very improper and villainous. Killbuck, who succeeded White Eyes upon the latter's death soon after, sent word to Colonel Morgan that he had not agreed with White Eyes in asking for the appointment of Colonel Gibson.

This treaty was signed by the Delaware chiefs, White Eyes, Captain Pipe and John Killbuck. On the part of the United States, it was signed by General Andrew Lewis and his brother Thomas Lewis. It was witnessed by General Lachlan McIntosh, Colonel Daniel Brodhead, Colonel William Crawford, Colonel John Gibson, Major Arthur Graham, Captain Joseph L. Finley, Captain John Finley, John Camp-

bell, John Stephenson and Benjamin Mills. Its proceedings are found in the manuscript letter book of Colonel George Morgan, then Indian Agent at Fort Pitt.

The great courage of White Eyes in forming this alliance with the Americans is seen when it is recalled that all the other western tribes were on the side of the British, and, for some time had been endeavoring, by solicitation and threats, to draw all the Delawares into a British alliance. Colonel Hamilton, the "hair-buyer" was still at the height of his career in sending war parties against the frontier settlements.

*General McIntosh Erects Forts McIntosh and Laurens—
His March to the Tuscarawas—Fort Laurens
Garrison Threatened With Starvation*

When General McIntosh arrived at Fort Pitt early in August, 1778, as commander of that post and the western department, the line of the frontier that he was to defend extended from Fort Hand in the north-western part of Westmoreland County to Fort Randolph at the mouth of the Kanawha, the present Point Pleasant, West Virginia. At that time, in all the region west of the Allegheny Mountains, there were only three posts occupied by Continental troops—Fort Pitt, Fort Hand and Fort Randolph. Of course, as has been seen, there were scores of smaller places of refuge and defense from the shores of the Ohio to the Laurel Hill, some of which, such as Fort Ligonier, were occupied all the time by local militia, and others occupied only at such times as they were restored to by settlers when Indian raids took place or when alarm swept over the region.

The plan of General McIntosh for the protection of the western frontier was to capture Detroit. Immedi-

ately after the treaty of alliance with the Delawares, he began preparations for an expedition against this stronghold of the British and their Indian allies. He ordered that a number of store-houses for provisions, which had been built at public expense and were difficult of access, being scattered through the western country, be abandoned, as it required too many men to guard them and the provisions therein stored and intended for use in the proposed expedition were spoiled. In place of these, he built one general store-house "in the fork of the Monongahela River," where all loads of provisions from over the mountains could be placed, without crossing any large branch of this river. About October 1, his army of approximately thirteen hundred troops was ready to advance, five hundred of whom were regulars of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment and the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment and the rest being militia mostly from the Virginia counties of Augusta, Yohogania, Monongalia, Ohio, Berkeley, Botetourt, Frederick and Rockingham.

McIntosh now opened a new road to the mouth of the Beaver, the old road followed by Colonel Bouquet in 1764 having become unfit for use. The new road, later known as the "Brodhead Road," followed the south shore of the Ohio. Descending the Ohio from Fort Pitt, his troops, by fatigue of the whole line, erected Fort McIntosh, just below the mouth of the Beaver and on the high bluff overlooking the Ohio, the site of the present town of Beaver. Four weeks were spent in erecting this fort, the first fort erected by the United States in the Indian country west of the Ohio. Colonel William Crawford, who commanded the militia of the western counties of Virginia in this campaign, had virtual charge of erecting this fort, whose plans were drawn by the competent engineer,

Le Chev'r de Cambray. Here the regulars and the militia assembled for the dash through the Ohio wilderness to Detroit, and as early as October 8, McIntosh removed the headquarters of his army from Fort Pitt to the new fort. The want of necessary supplies prevented an immediate forward movement. On November 3, cattle from east of the mountains arrived, but could not be slaughtered for want of salt.

But before leading his army from the shores of the Ohio to the shores of the Tuscarawas, General McIntosh, in order that the western frontier might not be defenseless while the army was in the Indian country, the county lieutenants of the Virginia counties of Ohio and Monongalia were authorized to raise jointly a ranging company to scout along the Ohio River from the mouth of the Beaver to the mouth of the Kanawha; and Colonel Archibald Lochry, county lieutenant of Westmoreland County, was given authority to raise two companies of rangers to scour the frontiers on the north. Besides, independent companies had been raised to garrison Fort Pitt, Fort Hand and Fort Randolph. At that time it was part of McIntosh's plan soon to evacuate these three forts. The Westmoreland companies were long in being raised. Colonel Lochry reported to President Reed on July 20, 1779, that they were "nearly compleated" at that time and were "at the Kittanning or scouting in that neighborhood." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 7, page 565.)

Alarming intelligence from the Indian country now reached General McIntosh. Furthermore, he was accused of tardiness by his sixty Delaware Indian allies. Then on November 5, the march westward began, with twelve hundred troops. One company was left at Fort McIntosh under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Campbell, of the Thirteenth Virginia Regi-

ment, to follow with the supplies as soon as they would arrive. On November 19, the army arrived at the Tuscarawas, having consumed fourteen days in marching about seventy miles. The slow progress was caused by the "horses and cattle tiring every four or five miles." McIntosh had believed that he would meet the enemy on the banks of the Tuscarawas; but he found only a few Delawares from Coshocton and a few Moravian Delawares. These were friendly, and he was told that the gathering of hostile Indians to oppose him had been abandoned.

Having been informed that the necessary supplies for the winter had not arrived at Fort McIntosh and that very meagre supplies could be expected, the General decided that further advance was out of the question and that he should return as he came. But in order to impress upon the hostile Wyandots, Miamis and Shawnees his determination to retain a foothold in their country, he further decided to erect a fort on the Tuscarawas and to garrison it adequately. Accordingly he erected Fort Laurens, named in honor of Henry Laurens, president of the Continental Congress. This was the first fort erected by the United States within the bounds of the present state of Ohio. It covered a little less than an acre of ground, and was located on the west bank of the Tuscarawas, below the mouth of Sandy Creek, a short distance below the present town of Bolivar and almost on the site of the fort which Colonel Bouquet erected in the autumn of 1764. The engineer in its construction was Cambray.

Leaving a garrison of one hundred and fifty troops of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, under command of Colonel John Gibson, to put the finishing touches on the fort and to defend it against the enemy, the General returned to Fort McIntosh with the main part of

his army, where the militia were discharged "precipitately." McIntosh now made such disposition of his Continental troops and independent companies as, in his judgment, would best protect the western frontier and facilitate operations the following spring. He assigned the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment to Fort Pitt and the residue of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment and the independent companies to Fort Randolph, Fort Henry, Fort McIntosh, Fort Hand and a few smaller posts.

The garrison at Fort Laurens spent a terrible winter, being short of supplies and it being impossible to hunt game on account of the hostile Wyandots, Shawnees, Miamis and Mingoës. About the middle of January, 1779, Samuel Sample, an assistant quartermaster, was sent to the Delaware town of Coshocton for corn and other supplies. One of his men was killed and another desperately wounded by treacherous Delawares. About the end of January, Captain John Clark, of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, arrived with a detachment carrying supplies. Two days later he set out on his return to the Ohio, when he was attacked three miles from the fort by Simon Girty and seventeen Mingoës. Two of his soldiers were killed, four were wounded and one was captured by the renegade and his Indians. General McIntosh, writing from Fort Pitt on January 29, informed Colonel Archibald Lochry of this attack on Captain Clark's detachment and also told him that word had reached Fort Pitt that the Mingoës intended to strike the inhabitants in the vicinity of Fort Ligonier and Blacklegs Creek, and warned him to be on his guard. A few days later, Clark again set out. This time he succeeded in reaching the Ohio without molestation. In the meantime, Girty took his prisoner to Detroit, raised

a much larger force of Indians and returned to the vicinity of Fort Laurens.

About the middle of February, the fort was surrounded by 200 Indians, mostly Miamis and Mingoes, led by Simon Girty and Captain Henry Bird, who began a siege of the place. Colonel Gibson succeeded in sending a messenger through the Indian lines to General McIntosh, then at Fort Pitt, informing him of the situation. "You may depend on my defending the fort to the last extremity," wrote Gibson to his commander. On February 23, a wagoner with an escort of 18 soldiers was sent out to haul wood into the stockade. About half a mile from the fort, while passing an ancient Indian mound behind which Mingoes and Miamis lay in ambush, the wagoner and escort were fired upon by the lurking enemy, and all were killed and scalped except two, who were captured. The siege now was intensified, and the straits of the garrison became desperate. A quarter of a pound of sour flour and an equal amount of spoiled meat constituted the daily ration. A dash through the lines of the enemy was contemplated, but was given up when a count of the Indians was made as they were seen passing over the crest of a hill within plain view of the garrison. Eight hundred and fifty warriors were counted. But years afterward it was learned that the actual number was only 200 and that they had marched around the farther base of the hill, thus showing themselves in a long, single file four or five times over.

After this stratagem, Girty and Bird sent word to Colonel Gibson that if he would surrender, he and his garrison would be given safe conduct to Fort McIntosh. Gibson sternly refused. Soon the enemy, too, began to feel the pangs of hunger, and sent word to Colonel Gibson that they would withdraw if he would give

them a barrel of meat and a barrel of flour. Gibson then gave them the meat and flour, telling Girty and Bird that he had a large supply of both. The Indians then withdrew to their villages. On March 19, General McIntosh, with 300 regulars from Fort Pitt and Fort McIntosh and 200 militia hastily raised from the counties west of the Laurel Hill, left Fort McIntosh with a supply of provisions for Fort Laurens, arriving at the latter post on March 23. Colonel Gibson's soldiers were so overjoyed that they fired a volley, as they had been living for some time on soup made of raw hides and roots. But the firing of the salute frightened the pack horses, and they dashed off through the woods, scattering the provisions, only about half of which the troops were able to gather up. McIntosh called a council of war to decide whether or not to march against the Wyandot towns on the Sandusky. But the project being unanimously opposed, the General marched back to Fort McIntosh, leaving a garrison at Fort Laurens of one hundred and six troops of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, under command of Major Frederick Vernon.

Before making this last march to Fort Laurens, General McIntosh, realizing that he was a failure as a frontier officer, asked General Washington to relieve him of his command. Washington complied with this request, and then named Colonel Daniel Brodhead, of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, as commander of Fort Pitt and the western department. On his return to Fort Pitt, on April 3, 1779, McIntosh received notification of his release from command. Soon afterwards, he left for Philadelphia. Colonel Brodhead, upon taking command early in April, transferred his headquarters from Fort McIntosh to Fort Pitt. He never was in favor of erecting either Fort Mc-

Intosh or Fort Laurens, considering the erecting of the former post useless and the latter foolish. The former he called "McIntosh's hobby-horse." However, General Washington approved the erection of both these forts.

Scarcely had the command of Fort Laurens been turned over to Major Vernon when Indians again made their appearance in the vicinity. Soon they killed two of his soldiers out of a party of forty who were outside the fort gathering fire-wood. Soon, too, the garrison became short of provisions. Major Vernon wrote Colonel Brodhead on April 29: "Should you not send us provisions in a very short time, necessity will oblige us to begin on some cow-hides the Indians left." About the middle of May, the greater part of the garrison had to be sent to Fort Pitt, or they would have perished by starvation, as no provisions had arrived. Major Vernon (called Varnum in Brodhead's report in Pa. Archives, Vol. 7, page 465) held the fort with only twenty-five privates until May 26, living on herbs, salt and cow-hides, on which date a supply of provisions arrived from Fort Pitt, escorted by a detachment of 150 regulars under command of Captain Robert Beall, of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment. Colonel Brodhead sent this detachment by a "new route," following the Ohio to the mouth of Cross Creek, just below Steubenville, thence to Fort Laurens. About the middle of June, the fort was relieved by seventy-five troops, well supplied with provisions, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell. Major Vernon then returned to Fort Pitt, leaving Colonel Campbell in command; but his detachment of twenty-five soldiers was left at Fort McIntosh. After being again threatened by a large force of Indians, Fort Laurens was evacuated early in August by orders of Colonel Brodhead



Colonel Daniel Brodhead, commander of Fort Pitt and the Western Department from April, 1779 until about November 1, 1781.

—Courtesy Hon. Daniel Brodhead Heiner, Kittanning, Pa., a descendant of General Brodhead.

to its then commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Campbell, dated at Pittsburgh on July 30. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 12, page 141.)

In a letter to President Reed, dated at Fort Pitt on June 5, 1779, Colonel Brodhead complains bitterly of the failure of the Westmoreland County military authorities to provide horses to carry supplies to Fort Laurens when the garrison was almost starved, as follows:

“How a part of my Regiment was circumstanced at Fort Laurens, I have already mentioned. Under these circumstances, as Westmoreland County had twice refused or neglected to send out men under Gen. McIntosh, I conceived they would readily send out a few Horses for the relief of their Countrymen and accordingly demanded fifty Horses from that County. But my men might have perished for them: Not a Horse did they furnish; and had I not suspected them from their former Conduct and ordered some of the State’s Horses, my officers & soldiers must have perished, which they would have done before they would evacuate without orders.” (Pa. Archives, Vol. 7, pages 465 to 468.)

Murder of White Eyes

On General McIntosh’s first march to the Tuscarawas, White Eyes, according to Hassler’s “Old Westmoreland” and other authorities, was treacherously put to death, it is believed, by a Virginia militiaman. However, Heckewelder and DeSchweinitz say he died of small-pox at the camp on the Tuscarawas on November 10, 1778. Both the “Handbook of American Indians” and Loskiel’s “History of the Moravian Missions” say the cause of the great chief’s death was small-pox, and both erroneously give the place of his death as Pittsburgh.

Says DeSchweinitz: "Where his [White Eyes'] remains are resting, no man knows; the plowshare has often furrowed his grave. But his name lives; and the Christian may hope that in the resurrection of the just, he, too will be found among the great multitude redeemed out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation."

*Colonel James Smith Leads Westmorelanders on Expedition
Against Indian Town on French Creek*

We, at this point, give a short account of the expedition of Westmoreland militia against the Indians on French Creek, likely Munsee Delawares or Senecas. General McIntosh had learned that many of the atrocities in Westmoreland County were perpetrated by Indian dwellers on French Creek; and when he was at Fort Laurens, in November, 1778, he ordered one hundred and fifty Westmoreland militia to march as secretly as possible to the "forks of the Allegheny river" to endeavor to destroy these Indians. He reported to General Washington, on January 11, 1779, that the militia reached a point within "ten miles of the savages, when they returned without seeing the face of a single Indian."

Colonel James Smith, whose name runs through a number of pages in this history, was the leader of this expedition, the first of considerable size to be sent against the Indians northward from Fort Pitt. Smith, in his "Narrative," says that there were four hundred militia in this expedition, whereas, as noted above, General McIntosh says that there were one hundred and fifty. Smith's statement, written many years after the expedition, is likely a slip of memory. After telling how the expedition left the "camp opposite Fort Pitt," on November 29, Smith goes on to say:

“We were poorly equipped, and scarce of provision. We marched in three columns, forty rod from each other. There were also flankers on the outside of each column, that marched abreast in the rear, in scattered order; and even in the columns the men were one rod apart; and in the front the volunteers marched abreast in the same manner of the flankers, scouting the woods. In case of an attack, the officers were immediately to order the men to face out and take trees; in this position, the Indians could not avail themselves by surrounding us, or have an opportunity of shooting a man from either side of the tree. If attacked, the centre column was to reinforce whatever part appeared to require it most. When we encamped, our encampment formed a hollow square, including about thirty or forty acres; on the outside of the square, there were sentinels placed, whose business it was to watch for the enemy and see that neither horses nor bullocks went out; and when we encamped, if any attacks were made by an enemy, each officer was immediately to order the men to face out and take trees, as before mentioned; and in this form, they could not take advantage by surrounding us, as they commonly had done when they fought the whites.

“In this manner, we proceeded on to French Creek, where we found the Indian town evacuated. I then went on further than my orders called for, in quest of Indians; but our provision being nearly exhausted, we were obliged to return. On our way back, we met with considerable difficulties on account of high waters and scarcity of provisions; yet we never lost one horse excepting some that gave out.

“After peace was made with the Indians, I met with some of them in Pittsburgh, and enquired of them in their own tongue concerning this expedition, not letting

them know I was there. They told me that they watched the movements of this army ever since they had left Fort Pitt, and as they passed through the glades or barrens, they [the Indians] had a full view of them from the adjacent hills, and computed their number to be about one thousand. They said they also examined their camps, both before and after they had gone, and found they could not make an advantageous attack, and therefore moved off from their town and hunting ground before we arrived."

We make the following comments relating to this expedition: Smith does not shed any light on the course followed by this expedition, but it seems clear from his "Narrative" that the starting place was the "camp opposite Fort Pitt." Probably the line of march led down the Ohio to Logstown, thence by way of the Venango Indian Trail to the mouth of French Creek; although it is probable that the line of march was up the right bank of the Allegheny to the mouth of Pine Creek, thence along that branch of the Venango Indian Trail which led up Pine Creek to its headwaters, thence over the divide to the headwaters of Breakneck Creek, thence down this creek and joining the main branch of the Venango Trail likely somewhere in the region between Harmony and Amberson's Bridge on the Conoquenessing, in Butler County. Nor is it clear just what Indian town on French Creek was the object of this expedition, whether the Munsee Delaware town, sometimes called Custaloga's Town, at the mouth of Deer Creek, or the Munsee Delaware town, also called Custaloga's Town, located where Meadville now stands. The Munsee chief, Custaloga, resided in both these towns. Perhaps, too, the expedition was intended to attack Senecas residing where Franklin now stands. It will be noted that Smith says he afterwards talked

"in their own tongue" to Indians who watched the march of this expedition. It is clear that Smith spoke Delaware fluently by reason of his long captivity among members of this tribe, but there is no recorded evidence that he spoke the Seneca language. In addition to his other experiences mentioned in this volume, this interesting frontier character also served in Bouquet's expedition of 1764, as lieutenant. He removed from Westmoreland to Bourbon County, Kentucky, in 1788. Having represented Bourbon County in the Kentucky legislature for several terms, he died in Washington County in said state soon after the War of 1812.

Association For Defense of Fort Ligonier

We close this chapter by calling attention to the fact that Thomas Galbraith, writing from Lancaster to Colonel Hambricht, on May 20, 1778, informed him that he (Galbraith) left Fort Ligonier on May 2; that the settlers in the neighborhood of the fort had entered into an association to defend the place while their provisions and ammunition should last; that they had provisions for one month only; that they had only one pound of powder and one pound of lead per man; that the Forbes Road had for some time been shut by the Indians, thus preventing supplies from being brought to the fort. Such were the conditions at historic Fort Ligonier at the time when it was decided to send the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment across the mountains to the defense of the western frontier. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 6, page 532.)

CHAPTER XVIII

Fort Ligonier and Western Pennsylvania in the Revolutionary War (Continued)

(1779)

*Brodhead at Fort Pitt—Northern Line of Defense Extends
From Fort Ligonier to Fort Armstrong*

When Colonel Daniel Brodhead took command of Fort Pitt and the western department, early in April, 1779, General McIntosh transferred to him not only the garrison of this post but the small garrisons at Forts Randolph, Henry, Laurens, McIntosh and Hand. The total number of troops transferred to the new commander was 722—regulars of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment and Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, and militia. About the middle of April, Brodhead sent Lieutenant Lawrence Harrison, of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, formerly one of "Gibson's Lambs," with a small force to occupy Fort Crawford, which, as was seen in Chapter XVII, was erected where Parnassus now stands, by Colonel William Crawford, in the summer of 1778. Fort Crawford and Fort Hand were intended to protect the northern Westmoreland frontier from raids of the Senecas and Munsees, and the garrison at Fort Crawford was instructed to scout along Puckety Creek, the Allegheny and the Kiskiminetas as far as Fort Hand.

General Washington, realizing how largely the Revolutionary War was being fought on the frontier of

Western Pennsylvania and the importance and necessity of defending this region against the incursions of the Indian allies of the British, decided to send Colonel Moses Rawlings' corps of three companies from Fort Frederick, Maryland, to assist in protecting the exposed western settlements, and, at the same time, by erecting forts at Venango and Kittanning, to promote co-operation of troops from Fort Pitt with General John Sullivan's expedition against the Six Nations, then being planned. Although the plan to send troops from Fort Pitt to join Sullivan's army and to erect the two forts was soon abandoned, yet the march of Rawlings' corps was not countermanded. Rawling's troops arrived in Westmoreland before the end of May, giving courage and confidence to the inhabitants, who had been defending their settlements by raising the two companies of rangers under the authority given Colonel Archibald Lochry by General McIntosh in the autumn of 1778. Militia from Cumberland County also soon arrived in Westmoreland. Fort Randolph, being garrisoned by only twenty-nine troops and being far from the settlements, was ordered to be evacuated. Its garrison arrived at Fort Pitt about June 1. Soon after this fort was evacuated, it was burned by the Indians. Fort Henry, at Wheeling, now marked the southern line of defense in the western department.

On June 16, Brodhead sent Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen Bayard, of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, with one hundred and twenty Continentals, to erect a stockade fort at Kittanning, it being his opinion that a garrison of considerable size, stationed at Kittanning, would afford better protection against the attacks of Senecas from the north than small forts and blockhouses scattered through the settlements. The

fort at Kittanning was soon completed, and named Fort Armstrong in honor of General John Armstrong, who had destroyed the Indian town of Kittanning during the French and Indian War. Fort Armstrong stood below the present Kittanning, within the limits of the present Manorville.

After the erection of Fort Armstrong, the line of defense on the north extended from this post to Fort Ligonier, including Fort Hand, Fort Crawford, Carnahan's Blockhouse and a number of other places of refuge and defense; and in spite of Brodhead's continued effort to protect the Westmoreland settlements, the Senecas and other hostile Indians stole through the forest past the forts and murdered families in their homes and men at work in their fields. "The Indians sometimes take a scalp from us, but my light parties, which I dress and paint like savages, have retaliated in several instances," Brodhead wrote on August 6.

Colonel Brodhead was held in great esteem by those members of the Delaware tribe, the Turtle and Turkey Clans, who were friendly to the United States. On April 9, 1779, a number of friendly Delaware chiefs, at a council at Fort Pitt, conferred on him the Delaware name of "Maghingua Keeshuck," meaning "The Great Moon." Among the chiefs present on this occasion, were Captain Johnny, or Straight Arm, of the Turkey Clan, and Killbuck, or Gelelemend, also known as Captain Henry, of the Turtle Clan. Killbuck was a grandson of the great New Comer. In consequence of his friendship for the Colonel Brodhead and the United States, he incurred the hatred of the war faction among the Delawares, which continued even after the general peace concluded between the Delawares and the United States by the Treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795.

At this point, before taking up Brodhead's expedition against the Senecas and other major events in his career as commander of Fort Pitt and the western department, we turn our eyes to Westmoreland to behold scenes of blood and death in the cabin homes of the pioneers.

*Brush Creek Massacre—Other Atrocities in Westmoreland
and Attack on Fort Hand—Prowess of Mrs.
Experience Bozarth*

In Chapter XVII, we saw that General McIntosh, on January 29, 1779, informed Colonel Archibald Lochry that word had been received at Fort Pitt that hostile Indians from Ohio were planning to invade the Westmoreland settlements. The blow, planned by the Indian allies of the British, was soon struck. It fell upon the Pennsylvania-German settlers on Brush Creek, about twenty miles east of Pittsburgh, on February 26. Eighteen persons—men, women and children—were either killed or carried into captivity. The details of this winter raid will likely remain forever unknown, hidden in the mists of the far, dim years. The historian calls for the details, but the only answer is the echo of his cry. General McIntosh, in his report to General Washington, on March 12, gives no more than what we have just related. Probably the Indians entered Westmoreland by way of Puckety Creek, crossing the Allegheny at the mouth of this stream. (Butterfield's "Washington-Irvine Correspondence," page 38.)

It was probably during this same incursion that members of the family of William Marshall met death at the hands of the Indians, near the Long Run Presbyterian Church, in North Huntingdon Township. Their dust now reposes in the cemetery of this pioneer con-

gregation, but the inscription on the tombstone has long since been destroyed by the frosts of many winters.

"The Indians seem to have taken quarters in Westmoreland, but they lost one of their scalps yesterday," wrote Colonel Brodhead, on April 14. Soon thereafter, a band of Senecas entered the Ligonier Valley, killed one man, and carried two families into captivity.

On April 26, Fort Hand garrisoned by seventeen men under Captain Samuel Moorhead and Lieutenant William Jack, afterwards Judge Jack, was attacked, possibly by the same band, estimated to be one hundred strong. At one o'clock in the afternoon, the Indians fired upon two ploughmen, who escaped to the fort. Then the fort was attacked, several women within making bullets while the riflemen fired at the Indians. The firing was kept up until nightfall. In the meantime, three of the garrison were wounded, one of them fatally. This was Sergeant Philip McGraw, an old Irishman, who occupied a sentry box. He died in a few days. After McGraw had been shot and removed, a man named McCauley, who took his place, was also wounded.

During the night, the Indians shot at the fort, and mimicked the sentinel's cry, "All's well." At midnight, they set fire to John McKibbon's deserted house near the fort, which had been occupied for some time by William McLaughlin, and the Tories among them cried: "Is all well now?" During the night, a messenger was sent to Fort Pitt for aid. The Indians gave up the siege the next forenoon, and forty soldiers who were hurried from Fort Pitt, arrived too late to intercept them. Small cannon-balls have been plowed up near the site of Fort Hand, thus indicating that small cannon were mounted on its walls. (Pa. Ar-

chives, Vol. 7, pages 362 and 363; also Dr. Lyman C. Draper's Manuscript and Butterfield's "Washington-Irvine Correspondence," pages 39 and 40.)

Charles Clifford lived on Mill Creek, about two and one-half miles northward from Ligonier. On April 22, 1779, he and his two sons went to work in the field. Leaving his sons to continue the work, he went in search of his horses. After searching for sometime without success, he reached the Forbes Road leading to the stockade near Laughlintown, when five Indians who lay concealed behind a log, shot at him. One bullet splintered his gun and cut his face, which bled freely, but otherwise he was unharmed. The Indians believed that Clifford was protected by the Great Spirit. They approached him, wiped the blood from his face, and told him that they were glad that they had not killed him. They then took him along with them, and when they had reached a point near Fairfield, Westmoreland County, they met fifty-two others proceeding northward, having with them a prisoner named Peter Maharg. The chief of this band wore many silver trinkets on his head and arms. After a while the two bands separated, Clifford going with one, and Maharg with the other. Clifford was carried to the Seneca region on the headwaters of the Allegheny, and after six weeks, was delivered to the British at Montreal. He was well liked by the British officers, and from one he secured a compass, which he gave to James Flock, who with it made his way back to his home in Westmoreland, where he had been captured sometime before. After two and one-half years, Clifford was exchanged and returned to his home in the Ligonier Valley.

Colonel George Reading, writing President Reed from Fort Ligonier, April 26, 1779, says that on that

day the Indians "made a breach upon us, killed one man, took another prisoner, another man is missing;" that two families living some distance from the fort were evidently captured or killed. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 7, page 345.)

The dreadful situation of the Westmoreland settlers during that spring is seen further in the following statement in a letter sent to President Reed by Archibald Lochry, from Hannastown, on May 1: "The savages are continually making depredations among us. Not less than forty people have been killed, wounded, or captured this spring, and the enemy have killed our creatures within three hundred yards of this town." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 7, page 362.)

The scene now shifts to the present Greene County. About the middle of March, 1779, several families who were afraid to remain in their isolated homes, gathered at the house of Mrs. Experience Bozarth, on Dunkard Creek. About April 1, a band of Indians, likely Shawnees or Wyandots, made an attack upon the house, when all the men except two were absent. Some of the children, who were playing near the house, came running in great haste, saying that "there were ugly red men." One of the men in the house stepped to the door, receiving a bullet in his side, causing him to fall back into the house. The Indian who shot him came in over his prostrate body, and engaged the other man in the house. This man tossed the Indian on a bed, and called for a knife to kill him. Mrs. Bozarth not finding a knife took up an axe that lay nearby, and with it knocked out the brains of this Indian. At the same instant, a second Indian entered the door, and shot the man dead who was struggling with the Indian on the bed. Mrs. Bozarth immediately attacked this second

Indian with her axe, giving him several large gashes which let his entrails appear. He bawled with pain. Then one of several other Indians who had been engaged in killing the children out of doors, rushed to the relief of the wounded Indian, and Mrs. Bozarth split his head open with her axe as he came through the door. Another Indian dragged the wounded and bel-lowing savage out of doors; whereupon Mrs. Bozarth with the assistance of the man who had been shot, but by this time was a little recovered, shut the door and fastened it. The inmates of the house kept garrison for several days until a relief party arrived. In the meantime, the dead white man and the dead Indian were both in the house with them.

*Captain Samuel Brady as Brodhead's Scout—His Revenge—
Rescues the Henry Children*

Colonel Brodhead, soon after taking command of the western department, put into operation a system of scouting from one fort to another in the western region. The scouts were selected from the boldest and most experienced frontiersmen under his command. Their captains were Van Swearingen, John Hardin and Samuel Brady.

Soon after Samuel Brady was appointed one of the leaders of Brodhead's scouts, he received another crushing blow. On April 11, 1779, his father, Captain John Brady, was conveying supplies from Fort Wallis to Fort Muncy, when three Iroquois Indians, secreted in a thicket, shot him dead from his horse.

The body of Captain John Brady was buried in an old graveyard near Halls, Lycoming County, where a heavy granite marker was erected at his grave, bearing the following inscription:

Captain John Brady
Fell in Defense of Our Forefathers
At Wolf Run, April 11, 1779,
Aged Forty-six Years

One hundred years after his death, funds were raised for the erection of a large monument to his memory in the cemetery at Muncy, the shaft being unveiled on October 15, 1879.

When Captain Samuel Brady received the news of the murder of his father, it is said that, in a frenzy of grief, he renewed the vow taken after the murder of his brother, raising his hand on high, and saying:

“Aided by Him Who formed yonder sun and heavens, I will avenge the murder of my father; nor while I live, will I ever be at peace with the Indians of any tribe.”

Samuel Brady did not have long to wait for an opportunity to avenge the murder of his brother and father. Early in June, 1779, three soldiers whom Colonel Brodhead had sent to scout in the Seneca country on the upper Allegheny, returned from Venango, being pursued by a number of Munsees and Senecas until a point below Kittanning and barely escaping with their lives. The Indian band entered Westmoreland County, killing a soldier between Fort Crawford and Fort Hand, attacking the settlement at James Perry's Mill on Big Sewickley Creek and the Pennsylvania-Germans in the Harrold's Settlement, in Hempfield Township. Several children of a settler named Haines were killed in this raid, not far from Harrold's Lutheran and Reformed churches. Also Mrs. Frederick Heinrich (Henry) and her babe were murdered and two of her children carried into captivity. The Henry home was located on the present John G. Miller farm, about two miles north of the Harrold's churches. (Pa. Ar-

chives, Vol. 7, page 505; Butterfield's "Washington-Irvine Correspondence," page 41.)

The attack on the home of Frederick Henry is thus described in Rev. W. A. Zundel's "History of Old Zion Lutheran Church:"

"Frederick Henry (Heinrich), of Northampton, Burlington County, New Jersey, settled, shortly after 1770, in the Herold settlement [in Hempfield Township, Westmoreland County]. In time, the new settlers cleared some land and erected a house and stables. Four children cheered this lonely settlement. During the spring of 1779, when the husband, Frederick Henry, was compelled to leave home to take some grist to a distant mill, a band of Indians, perhaps Senecas, descended upon the helpless home.

"As was their custom, the Indians sneaked up to the house to ascertain if the men were home and on guard. Now, the Henrys had a large cock that frequently came to the door of the home to be fed. Mrs. Henry, seeing some feathers moving near the door, sent one of the children to shoo away the big rooster; whereupon the Indians, decked out in the feathers of their war head-gear, burst in upon the helpless family. Mrs. Henry bravely attempted to defend her little ones; whereupon she was tomahawked and scalped in the presence of her small children.

"One child, seeing the Indians coming at the door, fled into the corn field and hid among the corn, and thus escaped, the Indians being in a hurry, fearing the wrath of the settlers. The Indians now took the three children captive, and after firing the buildings, started on their journey toward the Indian country. It soon developed that the youngest child, a mere infant, would be too much bother to the Indians, so when it began to cry, a big Indian took it by its feet, and dashed its

brains out against a maple tree on the Solomon Bender farm, now owned by William Henry. This tree was held sacred by the pioneers and it stood until recent times (about 1900). The other children were carried away.

“Immediately upon the return of Henry, a posse of settlers started out in pursuit of the Indians. One account relates that the Indians were in their camp above Pittsburgh on the Allegheny, and after a lively skirmish, the children were recaptured, and the murderer of the wife and child identified, tied to a tree, and dispatched by the daughter, Anna Margaret, then about nine years old. Another account agrees with the report of Colonel Brodhead, that Captain Brady, with twenty white men and a Delaware chief, effected the recapture.”

The news of this raid reaching Fort Pitt, two parties were sent out against these Indians, one marching into the Sewickley settlement and attempting to follow the Indian trail, and the other consisting of twenty men under Captain Samuel Brady, ascending the Allegheny River.

Brady's forces were painted and dressed like Indians. He had with him his “pet Indian,” the unfortunate Nanowland, who was killed at Killbuck Island, near Fort Pitt, in the spring of 1782, by the Scotch-Irish settlers living on Chartier's Creek. Brady's reason for going up the Allegheny was that he was satisfied that the Indians came from the north and would return that direction to get possession of their canoes, which they had no doubt hidden along the river bank when they had left the stream. Brady came upon the canoes of these Indians drawn up within the mouth of one of the creeks entering the Allegheny from the east. There is lack of agreement among historians as to the identity

of this creek. Some say that it was the Big Mahoning; but Colonel Brodhead, in his report to General Washington, written on June 24, says that the scene was "about fifteen miles above Kittanning," which agrees with the location of Red Bank Creek, not far from the beautiful bend on the Allegheny, which bears the name of Brady. General Hugh Brady also locates this incident being near the mouth of Red Bank Creek. (Linn's "Annals of the Buffalo Valley," page 227; Pa. Archives, Vol. 7, page 505).

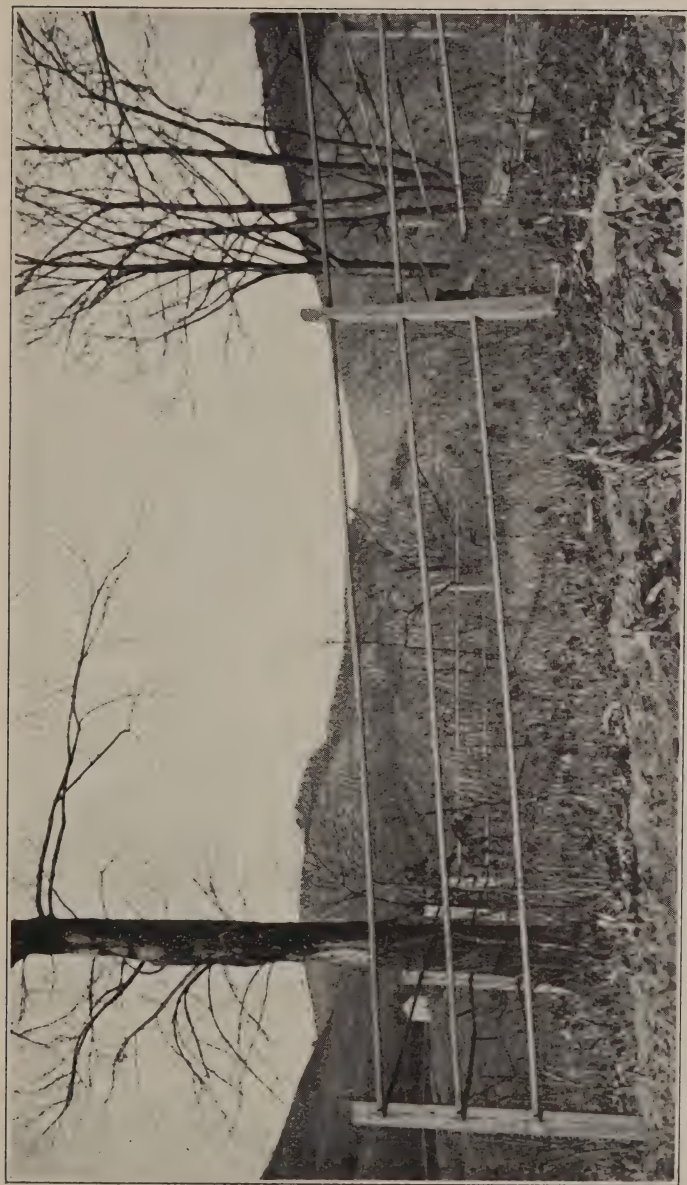
The Indians were in camp in the woods north of Red Bank Creek, and were preparing supper when Brady discovered them. They had hobbled the horses which they had stolen, and turned them loose to graze on the meadow near the creek. On account of the swollen condition of the creek, Brady's men were compelled to ascend it two miles before they were able to cross. Waiting until after nightfall, Brady and his men descended the northern side of the creek to a point near the camp, and then lay in the tall grass.

Laying aside their arms, Brady and Nanowland crept on their stomachs to within a few yards of the Indian camp, in order to count the number of the Indians and learn the position of the captives taken. As Brady and his faithful Delaware were lying in the grass, one of the warriors arose from his position near the fire, stepped forth to a few feet from where Brady lay, stood there for a while and then returned to his companions, and lay down to sleep. Then Brady and Nanowland crept back to their companions and prepared to attack the Indians at daybreak. As the first streaks of dawn floated over the verdant hills of the Allegheny, one of the Indians awoke and aroused his companions. The whole band then stood about the fire, when suddenly a sheet of flame blazed from the

rifles of Brady and his men, and the chief of the seven Indians fell dead, while the others fled into the surrounding forest, two of them severely wounded. It was Brady's own rifle that brought down the chief, who was none other than Bald Eagle. With a shout of triumph, Brady leaped upon the fallen chieftain and scalped him. Thus, on the banks of the Allegheny, far from the harvest field near the banks of the Susquehanna, where Bald Eagle killed young James Brady, during the preceding summer, Captain Samuel Brady avenged the death of his younger and favorite brother.

The children captured by Bald Eagle's band were recovered unharmed and returned to Fort Pitt, later to their father. The death of Bald Eagle had a good effect in that the Indians made no more raids into Westmoreland during that summer. Three weeks later, Captain Brady returned to the neighborhood of the attack on Bald Eagle's band. Observing a flock of crows hovering above the thicket, he made a search and found the partially devoured body of one of the Indians that died of his wounds.

Peter Henry, one of the children, settled in Summit Township, Butler County, in 1797, where he died in 1857, aged 88 years. He often related that there were seven Indians in the band and that they had six horses with them; that, when Brady and his men were crawling up to the Indian camp on the morning of the rescue, he and his sister lay covered by an old quilt with a hole in it through which they watched the Indians guard drying bear and deer meat by the fire; that the guard heard some sounds made by the rescuers, but thought they were made by the horses near camp; that a young man named Hoover (Huber), who had been captured in Westmoreland County some time before, was at one of the Indian towns when the sole surviving warrior



Burial ground of the Frederick Henry (Heinrich) family on the John G. Miller farm in Hempfield Township, Westmoreland County, about two miles north of the Harrold's (Herold's) Lutheran and Reformed churches. Mrs. Frederick Henry and her babe, who were killed by Indians a short distance below this graveyard, in June, 1779, are buried here. See page 469.

returned and told the fate of his companions; and that Hoover related the circumstances when he returned to Westmoreland after being a captive among the Indians for seven years. ("History of Butler County," Waterman, Watkins & Co., Chicago, 1883, pages 302-303.)

*Other Experiences of Captain Samuel Brady As A Scout
At Fort Pitt*

Samuel Brady was the most noted scout of the Western Pennsylvania frontier. For a century and a half, his name has been a household word in Western Pennsylvania. Having just described his first major exploit on the western frontier, we believe it fitting, at this point, to give a sketch of subsequent services.

On one occasion Brady started from Fort Pitt with a few picked men on a scout toward the Sandusky villages. While they were on their return trip, they were pursued by Indians and all killed except Brady, who succeeded in getting as far towards Fort Pitt as the hill named for him near Beaver. He was not wounded, but almost dead from fatigue. He well realized that he was being tracked by the Indians, and that if he did not resort to some trick to elude them, he would be lost. Having selected a large tree, lately blown down having a leafy top, he walked back carefully in his tracks a few hundred yards, and then turned about and walked in his old steps as far as the tree. This was done in the hope and belief that the Indians would be sure to follow him thither. He then walked along the trunk of the tree, and hid himself in its leafy top. He believed that the Indians would track him to the tree, and finding no further trace of him, would sit on the trunk or log of the same for consultation. He had not long to wait. Presently three Indians with their eyes bent to the earth followed his tracks, came

to the tree, which they closely examined for the trail beyond, but not finding any, sat down on the trunk to consult together just as Brady had anticipated. Quickly and silently Brady raised his rifle and shot the foremost Indian dead. The bullet passed through his body and wounded the other two. Springing upon these with clubbed rifle, Brady soon dispatched them both.

On another occasion, as this noted scout was returning to Fort Pitt, he realized that he was being tracked by an Indian with a dog. Occasionally he had seen the Indian in the distance passing from tree to tree and advancing on his trail. For his ambush he selected a large chestnut tree which had been blown out of root. He walked from the top of the tree along its trunk, and sat down in the hole made by the uprooting of the tree. In a short time he saw a small dog mount the log at the other end and with nose to the trunk approach him, closely followed by a plumed warrior. Brady had to make a choice between the dog and the Indian. He preferred shooting the former, which he did. As the dog rolled off the log dead, the Indian with a loud whoop ran into the forest and disappeared.

Charles McKnight, in "Our Western Border," relates an incident in Brady's life that happened about the close of the Revolutionary War. Brady, with two companions, Thomas Bevington and Benjamin Biggs, were coming from Fort McIntosh to Fort Pitt, and when they arrived at the site of the present town of Sewickley, Allegheny County, they suddenly came upon "Indian signs." At that time there was but a solitary cabin at this place, that of a hunter named Albert Gray. Brady, bidding his men crouch down, approached the cabin to reconnoitre, and presently saw Gray approaching on horseback with a deer laid across the horse's back behind him. Brady, being dressed as

an Indian, sprang forth and jerked Gray from his horse. Gray, thinking him an Indian, offered fierce resistance; but the hunter's fears were allayed by the Captain's whispering to him: "Don't strike; I am Captain Brady. For God's sake keep quiet." The two then approached nearer the cabin, and found it a heap of smoking ruins. The Indians had burned it after carrying off Gray's wife and two children. Brady and Gray then joined the other white men, and the four hurried to the ford on the Beaver River, near its mouth, to intercept the Indian band at that place. The white men crossed the Beaver about dusk, and cautiously entering a ravine, discovered the Indians eating their evening meal near a spring, with Gray's wife and two children with them. As there were about a dozen in the band, Brady decided to wait until the Indians were asleep before attacking them. Cautiously crawling near the sleeping Indians in the darkness, Brady and his companions attacked them with rifle, tomahawk and knife, and soon every one was dispatched. Gray's wife and children at first fled, but finding deliverance at hand, soon returned. The spring near which the Indians were slain was called the "Bloody Spring."

McKnight also says, in "Our Western Border," that, on one of his hunting trips, Brady was captured by a band of Indians near Beaver, and taken to their town on the west bank of the Beaver River, about a mile and a half above its mouth. Says McKnight:

"After the usual exultations and rejoicings at the capture of a noted enemy, and causing him to run the gauntlet, a fire was prepared, near which Brady was placed after being stripped, and with his arms unbound. Previous to tying him to the stake, a large circle was formed around of Indian men, women and children, dancing and yelling, and uttering all manner of threats

and abuses that their small knowledge of the English language could afford. The prisoner looked on these preparations for death and on his savage foe with a firm countenance and a steady eye, meeting all their threats with Indian fortitude. In the midst of their dancing and rejoicing, a squaw of one of their chiefs came near him, with a child in her arms. Quick as thought, and with intuitive prescience, he snatched it from her, and threw it toward the fire. Horror stricken at the sudden outrage, the Indians simultaneously rushed to rescue the infant from the flames. In the midst of this confusion, Brady darted from the circle, overturning all that came in his way, and rushed into the adjacent thicket, with the Indians yelling at his heels. He ascended the steep side of a hill amidst a shower of bullets, and darting down the opposite declivity, secreted himself in the deep ravines and laurel thickets that abounded for several miles to the west. His knowledge of the country, and wonderful activity, enabled him to elude his enemies. Another version of this event, furnished us, makes it the squaw herself that the Captain pushed on the fire."

One of the well known stories of Samuel Brady is that of his famous leap, which took place during the summer of 1780. In this summer a band of Indians murdered several families in Washington County, and started for the Indian country, in Ohio, with the scalps of the victims. Brady was visiting at the home of Captain Van Swearingen in Washington County at the time of this raid. With a company of rangers, among whom were John Dillow and a man named Stoup, Brady started in pursuit of the murderers. Near a lake in Portage County, Ohio, since known as Brady's Lake, the noted scout and his men overtook the Indians. In the battle which followed, most of Brady's men were

killed, and he was captured. The Indians decided to burn him at the stake. They stripped him, and bound him to a post. Then the fire was lighted. Brady was a man of great physical strength, and consequently succeeded in working his bonds loose. Then waiting a favorable opportunity, he leaped through the flames, knocking a squaw into the fire, and dashing into the forest. Scores of Indians took up the pursuit. Reaching the high bank of the Cuyahoga River at a point within the limits of the present town of Kent, Ohio, summoning all his powers, Brady leaped across the stream, though the distance was more than twenty-five feet. His Indian pursuers then crossed the river at the ford at some distance from the point where Brady leaped across, and were soon in hot pursuit. Running to the lake, Brady concealed himself among the rushes, some accounts saying that he submerged himself in the water and breathed through a reed. During the night he came from his place of concealment, and then made his way through the wilderness to Fort McIntosh.

In May, 1780, Colonel Brodhead, then in command at Fort Pitt, received a report that an army of British and Indians was assembling on the Sandusky River in Ohio, intending to attack Fort Pitt. Accordingly, he directed Samuel Brady to go to the Indian settlement on the Sandusky with a few scouts, in order to learn the plans of the proposed expedition against Fort Pitt. Late in May, Brady set out for Sandusky with five white companions and two Delawares, the whole company being dressed and painted like Indians. When Brady's company approached the Wyandot country, they traveled only by night, hiding in the forests by day. One of the Delawares became faint-hearted and returned to Fort Pitt.

When Brady and his remaining companions drew near the Wyandot capital near Upper Sandusky, he and one Delaware companion waded to a wooded island opposite the Indian town, where they lay all the next day watching the Indians enjoy a horse race near the bank of the river. They found the town full of warriors. The indications were that the Indians were preparing for the warpath. During the night Brady and his companion rejoined the others, and started toward Fort Pitt. When they had reached a point about two miles from Sandusky, they captured two Indian maidens at a camp, and took them along, believing that they might divulge valuable information. At the end of six days, one of the squaws escaped. The food supply of Brady and his men was now exhausted, and for an entire week they had nothing to eat but berries. Brady succeeded in shooting an otter; but even these hungry frontiersmen could not eat the rank flesh.

When Brady and his companions reached a point near the old Indian town of Kuskuskies, at the junction of the Mahoning and Shenango Rivers, in Lawrence County, Brady saw a deer and attempted to shoot it; but his gun flashed in the pan. He was preparing again to fire, when he heard the voices of Indians. Concealing himself, he saw an Indian captain riding a grey horse followed by six warriors on foot, coming along the Indian trail. On the same horse with the Indian captain, were a captive white woman and her child, the woman riding behind the Indian, who held her child in his arms. Brady at once recognized the woman as Mrs. Jennie Stoops, who had been captured some time before on Chartier's Creek, at a point near the present town of Crafton, Allegheny County. Taking careful aim Brady shot the Indian captain through the head. The savage fell from his horse, dragging the

woman and child with him. Brady then dashed forward shouting for his men to come on. The hostile Indians being surprised at the sudden death of their leader, fired a few shots, and then fled. Being dressed like an Indian, Mrs. Stoops did not recognize Captain Brady, but thought him an Indian. "Why did you shoot your brother?" she asked. Brady took the child in his arms, saying, "Jennie Stoops, I am Captain Brady; follow me, and I will secure you and your child." Taking Mrs. Stoops by the hand and the child in his arms, Brady hastened into the thicket, where he found his companions cowering in fear, who had let the other Indian squaw escape.

After going a few miles further along the trail toward Fort McIntosh (now Beaver), Brady and his scouts met a band of settlers from the Chartiers' Valley, pursuing the captors of Mrs. Stoops and her child. Mrs. Stoops and her infant were then restored unharmed to the husband and father; and Brady returned to the scene of the adventure, where he found and scalped the Wyandot captain. Colonel Brodhead, in a letter to President Reed, written at Fort Pitt, on June 30, 1780, and recorded in Pa. Archives, Vol. 8, pages 378 and 379, mentioned the exploit just related, and recommended Brady's promotion to the rank of Captain.*

On one occasion, in the summer of either 1780 or 1781, Brady and a man, named Phouts, got Brodhead's permission to ascend the Allegheny on a scout. They crept up on an Indian camp near the Kiskiminetas, and captured the only Indian there, an old warrior. On their way back to Fort Pitt, they encamped at the mouth of a run, where they had hidden some venison while on their way up the river. Here the Indian was left in charge of Phouts, while Brady searched for the

*See page 504.

venison. Presently the Indian complained that the cords which bound his arms caused him considerable pain. Phouts then released the cords, and, while busy at something else for a moment, the Indian seized a gun and fired at Phouts. Phouts at once tomahawked and scalped the aged warrior, and he and Brady took his scalp to Fort Pitt.

Brady's scouting covered a vast extent of territory, to the headwaters of the Allegheny, to Sandusky on the west, and to the West Branch of the Susquehanna, on the east. In "Meginness' History of the West Branch Valley," is an account of an "Indian hunt" which Brady and Peter Grove made, most likely in 1780, through the counties of Huntingdon, Clearfield, Centre, Lycoming, Clinton, and Union. They would creep up on Indian camps, fire into the same, each killing an Indian, and then bound off through the woods like antelopes. They were matchless sprinters, and the Indians were never able to overtake them. In this "hunt," they killed many Indians, among them being Blacksnake, the Panther, the Greatshot, and Wamp. It is a terrible story of butchery. Grove says that his heart was wrung to tears by the cries of Wamp's squaw. Some time after they had shot the Panther and the Blacksnake, they returned to the camp where the massacre occurred. Says Grove: "We found the Panther dead, but the Blacksnake was yet alive, and vomiting blood. We made all dead shots that day."

After the Revolutionary War, Brady left Fort Pitt and the Chartiers settlement near-by, and went with his father-in-law, Captain Van Swearingen, to West Liberty, Ohio County, West Virginia. When General Anthony Wayne arrived in Pittsburgh in the summer of 1792 to assemble and train an army to march against the Western Indians, he sent for Captain

Brady, and gave him command of spies in the employ of the Government. In May, 1793, Brady was tried in Pittsburgh for the killing of some Indians, in the spring of 1791, where the present town of Fallston, Beaver County, now stands. These Indians, who were Delawares had murdered Paul Riley, Mrs. Vanbuskirke and several of the Boggs family in Ohio County, West Virginia. Brady and twenty other men pursued them, overtaking what they believed to be the same band at Fallston and killing several, two of whom were women. Governor Mifflin, of Pennsylvania, offered a reward of \$500.00 for Brady's person; but the noted frontiersman surrendered himself for trial. He was defended by James Ross, Esq., and was acquitted. The old Indian chief, Guyasuta, was a witness for Brady, and his testimony was so strong in favor of the defendant that even Mr. Ross was abashed. At the close of the trial, Mr. Ross spoke to Guyasuta, expressing his surprise at the decided tone of his testimony. The aged chief then clapped his hand on his breast, and said: "Am I not the friend of Brady?"*

Samuel Brady was born at Shippensburg, Pennsylvania. About 1786, he married Drusella Swearingen, a daughter of Captain Van Swearingen, "Indian Van," as he was called, of Washington County. He died at West Liberty, West Virginia, on January 1, 1796, aged thirty-seven years. The inscription on his tombstone gives the date of his death and his age, although some historians have stated that he died on Christmas day, 1795, in his thirty-ninth year.

Brodhead's Expedition Against the Senecas and Munsees

In order to put a stop to the raids of the Delawares of the Munsee Clan and of the Senecas under Guyasuta and Cornplanter into Westmoreland County and other

* See pages 626 and 627.

parts of the western frontier, Colonel Brodhead, early in the summer of 1779, begged General Washington for permission to lead an expedition into the Seneca country on the upper part of the Allegheny. The consent of the Commander-in-Chief was finally obtained, and Brodhead began active preparations for the expedition. At that time, the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment was scattered, some of its members being at Fort Pitt, some at Fort Henry, some at Fort McIntosh, some at Fort Laurens and a few at Holliday's Cove, in Hancock County, West Virginia. All the troops that could be spared from the distant posts were ordered to Fort Pitt. The entire remaining garrison at Fort Laurens was brought to Fort Pitt a few days before the expedition started. Many of the soldiers of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment were artificers, boatmen and wagoners. Employing 150 boat builders, Brodhead constructed sixty boats, some of them, made of poplar, carrying two tons.

On July 17, Brodhead addressed a letter to Colonels Lochry, Shepherd, Stephenson and Evans, County-Lieutenants respectively of the counties of Westmoreland, Ohio, Yohogania and Monongalia, all within the western department, asking that militia from these counties rendezvous at Fort Pitt on August 6. Said the letter, in part: "His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, has at length given me a little latitude, and I am determined to strike a blow against one of the most hostile nations, that in all probability will effectually secure the tranquility of the frontiers for years to come. But I have not troops sufficient at once to carry on the expedition and to support the different posts which are necessary to be maintained. Therefore beg you will engage as many volunteers for two or three weeks as you possibly can. They shall be well treated,

and if they please, paid and entitled to an equal share of the plunder that may be taken, which I apprehend will be very considerable. Some of the friendly Indians will assist us on this enterprise."

Brodhead selected the time for the expedition between harvest and autumn—a time when volunteers were more likely to be secured, as the settlers were not then so busy on their farms, and when the Indians' corn fields could be laid waste before the corn had ripened. Besides, the period of service of more than 200 of his best troops would expire before August 15.

On August 6, Brodhead sent a letter to General Sullivan, by two soldiers who carried it through the wilderness to the General, then on his march against the Six Nations. Unfortunately the names of these brave men are not known. In this letter, he advised Sullivan that he was about ready to start; that some Cherokee chiefs had entered into articles of confederation and had received "from my hand the war belt and tomahawks;" and that his troops had recently destroyed a whole party of Munsees except two, evidently referring to Captain Brady's rescue of the Henry children. Sullivan replied to this letter from French Catherine's Town, situated a few miles south of the end of Seneca Lake; but Brodhead did not receive the reply until a few days after he returned from his expedition up the Allegheny.

But early in the summer Brodhead received word that Colonel John Butler at the head of 200 of his Tory rangers and a number of Indians intended to attack the frontier west of the Laurel Hill when the strawberries should become ripe. This report caused him to keep a watchful eye up the Allegheny. In June, Lieutenant John Hardin and eleven men were sent on a scout towards the Seneca country, and during the same

month, Captain Samuel Brady and his scouts encountered the Indian band that had killed Mrs. Frederick Henry, as related earlier in this chapter.

In making preparations for the expedition, Brodhead was much annoyed also by the fact that the inhabitants of Pittsburgh encroached on the rights of the garrison of Fort Pitt, even erecting fences within a few yards of the bastion and claiming and occupying the blockhouses near the fort. He complains of these matters in a letter written to Timothy Pickering on June 27; while, in a letter to Colonel Stephen Bayard, then at Fort Armstrong, on July 9, he says; "Whilst I am writing, I am tormented by at least a dozen drunken Indians, and I shall be obliged to remove my quarters from hence on account of a cursed villianous set of inhabitants, who, in spite of every exertion, continue to rob the soldiers, or cheat them and the Indians out of every thing they are possessed of."

With 60 boats, 200 pack horses and 605 men, Brodhead left Fort Pitt on August 11. Colonel John Gibson was second in command. With the troops were some friendly Delawares, among them being Killbuck and Nanowland. The noted Indian friend of the United States, John Montour, also accompanied the expedition. Samuel Brady and John Hardin commanded the scouts and Indians. Small garrisons were left at Fort Pitt, Fort McIntosh, Fort Crawford and Fort Armstrong. The provisions, except the live cattle, were transported by boats, under an escort of one hundred men. Thus the expedition ascended the beautiful and historic Allegheny, whose banks were clothed in the verdure of mid-summer.

Majestic stood the river hills,
Clothed in living green,
While Allegheny gently rolled
Its winding way between.

Reaching the mouth of the Mahoning, where he was delayed for four days by excessive rains, Brodhead loaded the provisions and stores on the pack horses, and, leaving the river, followed the Indian trail running almost due north through the wilderness of Clarion County, and reached the Allegheny at the mouth of Tionesta Creek, in Forest County, the site of the Munsee Delaware town of Gosch-goschunk, meaning "the place of hogs," which Brodhead, in his report to General Washington, calls Cushcushing. Here Brodhead crossed the Allegheny. The march was now resumed up the river. Fifteen scouts, among whom was Jonathan Zane, and eight Indians, all under command of Lieutenant Hardin, led the advance. A few miles below the mouth of the Brokenstraw and near the present Thompson Station, Warren County, the advance encountered a party of thirty Senecas, under GUYASUTA, descending the Allegheny on their way to raid the settlements. Both sides discovered each other at about the same time. The Senecas ran their canoes to the shore, drew off their shirts and prepared for battle. Both sides took position behind trees and rocks, and a sharp fight commenced which lasted but a few minutes, when a party of Brodhead's scouts, moving over the river hill, attacked the Senecas on the flank. The Indians then took to flight, leaving five of their number dead on the field. Several Indians were wounded, leaving trails of blood as they fled. None of Brodhead's forces were killed; but Nanowland, Joseph Nicholson, the interpreter, and Jonathan Zane were wounded.

It has been said by some authorities that Cornplanter was the leader of the Indians in this engagement; but it is very clear that this great Indian character was then

in the Genesee country endeavoring to oppose the advance of Sullivan's army.

After defeating the Senecas, Brodhead's army went into camp near the scene of the conflict, and on the following morning moved up to the mouth of the Brokenstraw, where the Munsee Delaware and Seneca Indian town, called Buccaloons, or Buckaloon, was located. Its few inhabitants fled at his approach. About half a mile above this town, Brodhead threw up a breastwork of trees, and, depositing his stores, left a captain and forty men in charge of the camp, while the main part of his army advanced to the Seneca town of Conewango, the site of the present town of Warren. The town was found to be deserted and its huts falling into decay. This was as far as Brodhead's guides were acquainted with the country; but the commander determined to press on, following a Seneca trail which led over the hills to the northeast.

After a march of twenty miles, the troops came within sight of the Allegheny, and beheld from a hill a number of Seneca villages along the river, in the midst of fields of corn, beans, squash and melons. Brodhead's men hurriedly descended into the villages, but found that the inhabitants had fled. Then commenced the destruction of the houses and the corn fields. Hear Brodhead in his report to General Washington:

"At the upper Seneca town, we found a painted image or war post, clothed in dog skin, & John Montour told me this town was called Yoghroonwago. Besides this, we found seven other towns, consisting in the whole of one hundred and thirty houses, some of which were large enough for the accommodation of three or four families. The troops remained on the ground three whole days, destroying the towns and corn fields. I never saw finer corn, although it was planted much

thicker than is common with our farmers. The quantity of corn and vegetables destroyed at the several towns, from the best accounts I can collect from the officers employed to destroy it, must certainly exceed 500 acres, which is the lowest estimate, and the plunder taken is estimated at \$3,000.00. From the great quantity of corn in the ground and the number of new houses built and building, it appears that the whole Seneca and Muncy nations intended to collect in this settlement."

This Seneca settlement was part of the present Cornplanter Reservation in Warren County. After the Revolutionary War, when Cornplanter became the firm friend of the United States, he made his home on the site of the upper village, four miles below the state line, establishing a town which he called Dionosadegi, meaning "the place of burnt houses." Here, on the banks of his long-loved Allegheny, he ended his days, February 18, 1836, at the great age of 100 years.

Some historians believe that Brodhead entered the present state of New York, going as far as Bucktooth, Cattaraugus County. In this county, there were Seneca towns at the mouths of Little Valley Creek, Great Valley Creek and Cold Spring Creek.

Brodhead's forces returned to the deserted Indian town of Buccaloons. From here the troops marched across the country to French Creek, crossing Oil Creek on the way, where they rubbed themselves with the oil which they found floating on the top of the water and received much relief from rheumatic pains. At the junction of Conneaut Creek and French Creek, the troops burned the deserted Munsee Delaware town of Maghingquechahocking, consisting of thirty-five large houses. The army then descended French Creek to its mouth, and returned to Fort Pitt over the Venango

Indian Trail, which ran almost north and south through the heart of Butler County, dividing near Murdering Town, one branch leading to Logstown and the other down Pine Creek to the Allegheny.

Slippery Rock Creek is said, by some authorities, to have gotten its name from an incident which happened while Brodhead's troops were crossing this stream in the northern part of Butler County. The horse of one of the soldiers, John Ward, slipped on one of the large, smooth stones in the bottom of the creek and severely injured the rider, whereupon the soldiers named the stream "Slippery Rock." However, Heckewelder says that the Delawares called this stream Weschachachapochka meaning "slippery rock."

Colonel Brodhead's troops arrived at Fort Pitt on September 14, without the loss of a man or a horse. Congress gave him a vote of thanks for the success of his expedition, and Washington warmly congratulated him.

Some historians have erroneously located the battle Brodhead fought in this expedition as being near East Brady, Clarion County, confusing it with the encounter that Captain Samuel Brady had with the Indians near the mouth of Red Bank Creek in June, 1779, in which the Delaware chief, Bald Eagle, was killed and the Henry children were rescued. For Brodhead's account of the expedition and battle, see his report to General Washington, in Pa. Archives, Vol. 12, pages 155 to 158; also see Magazine of American History, Vol. 3, pages 649 to 773, for full account of this historic expedition.

Owing to the success of Brodhead's expedition and to the crushing blow that Sullivan's expedition gave the Six Nations at about the same time, the Western Pennsylvania frontier suffered little from Seneca raids during the remainder of 1779. In fact, the Six Nations never fully recovered from the blow Sullivan dealt them.

The winter following was one of the most severe in the history of the United States; for months the snow lay four feet deep in the mountains of Pennsylvania and New York. Their homes burned and their corn and other food supplies destroyed, many of the Senecas and others of the Six Nations starved and froze to death during the rigors of the terrible winter.

Col. Brodhead's Activities During the Remainder of 1779

On September 17, Brodhead held a council at Fort Pitt with some Hurons, Wyandots and Shawnees, who protested friendship. Dunquat, the Wyandot chief, made a speech, as also did one of the chiefs of the Spi-totha or Mequachake Clan of Shawnees. However, Killbuck, of the Delawares, was the principal speaker, and he plead for the Shawnees. Brodhead was not deeply impressed with the sincerity of the Wyandots and Shawnees, and took hostages from the former.*

The terms of enlistment of the two ranging companies authorized by General McIntosh and raised in Westmoreland expired during the summer, one commanded by Captain Nehemiah Stokely and the other by Captain Matthew Jack. However, their places were filled by two others, one commanded by Captain Joseph Irwin and the other by Captain Thomas Campbell, both enlisted in Westmoreland under the resolution of Congress for raising five companies, in all, for services on the western frontier. Colonel Brodhead was authorized to call upon these two companies in case he needed their services on expeditions into the Indian country; otherwise, they were to be under the command of Colonel Archibald Lochry, County-Lieutenant of Westmoreland. Their principal stations were Hannastown and Fort Wallace, although they were also at Fort Ligonier,

* In a letter to General Washington, July 31, 1779, Brodhead speaks of having formed a "Union" with the Cherokees. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 12, page 147).

Fort Armstrong, Carnahan's Blockhouse and other posts. Their terms of enlistment expired the following winter.

Rawlings' corps and the Pennsylvania and Virginia regulars were placed for the winter in such positions, as in Brodhead's opinion, would best protect the western frontier. The principal places garrisoned were Fort Henry, Holliday's Cove, Fort McIntosh, Fort Pitt, Fort Hand, Fort Wallace and Hannastown. Both Fort Armstrong and Fort Crawford were evacuated late in the year, as the terms of enlistment of the companies of Irwin and Campbell were about to expire. On October 2, Captain Campbell, then stationed at Fort Hand, was ordered by Brodhead to take his rangers to Fort Crawford; and when Fort Crawford was evacuated, these rangers were sent back to Fort Hand by Colonel Lochry's orders. However, both Fort Crawford and Fort Armstrong were again garrisoned in the spring of 1780; but Fort Armstrong was never regularly occupied after the withdrawal of its garrison, on November 27, 1779, though scouts and rangers were stationed there temporarily during the Revolutionary War and later. After Brodhead withdrew the garrison from Fort Hand, this post, while it continued to be a place of importance throughout the Revolutionary War and was garrisoned now and then by rangers, was permitted to fall into decay; and Carnahan's Blockhouse, only five miles distant but nearer the Kiskiminetas, largely took the place of Fort Hand in importance as a station for ranging companies. In the meantime, in October, Captain Samuel Moorehead's independent company, which had rendered notable services on the Westmoreland frontier for nearly three years, was transferred to Fort Pitt and made part of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. Moorehead had

resigned in June, 1779, and his successor was Captain James Carnahan, whom he had recommended for the vacancy. (Butterfield's "Washington-Irvine Correspondence," page 46; Pa. Archives, Vol. 8, pages 38 and 42; Pa. Archives, Vol. 12, page 129; "Frontier Forts of Pa.," Vol. 2, pages 329, 330.)

There was considerable friction between Colonel Brodhead and Colonel Lochry on the question of the right of a Continental officer to direct the movements of the county militia. Lochry complained of Brodhead's removal of the garrisons of rangers from Fort Armstrong, Fort Crawford and other posts. For a time a bitter correspondence passed between these two officers. Brodhead had ordered both Campbell's company and Irwin's company to Fort Pitt in the latter part of 1779, but Lochry ordered them elsewhere for the protection of the Westmoreland frontier. Irwin was stationed at Hannastown and Campbell ordered to Fort Wallace, both by direction of Lochry. Thereupon Brodhead had Campbell arrested for disobeying orders. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 8, pages 36, 106 and 109; "Frontier Forts of Pa.," Vol. 2, page 346, 469 to 472.)

Atrocities in Washington and Allegheny Counties

We close this chapter with an account of atrocities in Washington County, in 1779, as well as with an account of atrocities in Allegheny County, some of which likely took place in the same year. However, the year in which the murders in Allegheny County took place may never be determined.

In the latter part of July, 1779, Mingoës and Wyandots invaded the valley of Cross Creek, capturing the wife of William Reynolds and her baby at the block-house which Mr. Reynolds had erected in 1774 or 1775, in what is now Cross Creek Township. Mr. Reynolds

was absent at the time of the capture of his family. He soon returned, and, accompanied by Robert McCready, Rev. Thomas Marquis and John Marquis, pursued the Indians, who, discovering that they were being pursued, killed Mrs. Reynolds and her baby, and made their escape through the forest.

In July, also, 1779, William Anderson was shot from ambush while working in the field near his home on Raccoon Creek, Washington County. He was able to make his way to the cabin of Thomas Armor, who carried him to Fort Dillow, in what is now Hanover Township, the nearest place of refuge. The records of the time do not show whether Mr. Anderson lived or died. Colonel Brodhead, in his letter written from Fort Pitt on August 4, to General Washington, says that Anderson was wounded, and that, on August 3, a soldier was killed at Fort McIntosh and a sergeant badly wounded. He also wrote that he had received notice of two Indian bands of 20 warriors each having set and from the Tuscarawas, and that he had no doubt that these were the Indians that made this incursion. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 12, page 148; see also same volume, page 142.) When Mrs. Anderson heard the shot that wounded her husband, she took her infant son in her arms and fled to the forest, where she concealed herself and baby in the top of a fallen tree. The Indians then went to the Anderson home, and captured two boys, step-brothers, aged four and seven years. In carrying off the boys, the Indians passed within a few feet of where Mrs. Anderson and her baby were concealed. The boys were taken to the Indian towns in Ohio. The elder, Logan, returned to Fort McIntosh after the close of the Revolutionary War. The younger boy ended his days among the Indians.

Evert, in his "History of Allegheny County," says that, in 1779 or 1780, Robert Cozens was killed by Indians while he was hoeing corn with daughters of Adam Reyburn, near Reyburn's Blockhouse on Long Run on Turtle Creek, Allegheny County. According to the same authority, a man named McNulty was killed in Versailles Township, Allegheny County, likely in 1777, and about the same time, two brothers named Neal were killed in the same township and buried near where they fell. According to the same authority also, a family was murdered on Thompson Run, three miles from Turtle Creek, in 1777, and prior to this time another family was murdered at "Dirty Camp," in Patton Township. "Dirty Camp" was so named by the soldiers of Colonel Henry Bouquet after defeating the Indians at the battle of Bushy Run.

A Final Glance at Fort Ligonier in 1779

One gets an idea of the conditions at Fort Ligonier in the spring of 1779 from the letter of Colonel George Reading, sent from this historic post to President Reed, on April 26, in which he says that there were but eight men and boys to guard the fort, thus making it impossible to send squads to protect the families in the neighborhood, some of whom were entirely out of bread and were obliged to travel 40 or 50 miles for provisions. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 7, page 345.)

CHAPTER XIX

Fort Ligonier and Western Pennsylvania in the Revolutionary War (Continued)

(1780 - 1781)

*Conditions on the Western Pennsylvania Frontier in 1780—
Abandoned Expeditions—Impressment of Cattle for
Starving Soldiers—A New State Proposed*

The severe winter of 1779-1780 caused the Indian allies of the British to remain in their villages, and consequently the Western Pennsylvania frontier was free from Indian raids during this period. But the deep snow on the mountains stopped all supply trains from the East. This caused the garrison of Fort Pitt to suffer for want of food and clothing. Many of the soldiers had no shoes, and there were no tents, except a few that were worn out. Consequently scouting expeditions were out of the question. Also the friendly Delawares who assisted Colonel Brodhead in his expedition up the Allegheny in the summer of 1779 remained near Fort Pitt, all winter, getting much of their food and clothing from Brodhead's scanty supplies.

Spring opened gloomily on the western frontier. Indian raids began much earlier than expected. Colonel Brodhead called together the county-lieutenants of the western department to consult upon the state of affairs; and it was determined to strike the Shawnees in their Ohio towns. The western counties were called upon for eight hundred militia for this proposed expedition. They assembled very slowly, while Indian

raids into the settlements continued. Finally, on account of lack of provisions and sufficient troops, this expedition was abandoned. Fortunately, George Rogers Clark, on August 8, with his Kentucky soldiers, inflicted a telling blow upon the Shawnees at Piqua, Ohio, preventing Simon Girty and other renegades from sending many Shawnee expeditions against the Western Pennsylvania frontier during the remainder of the year. Clark's victory would have been more complete if the French at Vincennes, Indiana, had not warned the Shawnees of his approach.

Fort Crawford and Fort Armstrong, which had been evacuated late in 1779, were again garrisoned. On April 2, Brodhead ordered Colonel Archibald Lochry to order out from the militia of Westmoreland County sixty rank and file and a proportionate number of officers, and to station them one third at Fort Crawford, one third at Fort Armstrong and the remaining third at the post at the forks of Blacklegs Creek. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 12, page 215.) These Westmoreland troops scouted along the Allegheny and Kiskiminetas. Early in May, Captain Thomas Beal, then in command at Fort Crawford, reported to Brodhead that a large band of Indians was seen on the opposite side of the Allegheny. These were likely on their way to the Westmoreland settlements, as will later appear.

As the year wore on, conditions at Fort Pitt did not improve. The Pennsylvania authorities had given up the plan of bringing food supplies from east of the mountains to Fort Pitt, and had attempted to get these supplies in Westmoreland, having appointed William Amberson, of Pittsburgh, as commissary, and having directed him to furnish Fort Pitt's garrison with flour, corn and whiskey. Amberson was only partially successful. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 8, page 536.) The

garrison continued to suffer the pangs of hunger. About the middle of September, the whole garrison paraded one morning before Brodhead's quarters, led by their sergeants. They were ragged and gaunt. When Brodhead asked the cause of the demonstration, the sergeants replied that the men had been without a bite of bread for five days.

During this month, (September), Brodhead was obliged to adopt extreme measures to get food for his half-starved troops. He had received permission from the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania and the Continental Board of War to take supplies by force from the inhabitants in case of dire need. To this resort he was now driven. He chose Captain Samuel Brady to do this work with a detachment from his company. On September 21, Brady was instructed to attempt to buy cattle and sheep from such farmers as had them to spare, and if the farmers would not sell, then to take the animals by force. But he was not to molest the extreme poor or those who had suffered from the Indians. Brady then went into the country along Chartiers Creek and on the western side of the Monongahela, while Lieutenant Uriah Springer headed another party along the east side of the Monongahela.

The Chartiers Creek settlers received news of Brady's mission before he started, and they drove many of the larger herds of cattle into secluded recesses of the forest. Crowds of angry and armed settlers assembled and made show of forcible resistance. Brady's task was very distasteful to him, farmer himself as he was; and it was not successfully performed. Only a few cattle and sheep were gotten. But the persistent Brodhead kept Brady and Springer at the work of badgering the distressed frontiersmen for two months before he ordered their withdrawal. He (Brodhead)

had hoped that Brady and Springer would be able to bring in enough beef and mutton for the proposed expedition against the Wyandots, which, as we shall see, had to be abandoned. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 8, pages 565 and 589; Pa. Archives, Vol. 12, pages 276 and 278.)

The expedition against the Shawnees having been abandoned, later another against the Wyandots and Mingoës was planned. In June, Captain Isaac Craig, with a detachment of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment of artillery arrived at Fort Pitt. On July 10, Colonel Brodhead informed the county-lieutenants of the counties of the western department of his intention to march against the Wyandot towns on the Sandusky before the corn should become ripe. Soon, however, the time of starting was postponed until October 12. It was still further postponed. "I will yet visit the Wyandots by the first of November," wrote Brodhead. But this expedition, too, had to be abandoned for want of food and sufficient troops. Brodhead's appeal to the county-lieutenants, in October, for militia was a total failure.

Virginia and Pennsylvania were coming to an agreement about that time in the boundary dispute, and reports reached the western frontier that all the disputed territory would fall within the bounds of Pennsylvania. These reports caused legal chaos in the Virginia counties in what is now Southwestern Pennsylvania, as Virginia laws lost their binding effect in this territory and, at the same time, Pennsylvania laws had not been set up in this region. No wonder that Colonel Joseph Beelor, County-Lieutenant of Yohogania County, replied to Brodhead's request for militia that he could get no volunteers and found himself powerless to act, pathetically ending his letter with the words, "Without law to protect me." And Colonel William

McCleery, of Monongalia County, replying to Brodhead's request, wrote, on October 11, as follows: "From his [Brodhead's] never having it in his power, for want, as we conceive, of the necessary supplies to put his schemes in execution, during the whole course of last summer and fall, and our unhappy people daily falling an easy prey to the enemy, obliges them to throw off all dependence on any natural aid on this side of the mountains this fall, but that of themselves, for their relief, and therefore they mean to embody and take the most plausible methods for their defense, and under the circumstances they think their number is already too small without any division. * * * The state of our frontiers is really deplorable; to see helpless women and children flying before the ravages of the savage and that even while part of us is engaged in burying our neighbors that have been butchered by them, others of us is falling a sacrifice to their hellish inventions." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 8, page 584.)

In these troubled times, many Western Pennsylvania settlers, both Pennsylvania adherents and Virginia adherents, believed that the western settlers had been neglected by both Pennsylvania and Virginia. Hence many favored the erection of a new state to embrace this region with its capital in the Ohio Valley. In fact, the agitation for a new state was vigorous during the entire summer of 1780. "Nothing less than a new State can come under consideration," wrote Alexander McClean, from Redstone, on May 31. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 8, page 280.)

Although various detachments and companies of rangers were at Fort Crawford, Fort Hand, Carnahan's Blockhouse, Fort Ligonier and other Westmoreland posts from time to time, and although the harried yeomen of Westmoreland not only raised these com-

panies but also manned their blockhouses, yet more than once during 1780, it looked as if this county would become a wilderness. On June 1, Colonel Lochry wrote President Reed: "I have been under the necessity of removing the public records of the county from Han-nastown to my own plantation on Twelve Mile Run—not without consulting the judge of the court who was of the opinion it would be no prejudice to the inhabitants. My principal reason for moving them was, I did not think them safe as the place is but weak, and is now a real frontier." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 8, page 284.) To make matters worse in Westmoreland, the Maryland corps deserted their posts on the frontier of this county in August, and marched, in a body, to the other side of the mountains.

Western Pennsylvania Indian Raids in 1780

We shall now turn our attention to the principal Indian raids in Western Pennsylvania in 1780—raids against which Colonel Brodhead's half-starved troops were able to offer little resistance.

Before the Senecas recovered from the blows given them by General Sullivan and Colonel Brodhead and from the effects of the terrible winter following, the Shawnees, Wyandots and Munsee Clan of Delawares came from their strongholds in Ohio and raided the Western Pennsylvania frontier. On Sunday morning, March 12, 1780, a party of Wyandots fell upon five men and six children at a sugar camp at the mouth of Reardon Run on Raccoon Creek near the line between Beaver and Washington Counties. The white persons were members of the Tucker and Turner families of Noblestown, Allegheny County, and the Foulkes family of the northern part of Washington County. The white men were killed and scalped, and the children,

three boys and three girls, were captured. Among the children were George Foulkes, aged eleven, Elizabeth Foulkes, aged nine, and Samuel Whittaker, aged eleven. The captive children remained among the Indians for several years. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 8, page 140.) "Warner's History of Allegheny County," in the chapter on North Fayette Township, thus describes this event: "The four children of William Turner, two sons and two daughters, and a Mr. Foulkes left their home and went over into what is now Beaver County to make maple sugar * * * George Turner was killed on the spot. Foulkes might have escaped but for the fact that he was followed by a white dog which barked incessantly. He was overtaken and killed * * * The party then set out with the two girls, Betsey and Polly, and their remaining brother, William Turner. The latter died after a short time, but the girls survived the hardships of the journey, and reached a British post in the northwest, where they were ransomed."

It was probably during this same spring that Mrs. Dolly Clark and her baby were captured about three miles from Jeffreysville, in the southern part of Allegheny County. As they were being taken away by the Indians, the babe cried, whereupon the Indians killed it. The mother, frozen with grief, covered the face of the dead child with her apron and walked on without a tear. She was later rescued.

Near the end of March, a band of the Muncy Clan of Delawares, led by Washnash, captured a flatboat, about twenty-five miles below Wheeling, West Virginia, going down the Ohio River to Kentucky, killing three and making prisoners of twenty-one men, women and children. Among the prisoners was Catherine Malott, a girl aged about eighteen years, who subsequently became the wife of the notorious renegade,

Simon Girty. (Butterfield's "Washington-Irvine Correspondence," page 47; Pa. Archives, Vol. 8, page 159; Pa. Archives, Vol. 12, page 218.)

Indian raids continued into Southwestern Pennsylvania throughout the month of April. On April 27, 1780, Colonel Brodhead wrote President Reed of the Supreme Executive council, as follows:

"Between 40 and 50 men, women and children have been killed or taken from what are now called the counties of Yohogania [Washington], Monongalia and Ohio, but no damage is done yet in Westmoreland." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 8, page 210.)

But Westmoreland was soon to be invaded by the Senecas, who had somewhat recovered from the blows of Brodhead and Sullivan. In May, 1780, they came down the Allegheny, entered Westmoreland County, and killed and captured five persons near Ligonier, burned Laughlin's Mill, killed two men on Bushy Run and two on Braddock's Road, near Turtle Creek. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 8, pages 246 and 280.)

On May 11, Colonel Brodhead wrote Major Slaughter: "The County of Westmoreland is again infested with the cursed Mingoës. The Inhabitants are flying from every quarter." On May 13, he wrote General Washington: "Several persons have lately been killed and wounded in Westmoreland County." Also, on May 30, he wrote General Washington: "Since my last, ten persons have been killed, wounded and taken by the Indians in Westmoreland County. Parties of Regulars and Militia have endeavored to overtake them but without success." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 12, pages 232, 233 and 242.) During one of these raids, Indians surrounded the home of a German settler near Pleasant Unity, when he was alone in the house at night; but shouting commands he made such a noise as to make

the Indians believe many men were in the house, and they withdrew.

The murder of the William Marshall family, near the Long Run Presbyterian Church, in North Huntingdon Township, near Irwin, Westmoreland County, was mentioned in Chapter XVIII. The date of this atrocity is not known, and it may have been in the spring of 1780. At this point we quote the following account as it appears in the Rev. C. W. Maus' "History of the Long Run Presbyterian Church":

"The old stone that served so long to mark the resting place of William Marshall, the donor of the Church land, has disintegrated so that the inscription that it bore is almost gone, the date almost impossible to decipher. Whatever the time, it marks one of the saddest events that ever occurred in this neighborhood. Marshall's hired man, John Acklin, was working in a field below the house, when happening to look up from his task, he noticed some crows circling about the cabin site on the adjoining hill. At almost the same glance he discovered wisps of smoke rising through the trees that hid the cabin from sight. Soon the flames from the burning log cabin broke above the trees, and he started to give the alarm, not however, until there had broken on his ears the dread war whoop of the Indians. Running as fast as he could, pursued by some of the savages, he warned the folks as best he might, enabling them to reach the blockhouse in safety. The Indians, taking another path were encountered by the settlers running for protection and killed the last of the family, a little girl, in sight of the settlers. They then made their way down the valley to the Forks, where they were lost to the trailing neighbors who were bent on avenging the massacre of their friend. A party made its way up to the smoking ruins of the Marshall home

and there found the rest of the family murdered and scalped by these relentless marauders of the frontier. Tenderly they carried the outraged bodies down to the old Meetinghouse and there laid them to their eternal rest. They sleep near the present Church. The slab that marked their common grave is within the Cemetery, near the entrance."

In one of the Indian raids in the western part of Westmoreland County and the adjoining part of Allegheny County, during the Revolutionary War, one of the author's ancestors, Anna Silvis, then a little girl, was captured. The place of capture was near Wahl's Station. Both Anna and her little brother were taken while their parents were absent at a mill. The parents had hidden the children under the hay in the barn. After the Revolutionary War, the children were recovered. The Indians parted with the little girl with great reluctance. She had an abundance of beautiful auburn hair, which they had plaited, fastening a large buckle to the end of the plait as a weight.

Colonel John Proctor, in a letter written to President Reed on June 1, makes mention of the Indian ravages in Westmoreland in May, as follows: "The enemy has made several strokes lately on our frontiers & has killed several persons, & captivated several men, women & children. We are in a deplorable situation. We have not six rounds of powder to a man in this part of the country." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 8, page 284.)

In this same month (May) Colonel Brodhead endeavored to make peace with the hostile tribes in Ohio—the Shawnees, Wyandots and Delawares of the Munsee Clan. He sent Godfrey Lanctot, a Frenchman who spoke several Indian languages, to visit these western tribes in the American interest; but Lanctot's efforts were fruitless, as the hostile Indians would not listen to

him. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 8, pages 301 and 551.) About this time the garrisons which had been withdrawn from Fort Armstrong and Fort Crawford in the autumn of 1779, were once more placed in these places of defense. However, by the middle of August, these forts had to be evacuated on account of lack of food for the garrisons.

In June Colonel Brodhead, hearing that the British and Indians were assembling on the Sandusky River, sent Captain Samuel Brady on the scouting expedition into Ohio, mentioned in the sketch of this noted scout in Chapter XVIII, in returning from which he rescued Jennie Stoops, wife of William Stoops, and her child, who had been captured in the Chartiers Valley in the early part of this month. However, Everet, in his "History of Allegheny County," says that Mrs. Stoops' child was not rescued by Captain Samuel Brady on this occasion, but was delivered up several years later, and, upon reaching manhood, settled near the spot where his mother was rescued, in Lawrence County. Colonel Brodhead's report says that "Brady has brought in the White Woman and the Indian's scalp." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 12, page 243.) See Page 479.

On July 21, 1780, Colonel Brodhead wrote Timothy Pickering, giving an account of a battle between the militia and a body of Wyandots who had crossed the Ohio River near the present town of Industry, Beaver County, as follows:

"A few days ago, I received intelligence of a party of thirty odd Wyandot Indians having crossed the Ohio five miles below Fort McIntosh and that they had hid their canoes upon the shore. I immediately ordered out two parties of the nearest militia to go in search of them, and cover the harvesters. At the same time, Capt. McIntyre was detailed with a party to form an

ambuscade opposite the enemies craft. Five men who were reaping in a field discovered the Indians, and presuming their number was small, went out to attack them; but four of them were immediately killed, and the other taken prisoner, before the militia were collected. But they were attacked by Capt. McIntyre's party on the river, and many of them were killed and wounded, two canoes were sunk, and the prisoner retaken; but the water was so deep our men could not find the bodies of the savages, and therefore the number killed cannot be ascertained. The Indians left in their craft two guns, six blankets, eleven paint-bags, eight earwheels, a large brass kettle and many other articles. The Indians informed the prisoner that fifteen Wyandots were detached at Hannastown; upon receiving this information, another party was immediately detached up the Allegheny River with two Delaware Indians to take the tracks and make pursuit, but as the party has not yet returned, I cannot inform you of its success."

Some time during the Revolutionary War, probably in the summer of 1780, William Langfitt and Isaac Wiseman, of Beaver County, went to a mill on King's Creek to get corn. On their way back, they were attacked by Indians. Wiseman was killed, and Langfitt, though dangerously wounded several times, made his escape.

But the Wyandots soon recovered from the blow just described. On September 4, they killed and scalped two settlers near Robinson's Run in what is now Allegheny County. Then about the middle of September, they ravaged the valley of Ten Mile Creek, Washington County, killing and capturing seven persons. Among those captured in this raid, were Michael and Andrew, sons of John Adam Simon. Both later escaped. Andrew was disfigured for life by being

scalped. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 8, page 559.) Other outrages in Washington County during this summer were the capture of Alexander Burns, in West Finley Township, and the murder of the two little sons of James Benham, in the same township. At the time of the murder of the Benham boys, the Bennett family, who lived near, fled to escape the tomahawks of the hostile Indians, leaving one of their members, an old lady, to her fate. Upon their return, they found her dead, but the scant records of the times do not definitely state whether or not she was killed by the Indians.

Still other outrages in Washington County in this summer were the murder of Robert Shearer, his brother, Hugh, and the two sons of William McCandless, near Colonel Beelor's Fort, in Robinson Township. According to Myrtle W. Richey, of Washington, Pa., a descendant of the Shearers, Hugh Shearer, Sr., was also captured, but later escaped.

Westmorelanders Attack Friendly Delawares

Due to the alliance between the Delawares and the United States, Colonel Brodhead, in the autumn of 1780, received the aid of more than forty friendly Delawares of the Turtle and Turkey Clans, who had come to assist him in his contemplated operations against the Wyandots. The chagrin of the loyal Delawares was great when Brodhead told them that the expedition would have to be abandoned on account of lack of food. To make matters worse, a band of militia from Westmoreland County, actuated by an unrelenting hatred against all Indians, marched to attack these friendly Delawares, their wives and children. In a letter to President Reed, dated November 2, 1780, Brodhead says: "I believe I could have called out near an hundred. But as upwards of forty men from the

neighborhood of Hannastown have attempted to destroy them whilst they consider themselves under our protection, it may not be an easy matter to call them out again, notwithstanding they [the Hannastown settlers] were prevented from executing their unmanly intention, by a guard of regular soldiers posted for the Indians' protection. I was not a little surprised to find that the late Captains Irwin and Jack, Lieutenant Brownlee, and Ensign Guthrie concerned in this base attempt. I suppose the women and children were to suffer an equal carnage with the men." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 8, page 596.)

It was very fortunate for Colonel Brodhead that he was able to save the lives of these friendly Delawares. Provisions at Fort Pitt became still scarcer. Then Colonel Brodhead sent many of the friendly Delawares, whose lives he had saved, to the Great Kanawha to spend the winter there hunting buffaloes, and to bring the meat to Fort Pitt. During the winter of 1780-81, the garrison consisted of about three hundred troops.

Pennsylvania Offers Bounties for Indian Scalps

At this point, before we take up the events of the year, 1781, we call attention to the fact that, in the spring of 1780, when the Indians in alliance with the British, urged on by the substantial bounties which the British and Tory commanders at Detroit and in New York were giving for American scalps, even the scalps of babes, were making the soil of the land of Penn red with the blood of its inhabitants, combatants and non-combatants alike, and were torturing many of them to death in the Indian villages, Pennsylvania again offered bounties for Indian scalps. Colonel Samuel Hunter and Colonel Jacob Stroud were authorized to offer these rewards.

On April 7, 1780, President Reed wrote Colonel Samuel Hunter as follows: "The council would and do for this purpose authorize you to offer the following premiums for every male prisoner whether white or Indian, if the former is acting with the latter, Fifteen Hundred Dollars, and One Thousand Dollars for every Indian scalp." And on April 11, 1780, he wrote to Colonel Jacob Stroud, "We have therefore authorized Lieutenant of the county (Northampton) to offer Fifteen Hundred Dollars for every Indian or Tory prisoner taken in arms against us, and One Thousand Dollars for every Indian scalp." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 8, pages 167, 176, 283, 369 and 393.)

On June 27, 1780, Colonel Hunter wrote to President Reed from Sunbury, stating that several small parties have "made attempts to get scalps or prisoners agreeable to the proclamation, but have returned without success in that way." President Reed then replied with a letter of "condolence," in which he said: "We are sorry to hear the attempts which have been made to get scalps and prisoners have been so unsuccessful and hope perseverance will in time produce better effects." "Better effects" were presently "produced." Many scalping parties were organized, which were quite successful. On one occasion thirteen scalps were sent to Fort Pitt in one package. Moreover, the scalp bounty law was brought into disrepute by the killing of friendly Indians to sell their scalps.

Captain Samuel Brady was a recipient of scalp bounties. In the minutes of a meeting of the Provincial Council on February 19, 1781, we find an order to Colonel Lochry, Lieutenant of Westmoreland County, "for the sum of twelve pounds, ten shillings, state money, to be paid to Captain Samuel Brady as a reward for an Indian's scalp, agreeable to a late proc-

lamation of this board." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 12, page 632.)

Finally, when General Sir Guy Carleton, in the autumn of 1782, shocked by the cruel burning of Colonel William Crawford and other American prisoners, put an end to the British alliance with the Indians, Pennsylvania no longer gave money for the scalps of the Indians.

1781

We shall now describe the major military operations in the western department, in 1781, before we turn our eyes to behold scenes of horror in the homes of the western settlers during this tragic and awful period.

Washington County Erected

An event that tended to increase the efficiency of the militia of Southwestern Pennsylvania took place in the erection of Washington County, March 28, 1781—a county embracing all the territory between the Monongahela and Ohio and extending south and west to the Virginia boundary line. James Marsel (Marshall), the County-Lieutenant of the new Pennsylvania county, an efficient officer, soon organized a new battalion in this territory.

Colonel Brodhead Destroys Coshocton

On the death of the friendly Delaware Chief, White Eyes, Captain Pipe, of the Munsee Clan, continued as head of the war faction among the Delawares; and so great was his influence that he succeeded in persuading the majority of the tribe, in violation of the alliance which they had made with the Americans, to go over to the British. The Delaware Council at Coshocton took this action in February, 1781, during the absence

of Killbuck at Fort Pitt. From the Moravian mission at Salem, on the Tuscarawas River, about fourteen miles below New Philadelphia, Killbuck on February 26, wrote a long letter to Colonel Brodhead at Fort Pitt by the hand of Rev. John Heckewelder, informing the Colonel of the action of the Delaware Council. He addressed Brodhead by his Delaware name, and told him that the Delaware chief, Wingenund, had already sent three war parties against the Americans. On the same date and from the same place, Heckewelder also sent a letter to Brodhead, giving additional details of the decision of the Delaware Council. Both letters were carried to Brodhead by the friendly Indian, John Montour. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 8, pages 769 to 771.)

But in fairness to the Delawares it must be said that the inability of the United States to carry out the treaty stipulation to admit the Delaware nation as the fourteenth state in the American Union, and the threats of the British and their Indian allies, had much to do with causing the Delaware Council at Coshocton to make the decision to go over to the British. After the Council made this decision, only a small part of the Delawares remained loyal to the United States, and the Indian war became general—not a single tribe beyond the Ohio remained friendly to the Americans. Long before the decision of the Coshocton Council was made, the Munsee Clan of Delawares had been hostile to the Americans, as we have seen.

Colonel Brodhead then determined to attack the Delaware town of Coshocton, the capital town of this tribe. The Pennsylvania government had, by great exertions, given him a supply of provisions; but his garrison had been reduced to about 200 men. He sent a call to Colonel Archibald Lochry and other West-

moreland officers for militia assistance; but the call was in vain. Lochry wrote him on April 2: "I am afraid from the disposition of the people, you have little to expect from us. If the Cumberland militia arrive in time for our intended expedition, they shall go with you, and your humble servant to boot." Also Colonel James Perry, of the Sewickley settlement, wrote him on the same date: "We sent instructions to the second and third battalions of Westmoreland Militia, agreeable to your orders to raise volunteers for the expedition. The Major of the Third Battalion came to see me on Saturday last, & informed me that he could not raise one volunteer. The Second has made no return. * * * I believe you need not depend on any men from this county, as the people in the interior part of the county live in a state of indifferent security, & the frontiers dare not leave their families." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 9, pages 51 and 52.)

On April 7, Brodhead left Fort Pitt with about 170 regulars and proceeded to Fort Henry (Wheeling), where he received, by the help of Colonel David Shepherd, County-Lieutenant of Ohio County, four companies totaling 134 officers and men. Shepherd was Colonel of this additional force; Samuel McCullough was Major; Isaac Meeks was Adjutant; William McIntyre was Quarter-Master; James Lemon was sergeant-major; Jonathan Zane was spy; and the captains were John Ogle, Benjamin Royce, Jacob Lefler and William Crawford.

On April 10, Brodhead took up the march from Fort Henry towards the Delaware capital. On April 20, his advance having come upon three Delawares about a mile from Coshocton, captured one, but the other two escaped and gave the alarm. Brodhead's forces, among whom were John Montour, Nanowland, and

several other friendly Delawares, then dashed into the Delaware capital, where they found but fifteen warriors, every one of whom was put to death in the resistless rush of the American troops; but no harm was done to the old men, women and children. Brodhead's troops then set fire to the town after having "taken great quantities of peltry and other stores," and destroyed about forty head of cattle. The reason why Brodhead found so few warriors in Coshocton was that a band of forty who had just returned from a raid on the settlements, laden with scalps and prisoners, had crossed to the farther side of the river, a few miles above the town, to enjoy a drunken revel. On account of the swollen condition of the stream and the fact that the war parties had taken their canoes with them, the troops were unable to cross to the farther side. Brodhead wished to send a detail to the Moravian towns farther up the river, for the purpose of procuring boats; but the volunteer soldiers protested, saying that they had done enough, suffered severely from the weather, had almost worn out their horses, and proposed to return to Fort Pitt. The Colonel, finding that he could not help himself, inasmuch as the troops were not subject to strict military discipline, consented to their proposal. However, Killbuck and a number of his friendly Delawares later struck the hostile Delawares on the farther side of the river. While Brodhead's forces were resting at New Comer's Town, a few days later, on their way back to Fort Pitt, Killbuck appeared in camp and threw at Brodhead's feet the fresh scalp of "one of the greatest villians" among the hostile Delawares.

On the return march, Brodhead followed the Tuscarawas to New Comer's Town, at which place he found about thirty friendly Delawares who had withdrawn from Coshocton when the Delaware council voted to

espouse the British cause. "The troops," said Brodhead in his report of the expedition, "experienced great kindness from the Moravian Indians and those at New Comer's Town, and obtained a sufficient supply of meat and corn to subsist the men and horses to the Ohio River."

The expedition returned to Wheeling about May 1. Here the captured skins and furs were sold at auction for the enormous sum of eighty thousand pounds.

As a result of the destruction of Coshocton, the hostile Delawares went to the head waters of the Sandusky River and other places nearer the British at Detroit, while Killbuck and his friendly Delawares took up their residence on Smoky Island, near Fort Pitt, among them being Captain Samuel Brady's friend, Nanowland, and Chief Big Cat. Killbuck, who, in baptism, was given the name William Henry in honor of Judge Henry of Lancaster, and who held a commission from the United States Congress, proudly called himself "Colonel Henry."*

Colonel Brodhead's report of this expedition is found in Pa. Archives, Vol. 9, page 161. It is unfortunate that so many historians, in describing the Coshocton campaign, have copied the errors of Dr. Doddridge's "Notes" instead of following Brodhead's own report. Hassler, in his "Old Westmoreland," after calling attention to the fact that Doddridge made an error of almost a year in the time of the expedition and also made the terrible accusation that Colonel Brodhead, honorable soldier that he was, did not kill the fifteen Delaware warriors in the battle as he entered the Delaware capital, but took them captive, then bound them, led them some distance from the town, and tomahawked, speared and scalped them, makes the following comment:

* Colonel George Morgan educated John and Thomas Killbuck at Princeton, son and brother of Chief Killbuck.

"Doddridge's book has still thousands of readers. Doubtless, it well describes the conditions of pioneer life in Western Pennsylvania, but as to historical events it is totally unreliable. At the time Brodhead destroyed Coshocton, Joseph Doddridge was about twelve years old, and he did not write his 'Notes' until forty years afterward. His only sources of information [the Pa. Archives and Pa. Col. Records not yet having been printed] were the exaggerated yarns told by ignorant frontiersmen, beside the log cabin fires, into the ears of the wondering boy. Long years afterward, he endeavored to recall and set down these stories heard in childhood, and many persons have considered the result history." ("Old Westmoreland," pages 128 and 129.)

Among the histories which copy the lamentable error contained in Doddridge's "Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of Virginia and Pennsylvania," are Craig's "History of Pittsburgh" and Howe's "Historical Collections of Ohio." Even the revised edition (1890) of the latter work copies Doddridge's error. (See Vol. 1, page 480.) While it is true that Colonel Brodhead's silence is no proof that the disgraceful affair, mentioned by Doddridge, did not occur, the testimony of the enemy, even that of the notorious renegade, Simon Girty, who hated Brodhead, disproves Doddridge's story. Girty wrote that Colonel Brodhead released the prisoners, among whom were four warriors who had satisfied him that they had not taken part in raids against the frontier, and that he (Brodhead) expressed regret to these prisoners that members of their tribe had been killed during the attack on Coshocton. (Butterfield's "The Girtys," page 128; Winsor's "Westward Movement," page 192.)

In this connection we state that, when the Delaware Council at Coshocton voted to take up arms against the United States, the Moravian converts renounced all fellowship with the hostile members of the Delaware tribe. Then, the British at Detroit, believing that the Moravian Delawares were being instigated by the Moravian Missionaries to take an active part on the American side, set on foot measures to punish them, and finally an expedition of Wyandots, Mingoes, Shawnees and Delawares of the Munsee Clan was sent to break up the settlements of the Moravian converts on the Tuscarawas. The result of the expedition was that the Moravian missions were broken up, and the Christian Delawares taken to the north bank of the Sandusky in Wyandot County, Ohio, while the missionaries were taken to Detroit for trial on the charge that they had rendered assistance to the Americans. The exodus from the missions began in September, 1781; and the trial took place in November, before Major De Pyster, who had succeeded to the command of Detroit after the capture of Hamilton, the "hair-buyer," by George Rogers Clark, in February, 1779. De Pyster opened the council by rehearsing the charges against the missionaries, and then addressing Captain Pipe, asked him whether the accusations were correct and founded in fact, and especially whether the missionaries had corresponded with the Americans.

"There may be some truth in the accusations," said Captain Pipe. "I am not prepared to say that all that you have heard is false. But now nothing more of that sort will occur. The teachers are here." De Pyster replied: "I infer, therefore, that these men have corresponded with the rebels, and sent letters to Fort Pitt. From your answer this seems to be evident. Tell me, is it so?"

Captain Pipe then sprang to his feet and exclaimed: "Father, I have said that there may be some truth in the reports that have reached you; but now I will tell you exactly what has occurred. These teachers are innocent. On their own account they never wrote letters; they had to do it. I (striking upon his breast) and the chiefs at Goshachgunk are responsible. We induced these teachers to write letters to Pittsburgh, even at such times when they at first declined. But this will no more occur, as I have said, because they are now here."

Major De Pyster then acquitted the missionaries, explaining that he was not opposed to the preaching of the Gospel among the Indians and cautioned the missionaries not to meddle with the war. He gave them permission to return to their converts as soon as they pleased.

George Rogers Clark's Draft and Expedition—Colonel Lochry's Unfortunate Expedition and Death

General George Rogers Clark, early in 1781, was authorized by Virginia to lead an army to capture Detroit; one hundred and forty Virginia troops were placed under his command, and he was authorized to raise and equip volunteers in South-western Pennsylvania, descend the Ohio to the Wabash, thence ascend this stream and march overland to Detroit. Arriving in Pennsylvania about March 1, he made his headquarters at the home of Colonel William Crawford, where Connellsville now stands, and also spent some time at the home of Colonel Dorsey Pentecost on Chartier's Creek, Washington County. By persuasion and by draft, he attempted to raise two thousand troops. Many Pennsylvanians, resenting his oppressive measures, opposed his efforts, among them being James

Marshall, county lieutenant of Washington County and Captain John Hardin; while such men as Colonel Pentecost, Gabriel Cox and Daniel Leet,* all of Washington County, worked strenuously in an effort to assist the great Virginian who had conquered the Illinois country and captured Colonel Henry Hamilton, the "Hair-Buyer." Colonel Brodhead had left Fort Pitt on May 7 and gone to Philadelphia on public business, leaving Colonel John Gibson in temporary command. Brodhead had refused supplies for Clark's expedition, but while he was in Philadelphia, General Washington ordered Gibson to turn over to Clark all that could be spared consistent with the safety of Fort Pitt. The troops sent from Fort Pitt were Captain Isaac Craig's field artillery and some infantry. Also the militia officers of Westmoreland County, at a meeting held at the home of Captain John McClelland, on Big Sewickley Creek, on June 18, decided, against the opposition of Colonel Christopher Hayes, the Westmoreland member of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council, to give Clark the aid of three hundred militia from Westmoreland County, to be raised "by volunteers or draft" and to be commanded by Colonel Archibald Lochry.

The contention between the adherents to Pennsylvania and the adherents to Virginia in the unhappy territorial dispute was largely responsible for Clark's being able to raise only four hundred troops, including Colonel Joseph Crockett's regiment of Virginia state troops, militia from Washington County principally, and Captain Craig's artillery. With these, he left Fort Pitt and the mouth of Chartier's Creek near the end of July, and marched to Wheeling where his boats were built, where he was joined by a few more militia but was deserted by about fifty of the militia who had

*Major Daniel Leet later resided in Allegheny County, where he died, at Sewickley Bottom, June 17, 1830.

accompanied him from Fort Pitt, and where he waited until August 8 for additions to his force—additions that did not appear. Leaving Clark to go down the Ohio, we now return to Colonel Lochry.

The dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia, as well as the harried condition of the Westmoreland frontier, made it impossible for Colonel Lochry to raise the number of troops required of him. His forces began to assemble at Carnahan's Blockhouse, on August 1, where the muster was held the following day. On August 3, his little band of eighty-three militiamen began its march to join General Clark at Wheeling, its first camp being at Gaspard Markle's mill and blockhouse, two miles east of West Newton. Crossing the Youghiogheny at West Newton and the Monongahela at Monongahela City, Lochry's force went overland by the settlements on the headwaters of Chartiers and Racoon Creeks, Washington County, and reached the Ohio River at Wheeling, West Virginia, on August 8, just a few hours after General Clark's forces had left that place. Lochry was detained at Wheeling for four days, while seven boats were built.

On August 13, the boats were ready, and most of the soldiers embarked in them, while the horses were conducted along the southern shore. Thus the expedition proceeded until August 15, when Lochry overtook a large horse boat, which General Clark had left in charge of seven men for the use of Lochry's horses. The horses were put into the boat, and the expedition moved with increased speed. On the following day, Lochry sent Captain Samuel Shannon and seven men in a small boat, to endeavor to overtake General Clark and ask him to leave some provisions for the Westmoreland flotilla. On August 17, two men who were sent out to hunt did not return. It is likely that they were killed

by Indians. On August 20, two of Captain Shannon's men were picked up from the southern shore. They informed Colonel Lochry that Shannon's men had been attacked by Indians on the Kentucky side of the river below the mouth of the Scioto. These two half-starved soldiers were the only survivors, a third soldier having been fatally wounded by stepping on his hunting knife while fleeing through the brush. Unhappily Captain Shannon was carrying a letter to General Clark, revealing the weakness and distressed condition of Lochry's men. This fell into the hands of the enemy. Keen-eyed Indians had been watching Lochry's flotilla ever since it left Wheeling.

On the forenoon of August 24, the boats approached a level spot at the mouth of the creek since known as Lochry's Run, the same being the dividing line between Ohio and Dearborn Counties, Indiana. It being absolutely necessary to land somewhere to feed the horses and hunt game for the half-famished soldiers, Colonel Lochry at once ordered a landing. The boats were therefore beached, and the men and horses were soon on the northern shore.

No sooner had they landed than half a hundred rifles blazed from the woods that flanked the level ground near the shore. Many of Lochry's men were killed and others wounded. Others hastened to the boats and pushed for the Kentucky shore. Says Hassler in his "Old Westmoreland:" "Painted savages then appeared, shrieking and firing, and a fleet of canoes filled with other savages shot out from the Kentucky shore, completely cutting off the escape of Lochry's men. The volunteers returned the fire for a few moments, but were entrapped, and Colonel Lochry offered to surrender. The fight ceased, the boats poled back to shore and the force landed the second time. Human blood

was now mingled with that of the buffalo in the languidly flowing river. [The troops had shot a buffalo at the water's edge just before the attack]. . . The Westmoreland men found themselves the prisoners of Joseph Brant, the famous war chief of the Mohawks, with a large band of Iroquois, Shawnees and Wyandots. George Girty, a brother of Simon, was in command of some of the Indians. The fierce Shawnees could not be controlled and began at once to kill their share of the prisoners. While Lochry sat on a log, a Shawnee warrior stepped behind him and sunk a tomahawk into the Colonel's skull, tearing off the scalp before life was gone. It was with great difficulty that Brant prevented the massacre of the men assigned to the Mohawks and Wyandots."

In this ill-fated expedition, forty-two of Lochry's force were slain, most of them after the surrender. Deep was the gloom in Westmoreland when the news came of the fate of her gallant sons. Such prisoners as were not butchered by the Indians were taken to Detroit and from there to Montreal, at which place a few escaped, and the remainder were released after the treaty of peace ending the Revolutionary War. So far as the records disclose, about all that returned to Westmoreland were the following: Captain Richard Wallace, of Fort Wallace, quarter-master of the expedition; Captain Thomas Stokely;* Lieutenant Richard Fleming; Lieutenant Isaac Anderson; Captain Robert Orr; Lieutenant Samuel Craig, Jr., whose father, as related in a former chapter, was either killed or captured at the base of the Chestnut Ridge, November 1, 1777; Ensign James Hunter; also Robert Watson, John Marns, Michael Hare, John Guthrie, John Scott, James Robinson, James Kane, John Crawford, Peter McHarge, James Dunseath, Manasseh Coyle and Ezekiel Lewis.

*Captain Thomas Stokely later resided in Washington County, dying near Claysville, July 26, 1824.

Captain Richard Wallace and Lieutenant Isaac Anderson made their escape at Montreal on May 26, 1782, and arrived at Philadelphia on July 2. (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 13, page 324; "Frontier Forts of Pa.," Vol. 2, page 351.) Some have thought that Captain Samuel Shannon, who was succeeded in command by Lieutenant Isaac Anderson,* also made his way back to Westmoreland after escaping or being exchanged, as letters of administration on his estate were granted by the Register of Wills of Westmoreland County on April 3, 1785. One of the captives, James McPherson, accepted British service and acted with the Indians until after Wayne's victory over them in 1794. (Howe's "Historical Collections of Ohio," Vol. 2, page 104.)

At this point, an additional word concerning two of the survivors. Captain Robert Orr returned to Westmoreland in the summer of 1783, his house and personal property having been destroyed at the burning of Hannastown on July 13, 1782. Soon after his return, he organized a company of rangers to scout along the Allegheny, and, with these, erected a blockhouse at the mouth of Bull Creek, where Tarentum now stands. In the autumn of that year (1783), he was elected sheriff of Westmoreland County. He was also one of the early settlers of Sugar Creek Township, Armstrong County; and when Armstrong County was organized for judicial purposes, in 1805, he was appointed one of the three associate-judges, which position he filled for the remainder of his life. He was the father of General Robert Orr. Ezekiel Lewis also settled in Sugar Creek Township, Armstrong County, where he ended his days in April, 1850, at the great age of 95 years.

Now to return to George Rogers Clark. His expedition, too, was a failure. Because of fate that befell

*In 1812, Lieutenant Isaac Anderson migrated to Butler County, Ohio, where he died in 1889.

Lochry and his men and because of the passing of an act by the Virginia Legislature authorizing the governor to stop Clark's expedition, thus causing the non-arrival of other expected re-inforcements, also because of numerous desertions, Clark, who was then at Fort Nelson, opposite Louisville, Ky., abandoned his project of marching through the Indian country to Detroit. Captain Isaac Craig, with his detachment of artillery, after many hardships, made his way back to Fort Pitt, arriving there on November 26.

For details of Lochry's expedition, see Lieutenant Isaac Anderson's Journal, in Pa. Archives, Sec. Series, Vol. 14; see also Pa. Archives, First Series, Vol. 9, pages 333, 369, 458, 574 and 733; also Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 13, pages 324, 325 and 473.

*Another Abandoned Expedition—Moravian Missionaries
Warn Colonel Brodhead*

A few days before General George Rogers Clark left Fort Pitt on his way down the Ohio and before Colonel Brodhead returned from Philadelphia, the former suggested to Colonel John Gibson, then in command of this post during Brodhead's absence, that he (Gibson) should lead an expedition against the Wyandot towns upon the Sandusky, pointing out that he (Clark) would, at the same time, begin his march from the mouth of the Miami, against the Shawnees, on his way to Detroit. Thus both his forces and those of Gibson would invade the Ohio strongholds of the Shawnees and Wyandots at the same time. Colonel Brodhead returned to Fort Pitt on August 11, and immediately upon his arrival, the matter was laid before him. He heartily approved the plan, and, claiming the right to command in opposition to Gibson's claim of the same right, sent letters to the County-Lieutenants, asking

that they raise militia to assist in the proposed expedition. Soon a number of volunteers was enrolled. Leading citizens in the western department took an active part in aiding the enterprise. Brodhead wrote General Washington that the troops would rendezvous at Fort McIntosh on September 4 and 5, 1781.

Just when Brodhead was completing plans for the intended expedition, the Rev. David Zeisberger, Moravian missionary then on the Tuscarawas, sent a messenger advising him that about two hundred and fifty Indians from Ohio, Delawares of the Munsee Clan, Wyandots and Shawnees, were approaching the settlements, intending to attack Fort Henry, at Wheeling, first. The renegade, Matthew Elliott, was their leader. Great excitement prevailed on the western frontier on account of this alarming intelligence. Brodhead gave up the intended expedition, and sent word to the county lieutenants and commanders of Fort McIntosh and Fort Henry to put themselves in readiness to meet the foe. The Indians soon appeared before Fort Henry, now in readiness to meet the attack. One boy, outside the fort, was killed, another was wounded but escaped to the fort, and another, David Glen, was captured. Young Glen informed the Indians that the garrison and the country in general had been warned by letters from the Moravian missionaries to be on their guard. This information, given by young Glen, so exasperated the British and Indians that they broke up the Moravian missions and took the missionaries to Detroit for trial, as related earlier in this chapter. ("Washington-Irvine Correspondence," pages 58 to 60.)

Expedition Against Moravian Delawares

The Western Pennsylvania frontiersmen, in the autumn of 1781, decided that the Moravian Delawares

should no longer be permitted to reside in the villages of Schoenbrun (Beautiful Spring), Gnadenhuetten (Tents of Grace), and Salem, all on the Tuscarawas River in Ohio. These villages were between the habitat of the hostile Indians and the Pennsylvania settlements. Even if it were not true that some of the Moravian Delawares sometimes joined the war parties of the hostile Indians, yet it was thought that they gave the war parties food and shelter. They were possibly compelled to do this by the hostile Indians. Colonel David Williamson, one of the battalion commanders of Washington County, raised a force of about a hundred men, and went to the Tuscarawas in November, with the intention of compelling the Moravians either to migrate into the country of the hostile Indians or to move to Fort Pitt. When Williamson and his troops arrived at the Tuscarawas, they found that the villages had already been broken up, as was related earlier in this chapter. Only a few men and women were in the villages. These had come from the Sandusky to gather their corn. Colonel Williamson compelled them to accompany him to Fort Pitt, and placed them under the care of General William Irvine, who had succeeded Colonel Brodhead as commander of the Western Department about November 1, having been appointed by Congress on September 24. General Irvine soon permitted these Christian Delawares to return to their brethren on the Sandusky River. In our next chapter we shall describe the fate of the Moravian Delawares at the hands of this same Colonel Williamson and his Scotch-Irish militia from Washington County.

Colonel Brodhead Succeeded by General William Irvine

As already pointed out, there was a contest between Colonel Brodhead and Colonel John Gibson as to which

of them should command the proposed expedition against the Wyandots. This conflict of authority continuing after the expedition was abandoned, General Washington put an end to the dispute by ordering Colonel Brodhead to resign his command during his pending trial on charges that had been preferred against him and to turn it over to Colonel Gibson. Accordingly, on September 17, 1781, Brodhead turned the command of Fort Pitt and the western department over to Colonel Gibson. At this time, Fort Pitt was little more than a heap of ruins. Not only the dispute between Brodhead and Gibson, but also the much longer controversy between Brodhead and Colonel Archibald Lochry, had caused much disorder in the western department. Yet Brodhead was an energetic and able officer, having twice, while in charge of the western department, led successful expeditions into the Indian country.

At this time, civil affairs in the western country were in as bad a state as were military affairs, on account of the excitement due to the boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia, referred to earlier in this chapter. The line was not yet run between the two states. Hence a commander of great prudence and judgment was needed at Fort Pitt; and General Washington, with great concern, looked about him for such a person. His choice was General William Irvine, of Carlisle, commander of the second brigade of Pennsylvania troops.

General Irvine assumed command of Fort Pitt and the western department about November 1, 1781, as stated earlier in this chapter. In our next chapter, we shall describe the major events that took place during his command. But, at this point, we call attention to the fact that he took command at a time when the minds

of people of the western country were filled with the gloomiest forebodings. It was generally believed that, owing to the slaughter of Lochry's brave Westmorelanders, owing to the failure of Clark's expedition and owing, also, to the abandonment of the proposed expedition against the Wyandots, the Indian allies of the British would be greatly encouraged and would invade the western frontier with added fury in the spring of 1782. General Washington himself shared this opinion. In a letter to him (Washington) on December 3, 1781, General Irvine said: "At present the people talk of flying early in the spring to the eastern side of the mountain, and are daily flocking to me to enquire what support they may expect."

Andrew Poe's Fight with Big Foot

"A striking incident in the history of Washington County was connected with the removal of the Moravians [to Sandusky, related earlier in this chapter.] While the exiles were being conducted up the Walhonding, seven Wyandot warriors left the company and went on a raid across the Ohio River. Among the seven were three sons of Dunquat, the half-king, and the eldest son, Scotosh, was the leader of the party. They crossed the Ohio on a raft, which they hid in the mouth of Tomlinson's run. They visited the farm of Philip Jackson, on Harman's Creek, and captured Jackson in his flax field. The prisoner was a carpenter, about 60 years old, and his trade made him valuable to the Indians, as he could build houses for them. The savages did not return directly to their raft, but traveled by devious ways to the river to baffle pursuit. The taking of the carpenter was seen by his son who ran nine miles to Ft. Cherry, on Little Raccoon Creek, and gave the alarm. Pursuit the same evening was prevented by

a heavy rain, but next morning seventeen stout young men, all mounted, gathered at Jackson's farm. Most of the borderers decided to follow the crooked and half obliterated trail, but John Jack, a professional scout, declared that he believed he knew where the Indians had hidden their raft, and called for followers. Six men joined him, John Cherry, Andrew Poe, William Castelman, William Rankin, and James Whitacre, and they rode on a gallop directly for the mouth of Tomlinson's Run.

"Jack's surmise was a shrewed one, based on a thorough knowledge of the Ohio River and the habits of the Indians. At the top of the river hill, the borderers tied their horses in a grove and descended cautiously to the river bank. At the mouth of the run were five Indians, with their prisoner, preparing to shove off their raft. John Cherry fired the first shot, killed an Indian, and was himself killed by return fire. Four of the five Indians were slain, Phillip Jackson was rescued without injury, and Scotosh escaped up the river with a wound in his right hand.

"Andrew Poe, in approaching the river, had gone aside to follow a trail that deviated to the left: Peering over a little bluff, he saw two of the sons of the half-king sitting by the stream. The sound of the firing at the mouth of the run alarmed them, and they arose. Poe's gun missed fire, and he jumped directly upon the two savages, throwing them to the ground. A fierce wrestling contest took place. Andrew Poe was six feet tall, of unusual strength, and almost a match for the two brothers. One of them wounded him in the wrist with a tomahawk, but he got possession of the only rifle that was in working order and loaded, and fatally shot the one who had cut him. Poe and the other savage [his English name was Big Foot. He was

a large and powerful Indian] contested for the mastery, awhile on the shore, and then in the water, where Andrew attempted to drown his antagonist. The Indian escaped, reached land and began to load his gun, when Andrew struck out for the opposite shore, shouting for his brother Adam. At the opportune moment, Adam appeared and shot the Indian through the body, but before he expired the savage rolled into the water and his corpse was carried away down the stream. One of the borderers, mistaking Andrew in the stream for an Indian fired at him and wounded him in the shoulder. The triumphant return of the party to Ft. Cherry was saddened by the death of John Cherry, who was a man of great popularity and a natural leader on the frontier.

"Scotosh, the only survivor of the raiding band, succeeded in swimming the Ohio and hid over night in the woods. In the morning he made a small raft, recrossed the stream, recovered the body of his brother lying on the beach, conveyed it to the Indian side of the river and buried it in the woods. He then made his way to Upper Sandusky, with a sad message for his father and the tribe."—(Hassler's "Old Westmoreland").

There is also a tradition that, some time after the Revolutionary War, a noted warrior of the Wyandots, named Rohnyenness, was sent to Andrew Poe's cabin in Washington County, to avenge the killing of Big Foot. Poe invited the Indian to remain over night. After Poe was asleep, the Indian arose, knife in hand, to kill him, but, thinking of the trust the white man had placed in him, his heart failed him, and he then went to sleep also. In the morning he left and went back home. Afterward he was converted to Christianity, and such is the story he told to Rev. Finley, a Methodist missionary among the Wyandots. About 1800, Andrew Poe left Washington County, and took up his

residence in Beaver County, where he died, July 15, 1823, aged eighty-one years. His dust reposes in the cemetery of Mill Creek Presbyterian Church at Hookstown, Beaver County.

*Other Events in Washington County in 1781—
Patrick Moore and James Bell*

On June 27, 1781, Colonel James Marsel (Marshall), County-Lieutenant of Washington County, wrote President Reed concerning one of the events on this county's frontier, as follows: "On the 17th Inst., a party of about twenty Indians attacked the frontier Inhabitants, wounded one man, and took off a whole family prisoners, which has occasioned a great part of the frontiers to be evacuated." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 9, page 234).

One morning in September, 1781, Frank Hupp, Jacob Fisher and Captain John Jacob Miller left the latter's blockhouse in Donegal Township, Washington County, to search for some horses which had strayed and to scout for Indians. At nightfall they arrived at the cabin of Jonathan Link, on the right bank of the Middle Fork of Wheeling Creek, about three miles south of West Alexander and very near the West Virginia line. Mr. Link invited them to spend the night with him. They complied, and during the night all the occupants of the cabin were awakened by the furious barking of Link's dog, which continued almost until morning. Unknown to the white men, a band of Shawnee Indians had surrounded the cabin in the night time, waiting for their appearance at dawn. At daylight, Hupp and Fisher stepping out of the cabin to wash at a spring a few feet away, leaving Mr. Link and Captain Miller in bed in the loft of the cabin. Hupp and Fisher had scarcely gotten outside the cabin when the

Indians fired upon them, mortally wounding the former and killing the latter. Frank Hupp was able to reach the loft to warn Captain Miller and Jonathan Link, and then sank down dead. The Indians entered the cabin before Miller and Link could make defense, captured them, and dragged Hupp's body out and removed the scalp.

The captives, Miller and Link, were left in charge of a guard near West Alexander, while other Indians of the band went to the cabin of Presley Peake, a short distance away, on Buffalo Creek, where they captured Mr. Peake, and a man named Burnett, and William Hawkins. The band then separated into two parties, one going to the cabin of Edward Gaither and the other to the cabin of William Hawkins. However, the occupants of the Gaither cabin, hearing the shots fired when the Indians were at Peake's cabin, made their escape to Miller's blockhouse, and thus escaped death or capture. At the Hawkins cabin, the Indians found only one occupant, Miss Elizabeth Hawkins, the rest of the family having fled to the woods when they heard the shots at Peake's cabin. The girl was too ill to flee, and was captured. Mrs. Hawkins narrowly escaped capture. She was hiding with her infant, William Hawkins, Jr., in the woods when the Indians, after capturing Elizabeth passed within a few feet of where she lay. In order to keep her child from crying, she gagged the babe with her apron. The infant grew to manhood, and was county surveyor of Washington County in 1820, according to Earle R. Forrest's "History of Washington County."

Taking Elizabeth Hawkins, her father, William Hawkins, Presley Peake and Mr. Burnett, the Indians returned to the place where they had left the guard with Captain Miller and Jonathan Link, and then set

out with all the prisoners for the Shawnee villages in Ohio. After proceeding for some distance, the Indians killed William Hawkins, Presley Peake and Mr. Burnett. At nightfall, the Indians and their remaining prisoners reached the banks of Big Wheeling Creek, where they encamped for the night, the prisoners being securely bound. During the night, Captain Miller succeeded in severing his cords with his teeth, and cautiously made his escape, reaching his blockhouse at daylight and leading a party to Link's cabin to bury Frank Hupp and Jacob Fisher. Jonathan Link and Elizabeth Hawkins were carried to the Shawnee towns in Ohio. No word was ever heard from Link, as far as can be ascertained, except that tradition says he was brought back near his cabin and there shot to death. Elizabeth Hawkins spent the remainder of her life among the Shawnees. She became the wife of a Shawnee chieftain. After the permanent peace following the Treaty of Greenville, in August, 1795, she returned for a short time to her relatives and the familiar scenes of her childhood, then went back to her Indian wigwam, never to be heard from or seen again by relatives and friends among the whites.

In the latter years of the Revolutionary War, or probably during the Post Revolutionary uprising, Patrick Moore was killed by Indians where McKees Rocks now stands. James Bell, an early settler in Robinson Township, Allegheny County, was captured by Indians when fourteen years of age. He lived with the Indians for several years. Years later, when an old man, he met on Liberty Street, Pittsburgh, the Indian who captured him and with whom he lived as a captive. The old Indian was overjoyed to see him.

*Massacre at Philip Klingensmith's—Other Events in
Westmoreland*

We close this chapter by again turning our eyes to Westmoreland. The soil of this historic county was crimsoned with the blood of its settlers in the terrible year of 1781. Colonel Archibald Lochry, writing from his home in Unity Township to President Reed, on April 17, describes the bloody incursions of the Indians, as follows:

“The savages have begun their hostilities. Since I came from Phila., they have struck us in four different places, have taken and killed thirteen persons with a number of horses and other effects of the inhabitants. Two of the unhappy people were killed one mile from Hannastown. Our country is worse depopulated than it has ever been. . . . I have built a magazine for state stores (in the form of a Blockhouse) that can be defended by a very few men.” (Pa. Archives, Vol. 9, pages 79 and 80.)

On May 2, President Reed replied to the above letter, stating that it was practically impossible to procure ammunition in Philadelphia; that there were not one thousand pounds in the city; and that Colonel Lochry should use his supply of ammunition with great frugality and not collect it all at one place, but keep it “at sundry Places,” so as not to “expose it to the Enemy.” This is the last reference to Lochry’s Blockhouse. At that time Colonel Lochry was making arrangements to gather a force of Westmorelanders to cooperate with General George Rogers Clark.

During the raid in Westmoreland County in the spring of 1781, Colonel Pomroy, on April 1, was at work in his field with several of his hired men, near his blockhouse (Pomroy’s Fort), when they were fired upon by Indians and one of the men was killed. Pomroy

then fled to his blockhouse, while two of his men fled to Fort Barr and related what had occurred; whereupon James Barr and James Wilson mounted their horses and left Fort Barr to go to Pomroy's assistance. From a hilltop near Pomroy's house, they saw several Indians skulking about the house. Barr and Wilson left their horses and dashed into the Pomroy house unharmed. They found that Pomroy and his wife, Hannah, had been making a gallant defense of their home for several hours. They had hidden their children under the heavy oak floor, and then went to the loft, where Pomroy, using two rifles, fired at the Indians, while his wife loaded the weapons and handed them to him, meanwhile frequently taking liberal "pinches of snuff." Upon the arrival of Barr and Wilson, the Indians fled. The white persons then went to Fort Barr. On the following day, Colonel Archibald Lochry, with a detachment of militia, from Fort Ligonier, visited the Pomroy house. He found that the blockhouse had been broken open and its contents carried off. He also found in the field the dead body of Pomroy's hired man. Another hired man, who fled, was never heard of again. (See Col. Archibald Lochry's letter of April 2 to Col. Brodhead, in Penna. Archives, Vol. 9, page 51.)

Colonel James Perry, writing from Big Sewickley Creek to President Reed, on July 2, tells of the massacre at Philip Klingensmith's blockhouse, as follows:

"This morning a small garrison at Philip Clingensmiths [Klingensmith's], about eight miles from this, and four or five miles from Hannastown, consisting of between twenty and thirty men, women and children was destroyed; only three made their escape. The particulars I cannot well inform you, as the party that was sent to bury the dead are not yet returned, and I wait every moment to hear of or perhaps see them

strike at some other place. The party was supposed to be about seventeen, and I am apt to think there are still more of them in the settlements." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 9, page 240.)

Philip Klingensmith's house was in the Brush Creek settlement likely where Jeanette now stands.* The details of the fate that there befell the German settlers on that mid-summer day will likely remain forever unknown. Likely some of those who fell victims to the fury of the Indians, were those gallant defenders of the Brush Creek settlement—Adam Saam's German riflemen. About this time, raiding Indians burned the log church and school house of the Brush Creek Lutheran congregation, after which the sessions of the school were held in Fort Walthour. About the same time, too, Colonel Christopher Truby's daughter was captured by the Indians. She was recovered, however, near where Clarion now stands, by her father and Captain Jack.

In his letter, above quoted, Colonel Perry tells of other tragedies of the Westmoreland frontier:

"About three weeks ago, one James Chambers, was taken prisoner about two miles from my house; last Friday two young women were killed in the Ligonier Valley."

*Albert's "History of Westmoreland County", page 721, says that neighbors buried Mr. and Mrs. Klingensmith and four of their children all in one grave behind the house; that all of the Klingensmith children were killed except one who remained with the Indians for twenty-eight years, and then returned and claimed the farm, but as no one could identify him, he went back to the Indians; that the massacre took place on a farm in Penn Township owned by a Mr. Ferree at the time when Mr. Albert's volume was written (1882).

About the time of the Klingensmith massacre, Robert Hays and his son were captured in Franklin Township. They returned after three years, and soon thereafter Mr. Hays was killed in the door-way of his home during an Indian raid. Within sight of Emanuel Lutheran and Reformed (Union) Church in Franklin Township, are the graves of both Indians and whites who were killed in Indian raids during the Revolution.

CHAPTER XX

Fort Ligonier and Western Pennsylvania in the Revolutionary War (1782-1783)

IRVINE REORGANIZES WESTERN DEPARTMENT

One of the first things that General William Irvine did upon taking command of Fort Pitt and the western department, was the reformation of the Continental forces at Fort Pitt. The remains of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment were placed in two companies and called a "detachment from the Pennsylvania Line," commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen Bayard. Captain John Clark commanded the first company, and Captain Samuel Brady, the second. Baron Steuben had, some time before this, directed Colonel John Gibson to reform his regiment, then the Seventh Virginia Regiment, previously the Ninth Virginia Regiment and originally the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, also into two companies, to retain with him the staff officers and to send the supernumerary officers to Virginia. The reformation was made; but the officers were so destitute of clothing and other necessities that they were not able to proceed to Virginia. Upon the opening of the year, 1782, there were, accordingly, four companies of Continentals at Fort Pitt and Fort McIntosh.

Another task that General Irvine set out to perform when he took over the command, was to repair Fort Pitt, then little more than a heap of ruins. New

pickets were prepared, and the whole garrison joined in the task, which continued for many months. To encourage the soldiers, General Irvine labored with his own hands, and every officer followed his example.

In January, 1782, Irvine left Fort Pitt to visit his home in Carlisle and to confer with Congress and General Washington, leaving Colonel John Gibson in temporary command. Upon his return, on March 25, Irvine found the garrisons of Fort Pitt and Fort McIntosh in a mutinous condition. In order to correct these conditions, he was obliged to use great firmness. Frequently "one hundred lashes" were "well laid on;" and before the end of May, two soldiers suffered the death penalty.

Before General Irvine left for Carlisle, he sent requisitions to Colonel Edward Cook, who had succeeded Colonel Archibald Lochry as County-Lieutenant of Westmoreland County, and to Colonel James Marsel, County-Lieutenant of Washington County, for militia to garrison the smaller western posts and to range the frontier. Sixty were ordered out for one month's service in guarding the Westmoreland frontier; and one subaltern, one sergeant and fifteen privates were ordered out from Washington County to relieve the garrison at Fort Henry. By the middle of April the Westmoreland militia were garrisoning Myers' Blockhouse on Turtle Creek, Carnahan's Blockhouse, and scouting from the latter place to Fort Ligonier. But most of the state militia deserted their posts in Westmoreland, because they were not paid and were in rags. The whole country north of the Forbes Road became deserted. Before summer had come, most of the inhabitants of Westmoreland gathered into Fort Ligonier, the Hannastown Fort, Carnahan's Block-

house, Miller's Station, Rugh's Blockhouse, Fort Walther, and into the cabins near these principal places of refuge and defense.

We shall now describe the major events on the western frontier in 1782.

Atrocities in Washington County Early in 1782

The spring of 1782 opened early, mild weather beginning about February 1. This caused the Wyandots, Shawnees, Delawares and other hostile tribes in Ohio to begin their raids in Southwestern Pennsylvania as early as February 8, on which date Indians murdered John Fink, near Buchanan's Fort on the upper Monongahela.

This murder was followed by the attack on the home of Robert Wallace, in what is now Hanover Township, Washington County, on February 10 (some say February 17), most likely by a band of Shawnees. Mr. Wallace was absent at the time. The Indians carried off his wife, Mary, and their three children, a boy aged ten years, another, Robert, aged three years, and an infant daughter. When Mr. Wallace returned that evening and found that his family had been captured, he spread the alarm; and the next morning a band of his neighbors started in pursuit of the Indians but were unable to follow the trail on account of the falling snow. The Indians fled to Ohio by way of the Indian trail leading through Beaver County. On their way they killed and scalped Mrs. Wallace and her baby, and hid the bodies in the underbrush, where their bones were found the next year by hunters. Mr. Wallace was able to identify his wife's skeleton by the shape of the teeth. The eldest boy died soon after his capture, and the other, Robert, was sold by his captors to the Wyandots. His father recovered him three years later. (Pa.

Archives, Vol. 9, pages 496 and 511; Butterfield's "Washington Irvine Correspondence," page 101.)

About the middle of February, a band of Indians captured John Carpenter on the Dutch Fork of Buffalo Creek, Washington County. He was carried towards the villages on the Tuscarawas. Four of his captors were Wyandots; but two others, who spoke German, told Carpenter they were Moravian Indians. On the morning of the second day after crossing the Ohio, Carpenter was sent into the woods after the horses. Finding them, he mounted one and made his escape. He arrived at the Ohio near Fort McIntosh, thence went up the Ohio to Fort Pitt, and told his story to Colonel Gibson, then returned to his home on Buffalo Creek.

Massacre of Moravian Delawares at Gnadenhuetten

The settlers in Washington County were greatly alarmed by these Indian incursions, coming so early in the year. The party that captured the Wallace family, from all indications, must have consisted of at least thirty warriors. It was believed that hostile Indians could not have come from a point farther away than the Moravian villages on the Tuscarawas. After learning from John Carpenter that there were Moravian Indians among the raiders of the frontier, the Washington County frontiersmen determined to destroy the villages on the Tuscarawas as harboring places for the hostile Indians. Their plans were formed at Vance's Fort, located about one mile north of the present village of Cross Creek.

Accordingly the settlers of Washington County turned out to the number of one hundred sixty, under the command of Colonel David Williamson, and cross-

ing the Ohio at Mingo Bottom, a few miles below Steubenville marched against the Moravian villages. On the evening of March 6, they were within striking distance of the Moravian town of Gnadenhuetten, on the eastern bank of the Tuscarawas, about nine miles below New Philadelphia, when their scouts brought the intelligence to the camp at night that the town was full of Indians. Williamson and his force believed that the occupants of the town were the Indians who had been making the raids, but as a matter of fact they were Moravian converts who, after being compelled to go to Sandusky in the preceding autumn, had come back to their old homes to gather corn.

Some of these Moravian Delawares had come to Gnadenhuetten from Sandusky as early as the middle of January for the purpose of gathering the corn. Others had followed in small parties until, according to Butterfield's "The Girtys," there were one hundred and fifty men, women and children in the Tuscarawas Valley by the first of March. According to a letter written by Dorsey Pentecost, of Washington County, to President Moore, on May 8, 1782, and recorded in Pa. Archives, Vol. 9, pages 540 and 541, at least ten Wyandot warriors accompanied the Moravian Delawares to Gnadenhuetten, halted there for a time, and then went to raid the Washington County settlements. According to Pentecost, four of these Wyandots had returned to the Tuscarawas and were in the Moravian towns when Williamson's forces arrived. Furthermore, it is quite likely, as charged at the time, that some Moravian Delawares, either through coercion or of their own free will, accompanied the Wyandot warriors in their raiding. There were, of course, Moravian

Delawares whose savage instincts were not entirely destroyed by the teachings of the pious Moravian missionaries.

Williamson attacked the town the next morning. But about a mile from Gnadenhuetten, some of Williamson's troops met the Moravian Delaware, the son of Shebosh, a Moravian preacher, and fired upon him, wounding him in the arm. He begged for his life, saying that he was the son of a white Christian man. Charles Bilderback knocked out the brains of the half-breed with a tomahawk, and tore off his scalp. At the same time, another Moravian Delaware, Jacob, was shot dead on the shore and his body pushed into the river, where it floated away in the sullen waters. The presence of women and children in Gnadenhuetten was plain notice to the frontiersmen that the town was not occupied by a war party. Furthermore, no resistance was made and there was no show of hostile action. Holding a council with a few of the converts who could speak English, Williamson advised them that they must go to Fort Pitt instead of returning to Sandusky. To this they agreed, and at his suggestion, sent messengers down the river to Salem to tell the converts of that place to come to Gnadenhuetten. While the Indians were being assembled and conducted to the church at Gnadenhuetten, an Indian woman was found to be wearing the dress of the wife of Robert Wallace, who, as we have seen, had been captured on February 10 on Raccoon Creek, Washington County, and later killed, by some hostile Indians. The Indian men were then examined, one at a time, but none of them acknowledged guilt. This dress had been sold to the Moravian woman by the hostile Wyandots; but Williamson's men did not pause to reason matters out.

The frontiersmen then began to clamor for the execution of the whole band. Williamson put the question to vote whether they should be taken to Fort Pitt or put to death on the spot. All but eighteen voted to slay all the Indians in the morning.

Bishop Loskiel, in his "History of the Missions of the United Brethren," says that the converts were informed that evening of the fate which awaited them, and that they spent the night in praying, singing hymns, and exhorting one another to die with the fortitude of Christians. Some authorities say that a Rev. Edward Christy accompanied the expedition and looked in at the windows of the cooper shop and church on that night of anguish. Men were shaking one another by the hand and kissing one another. Tears were streaming down some faces, while others were full of lines of agony. Agonized mothers, with tears streaming down their swarthy faces held their children in close embrace.

Accordingly, on the morning of Friday, March 8, 1782, the terrible decree was carried into execution. The Indian men were led two by two to the cooper shop, where they were beaten to death with mallets and hatchets. The women and children were led into the church and there slaughtered. Many of them died with prayers on their lips, while others met their death chanting songs. Altogether forty men, twenty women, and thirty-four children were inhumanly butchered. Many of the children were brained in their wretched mothers' arms. One of the murderers after having broken the skulls of fourteen of the Christian Delawares, with a cooper's mallet, handed the blood-stained weapon to a companion with the remark: "My arm fails me, go on with the work. I think I have done pretty well." Only two Indians escaped. One was a boy who hid himself

in the cellar under the house in which the women and children were butchered, and crept forth during the night. The other was a boy who was scalped among the men, but later revived and crawled into the woods in the night time. Among the victims was the Delaware chief, Glikkikan.

For the names of the Washington County men who took part in the slaughter of the Moravian Delawares at Gnadenhuetten, see Pa. Archives, Second Series, Vol. 14, page 753; also Earle R. Forrest's "History of Washington County, Pennsylvania," Vol. 1, pages 139 to 142. From this latter work, we quote the following, which appears on page 138 of the first volume:

"The story is told that the eighteen men who voted for mercy retired under the river bank during the massacre. The survivor of the eighteen died in 1839, aged ninety-six years, and he related many of the details of the massacre in after life. He told how Robert Wallace [whose family, it will be recalled, was captured in Washington County, on February 10, 1782] went to them after the massacre, his clothing covered with blood, and, with tears streaming down his face, said: 'You know I couldn't help it.'"

Before Williamson's troops left for home, they burned every building at Gnadenhuetten, "including the two slaughter houses with their heaped-up corpses." The neighboring Moravian villages of Schoenbrun and Salem were also reduced to ashes. Arriving at Mingo Bottom with the goods of the victims loaded upon eighty horses, the raiders divided the spoils, and scattered to their Washington County homes to spread the news of their exploit. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 9 pages 523 to 525 Butterfield's "Washington-Irvine Correspondence," pages 99 to 102.)

The wholesale slaughter of these unarmed defenseless and peaceable Moravian Delawares, many of whom had been with the Moravian missionaries from the early days of their missionary activities in Eastern Pennsylvania, had endured the buffets and received the curses of the Pennsylvania settlers during the French and Indian War and Pontiac's War and had followed their Christian teachers from the Susquehanna to the Beaver and thence to the Tuscarawas, is one of the darkest spots on the pages of American history. The terrible Indian raids against the Scotch-Irish settlers of Washington County largely explain why the minds of Williamson's men were inflamed; but these outrages, committed by Shawnees and Wyandots principally, cannot be taken as justification for the slaughter of the women and children of the peaceable Moravian Delawares—cannot be taken as justification for breaking the skulls of the Indian women and knocking the brains out of the Indian children. Such is the impartial verdict of history.

Some writers have attempted to excuse the horrible massacre at Gnadenhuetten. Such attempts are sheer folly. Says Theodore Roosevelt: "More than a hundred years have passed since this deed of revolting brutality; but even now a just man's blood boils in his veins at the remembrance." Says Dr. George P. Donehoo, in his "Indian Villages and Place Names in Pennsylvania" (page 66): "One of the vilest deeds in American history—a deed which, for blood-thirsty savagery, has no equals in the annals of Indian history. The crime is too black to even record."

But one does not have to go back to Colonial and Revolutionary times to find slaughter of Indian women and children. At the Battle of Wounded Knee. De-

ember 29, 1890, the United States troops, under the beautiful blue and white and crimson folds of the heaven-born starry banner of the free, mowed down Indian women and children with their Hotchkiss guns.

The following important historical facts are connected with the Moravian missions on the Tuscarawas: The Schoenbrunn Church, built in 1772-1773, was the first Protestant Church in the United States west of Pennsylvania; the Schoenbrunn school house, built in 1773, was the first school house in the United States west of the Ohio River; John Lewis Roth, son of the Moravian missionary and school teacher, Rev. John Roth (Rothe), was the first white child born in the state of Ohio, the date of his birth being July 4, 1773. Rev. John Roth later became pastor of the Moravian Church, at York, Pa., and chaplain of Congress when it was located in that city. The renowned Delaware chief, New Comer, or Nettawatwees, had invited the Moravian missionaries to the Tuscarawas and had been magnificent in his generosity to them, especially to Rev. David Zeisberger and Rev. John Heckewelder. The first Moravian mission on the Tuscarawas was Schoenbrunn—"The Beautiful Spring," the German equivalent of the Delaware, "Welhik-Tuppeek," founded by Zeisberger in the spring of 1772, and the second was Gnadenhuetten,—"The Tents of Divine Grace," eleven miles farther down the valley and founded later in that same year. In April, 1776, Zeisberger and Heckewelder, with eight Delaware families, founded a mission about three miles below Coshocton. Lichtenau, "The Meadow of Light," was the name they gave this mission. In the spring of 1780, this mission was abandoned, and another was established to take its place—Salem, on the Tuscarawas, about five miles below

Gnadenhuetten. After many years of wanderings with their Delaware converts, the Moravian missionaries returned to the Tuscarawas in October, 1798 and founded the mission, called Goshen, across the river from the spot where Schoenbrunn had stood—the thirteenth settlement formed by Zeisberger in the Indian country. Here, on November 17, 1808, this true Knight of the Cross, at the venerable age of eighty-eight years, fell asleep in the arms of his Maker. “Bury me among my Indians,” was his dying request. Today, the traveler in the Tuscarawas Valley may see his grave, in the little Moravian cemetery at Goshen, among the graves of the Indian converts.

In April, 1781, eleven months before the massacre, the Delaware chief, Pachgantschihilas, or Buckongahelas, later one of the signers of the treaty of Greenville, came to the Moravian Indians at Gnadenhuetten, and sought to persuade them to remove from their exposed position to a place of safety among the Wyandots on the Maumee. He reviewed the whole history of the relations between the whites and the Delawares, concluding, as reported by Rev. John Heckewelder, who was present, with the following remarks, part of which were prophetic words:

“I admit that there are good white men, but they bear no proportion to the bad; the bad must be the strongest, for they rule. They do what they please. They enslave those who are not of their colour, although created by the same Great Spirit who created us. They would make slaves of us if they could, but as they cannot do it, they kill us. There is no faith to be placed in their words. They are not like the Indians, who are only enemies while at war, and are friends in peace. They will say to an Indian: ‘My friend, my brother.’

'They will take him by the hand, and at the same moment destroy him. And so you (addressing himself to the Christian Indians) will also be treated by them before long. Remember that this day I have warned you to beware of such friends as these. I know the long knives; they are not to be trusted.'

The bones of the victims at Gnadenhuetten were buried fifteen years later when the Moravians and their Delaware converts again attempted to build a mission house in the vicinity. The site of the town was then covered with bushes and infested with rattlesnakes, and the bones had been dragged about by wild beasts. The Delaware chief, Killbuck, assisted in gathering up the bones. Later, in October 1799, Rev. John Heckewelder reinterred the bones in a cellar of one of the houses of the old town. A monument now marks the site in Tuscarawas County, Ohio.

Colonel Williamson was not punished for the massacre of the Moravian Delawares. Indeed few of the Scotch-Irish settlers of Western Pennsylvania were outspoken in disapproving this atrocious deed. A good example to the contrary was Colonel Edward Cook, of Westmoreland (now Fayette) County, who, on September 2, 1782, wrote the Governor of Pennsylvania as follows:

"The perpetrators of that wicked deed ought to be brought to condign punishment; that, without something is done in the matter, it will disgrace the annals of the United States, and be an everlasting plea and cover for British cruelty." (Butterfield's "Washington-Irvine Correspondence," page 345).

Glikkikan

We have said that among the Christian Delawares murdered at Gnadenhuetten, was the Delaware chief,

Glikkikan. He had formerly lived in the Kuskuskies region in what is now Lawrence County, Pennsylvania, and was then the principal counsellor of the Delaware chief, Packanke, whose capital was New Kaskunk, which some authorities say stood on or near the site of New Castle, and others on or near the site of Edinburg, Lawrence County. In the summer of 1769, Glikkikan made a journey to the Moravian mission at Lawunakhannek, located on the Allegheny, a few miles above Tionesta, Forest County, for the purpose of refuting the doctrines of Christianity. Before this he is said to have held a successful disputation with the French Jesuits at Venango (Franklin), and was therefore confident that he could put the Moravian missionaries to confusion. Rev. David Zeisberger, head of the Moravian mission at Lawunakhannek, was absent when Glikkikan arrived; but Anthony, a native convert and assistant, made such an impressive speech to him, setting forth the doctrines of Christianity, as to astonish the chieftain. Zeisberger arrived soon after, and confirmed Anthony's speech, with the result that Glikkikan, instead of delivering the elaborate speech which he had prepared against Christianity, replied: "I have nothing to say. I believe your word." When he returned to his home, instead of boasting of a victory over the Moravians, he advised his associate warriors to go and hear the Gospel preached by the Moravians.

Soon afterwards he made another visit to the Moravian mission, informed the missionaries that he desired to embrace Christianity, and invited them in the name of his chief, Packanke, to come and settle on a tract of land on the Beaver, where the town of Moravia, Lawrence County, now stands. Packanke offered this land for the use of the mission. The Moravians accepted this invitation, and removed the mission from

Lawunakhannek to what is now Moravia in April, 1770, naming the place Friedensstadt—"The City of Peace." From Moravia the mission was removed to the Tuscarawas in the spring of 1773.

Glikkikan remained a devout Christian the rest of his life. Before his conversion to Christianity, he had killed a child during one of the raids of the Delawares against the Pennsylvania settlements in the French and Indian War. This was the babe of Rachel Abbott, of Franklin County, whom Glikkikan captured in this raid. Some Frenchmen, with the Indians on the raid, persuaded Glikkikan to kill the child in order to put an end to its incessant crying. After his conversion, he suffered deep remorse for this terrible deed. The mother of the child, according to Heckewelder, forgave him, and told him that God would forgive him, since he was truly penitent. Yet, the tears of Glikkikan continued to flow. Dare we not hope that Glikkikan made peace with his God?

Attack On Friendly Delawares On Smoky Island

Williamson's men had been at home about two weeks after butchering the Moravian Delawares at Gnadenhuetten, when the Scotch-Irish settlers on Chartiers Creek marched to attack the friendly Delawares on Smoky Island under the guns of Fort Pitt. The attack upon these friendly Indians was made on Sunday morning, March 24. A small guard of regular soldiers from the fort was surprised and made prisoners. Then several of the Indians were killed, among them being Nanowland, the friend of Captain Samuel Brady, and another who held a Captain's commission in the American army. Chief Killbuck and a few of his warriors escaped to Fort Pitt. In his flight, Killbuck is said to have lost the wampum containing the treaty which

Tamanend and his associate chiefs entered into with William Penn, one hundred years before. Two warriors fled to the woods on the northern side of the Allegheny, and made their way to Sandusky. One of these was the friendly Delaware chief, Big Cat, who, on account of this treacherous attack, became the bitter foe of the Americans. Before the Scotch-Irish settlers left for home, they sent word to Colonel John Gibson, then in temporary command of Fort Pitt, during the absence of General Irvine at Carlisle, that they would kill and scalp him at the first opportunity, for no other reason than that he had been the protector of the friendly Delawares. (Butterfield's "Washington-Irvine Correspondence," pages 100 to 103 and 108).

General Irvine returned to Fort Pitt on the day following the attack on the friendly Delawares on Smoky Island. Several weeks later he received an order from the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania to investigate and report on the massacre at Gnadenhuetten. He was unable to uncover the details or fix the responsibility, although he interrogated Colonel Williamson and many of his captains. He found the sentiment on the western frontier overwhelmingly commending the horrible deed of Williamson's men, and reported that it would be well to let the matter rest. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 9, pages 525, 540, 541, 552, Butterfield's "Washington-Irvine Correspondence," pages 236 to 242, 245 and 246).

A Final Word As To Killbuck

Killbuck, a son of John Killbuck, Sr., was a grandson of the great Delaware chief, New Comer. His Delaware name was Gelelemend, meaning "a leader." He was born near the Lehigh Water Gap, Northampton County, in 1737. He was the firm friend of the

Americans throughout the Revolutionary War, having a Captain's commission in the Continental service. Upon the death of White Eyes, Killbuck was elected his successor. In the summer of 1788, he joined the Moravian Church, taking in baptism the name William Henry, in honor of Judge William Henry, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. This was at the Moravian mission at New Salem, Ohio. After the battle of Fallen Timbers, the Delawares, now reconciled to him, invited him to resume his office as chief, but he declined. He died at Goshen, Tuscarawas County, Ohio, in the early winter of 1811, loyal to the United States and the Moravian Church. He belonged to the Turtle Clan.

Western Frontier Again Raided—Attack On Miller's Blockhouse

While preparations were being made for Colonel William Crawford's expedition against Sandusky, described later in this chapter, Indians from Ohio made bloody incursions into Western Pennsylvania and northern West Virginia. Thomas Edgerton, or Edgington, was captured on Harmon's Creek and John Stevenson near West Liberty. Edgington was taken to Detroit, and was a captive among the Indians for more than two years.

During the night of Saturday, March 30, 1782, a band of about seventy Shawnee warriors surrounded Miller's blockhouse on the Dutch Fork of Buffalo Creek, in Donegal Township, Washington County, and lay concealed. Early the next morning (Easter Morning), most of the men left the blockhouse, on a scouting expedition, some of them going to Rice's Fort, two miles farther down the Dutch Fork. The only persons left at Miller's were John Hupp, Sr., and his

wife, Ann, their four children, Margaret, Mary, Elizabeth and John; Jacob Miller, Sr., and several members of his family; the family of Edward Gaither, and an old man, named Mathias Ault.

A colt belonging to Jacob Miller, Sr., had strayed, and shortly after the scouts left, Mr. Miller and John Hupp, Sr., started out to search for it. Shortly after they entered the woods, the Indians fired upon them from ambush. Both were killed and scalped. The Shawnees then closed in on the blockhouse. Ann Hupp, upon hearing the shots that killed her husband and Jacob Miller, Sr., took charge of the defense of the blockhouse. She at once sent Frederick Miller, a boy aged eleven years, a son of Jacob Miller, Sr., to Rice's Fort for help. The Indians saw the boy, and fired upon him, wounding him in the arm. He was compelled to flee back to the blockhouse. Ann Hupp, inspiring the other women and old Mr. Ault with her sublime courage, ran from one port hole to another, pointing her rifle at the Indians, which gave them the impression that the place was defended by a large number of persons. Occasionally a shot was fired at the Indians as they showed themselves from behind the trees. Presently three men were seen coming from the direction of Rice's Fort. These were Captain Jacob Miller, Jr., Philip Hupp and Jacob Rowe, aged sixteen, the last brother of Ann Hupp. Ann Hupp shouted directions to them as to the safest way to approach the blockhouse. Making a dash, they entered the place unharmed. The occupants of the house now fired upon the Indians with spirit whenever one exposed himself to view. Towards evening, the Indians withdrew. The next day the bodies of Jacob Miller, Sr., and John Hupp, Sr., were buried near the blockhouse. (Pa. Archives, Vol 9, page 541).

The family of Ann Hupp had another terrible experience with the Indians. In the autumn of 1776, her father, Adam Rowe, set out from Washington County for Kentucky with his wife and four children. Arriving at the flats of Grave Creek, West Virginia, they were attacked by Indians, and Mrs. Rowe and the eldest son were killed, while Daniel, aged seven, the youngest of the family, was captured. Young Jacob Rowe concealed himself in the willows, and thus made his escape as a warrior with little Daniel on his back, pursued him. This was the last seen or heard of little Daniel. Young Jacob made his way alone through the forest back to Buffalo Creek, and told his harrowing story in the arms of his sister, Ann Hupp. Adam Rowe and his son, Adam, also escaped from the Indians and made their way back to Washington County.

About the same time as the attack on Miller's block-house, William Parks was killed and scalped within sight of Vance's Fort, and Samuel Robinson met a similar fate on his farm in Jefferson Township, both in Washington County.

The Corbly Atrocity

Rev. John Corbly was pastor of Goshen Baptist Church, near Garard's Fort, in the southeastern part of Greene County. The following letter, written by him to Rev. William Rogers, of Philadelphia, gives an account of the tragedy which befell his family in the spring of 1782:

"On the second Sabbath in May [May 12], in the year 1782, being my appointment at one of my meeting-houses, about a mile from my dwelling-house, I set out with my dear wife and five children for public worship. Not suspecting any danger, I walked behind 200 yards, with my Bible in my hands, meditating. As

I was thus employed, all of a sudden I was greatly alarmed with the frightful shrieks of my dear family before me. I immediately ran, with all the speed I could, vainly hunting a club as I ran, till I got within forty yards of them; my poor wife on seeing me, cried to me to make my escape; an Indian ran up to shoot me; I then fled, and by so doing, outran him. My wife had a sucking child in her arms; this little infant they killed and scalped. They then struck my wife several times, but not getting her down, the Indian who aimed to shoot me, ran to her, shot her through the body, and scalped her; my little boy, an only son, about six years old, they sunk the hatchet into his brain, and thus dispatched him. A daughter, besides the infant, they also killed and scalped. My eldest daughter, who is yet alive, was hid in a tree, about 200 yards away from the place where the rest were killed, and saw the whole proceedings. She, seeing the Indians all go off, as she thought, got up and deliberately crept from the hollow trunk; but one of them espying her, ran hastily up and scalped her; also her only surviving sister, one on whose head they did not leave more than an inch round, either of flesh or skin, besides taking a piece of her skull. She and the before mentioned one are still miraculously preserved, though, as you may think, I have had and still have a great deal of trouble and expense with them, besides anxiety about them, inso-much that I am, as to worldly circumstances almost ruined. I am yet in hopes of seeing them cured; they still, blessed be God, retain their senses, notwithstanding the painful operations they have already, and must yet pass through.

Muddy Creek, Washington [now Greene] County,
July 8, 1785."

Attack on Walthour's Stockade—The Lame Indian

Some time in April, 1782, the Indians invaded the Brush Creek settlement and attacked the stockade of Christopher Walthour, about a mile and a half east of Irwin, Westmoreland County. On this occasion six men were working in a field near the stockade, among them being Walthour's son-in-law, named Willard. The Indians killed Willard, and captured his daughter, aged sixteen, who was carrying water for the men at work. An Indian rushed forward to scalp Willard; but just as he was in the act, a bullet fired from the stockade wounded him in the leg. Uttering a howl of pain, he ran away into the thicket, leaving his gun behind him.

As soon as possible, a body of frontiersmen started in pursuit of the Indians. They followed their trail to the Allegheny River, but were unable to pursue them further. About two months afterwards, some hunters found the body of Willard's daughter not far from Negley's Run. She had been tomahawked and scalped.

About six weeks after the attack on Walthour's blockhouse, a lame Indian appeared in Pittsburgh, almost starved. A wound in his leg occasioning suspicion, he was taken to Fort Pitt and questioned. He confessed to the officers at the fort that he was the Indian who killed Willard, and was recognized by them as being Davy, a sub-chief of the Delawares. The news of his being confined at Fort Pitt spread to the Brush Creek settlement, whereupon Mrs. Mary Willard, the wife of the man whom Davy had killed, came to the fort, and requested General Irvine to give Davy up to the Brush Creek settlers for trial. General Irvine persuaded her to permit the Indian to remain at the fort in the hope that he might be exchanged for her daughter

who was then believed to be among the Indians. Soon after Mrs. Willard's visit, the dead body of her daughter was found. Then a committee of the Brush Creek settlers called on General Irvine, and requested that he surrender Davy to them for trial before two justices of the peace and other reputable citizens. Enjoining them to give the Indian such a trial, General Irvine delivered Davy to them on July 21. The Brush Creek settlers decided to burn Davy at the stake. However, he made his escape from them the night before he was to be burned, owing to the drowsiness of his guard, and, mounting a horse which he found in the woods, rode at frightful speed through the forest towards the Allegheny. Pursuing settlers found the horse the next day, near the junction of the Kiskiminetas and Allegheny, covered with foam, but no trace of Davy was ever found. Probably he drowned while swimming the Allegheny or perished in the woods, as the bone in his leg had been broken by the bullet fired at him when he killed Mr. Willard, and had never healed.

Several accounts say that several other men were killed when the Indian killed Mr. Willard during the attack at Walthour's stockade. See "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania," Vol. 2, pages 363 to 370. Also a tradition in the neighborhood is to the effect that one of the Walthour families, upon fleeing to the stockade, left a babe hid under a wash tub, and upon returning home after the alarm was over, the babe was found unharmed. Davy, the Indian who killed Willard and was later captured, told Joseph Nicholson, interpreter at Fort Pitt, that, as he was making his way to the Allegheny River, being painfully wounded, he lay all day long on a hill above a blockhouse on Turtle Creek, contemplating giving himself up to the garrison. This was likely Rayburn's blockhouse or possibly Myers'

blockhouse. However, finding that the garrison consisted of militia instead of regulars, he decided not to surrender. The Indians well knew the distinction between regulars and militia. From the militia, they expected no quarter.

Soldiers Slain At Fort McIntosh—Letters From The Harried Frontier

Among the atrocities committed on the western frontier in the spring of 1782, was the following, mentioned by General William Irvine in a letter written from Fort Pitt to his wife, on April 12:

“Some people are killed and some taken, by the Indians, in almost every quarter. I lost five of my men, a few days since, who were wood-cutting and carelessly laid down their arms to load the wagon, when a party rushed on them. This was at a fort McIntosh we have thirty miles down the river.”

According to the Draper Manuscript, this band of wood-cutters consisted of Edwin T. Sherlock and thirteen others and the place where the Indians fell upon them was about a mile from Fort McIntosh.

About this time, John Yeaman was killed on his farm in Jefferson Township, Washington County. He was buried on his farm. In the historic Cross Creek Cemetery, in this county, reposes the dust of Thomas Crawford, who with his brother Oliver, was captured by the Indians and spent nine years with them on the Scioto.

About this time, Andrew Vaughan and Joel Ferree were killed south of the Ohio, in Allegheny County. Ferree and his son had gone out in the morning to hunt deer. Having killed one, Ferree sent his son back home for a horse. When the boy returned, he found his father dead, having been shot and scalped.

On May 8, Dorsey Pentecost wrote a letter from Pittsburgh to President Moore, principally about the massacre of the Moravian Delawares at Gnadenhuetten, but in which he makes the following reference to atrocities then being committed in Western Pennsylvania: "The Indians are murdering frequently. Last Friday night two men were killed on the frontiers of this County, and about a week before I got home fourteen persons were killed & Captured in Different parts. and last week some mischief was done near Hanna's Town, but I have not learned the particulars." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 9, pages 540 and 541).

Colonel Crawford's Expedition

Soon after the massacre of the Moravian Delawares at Gnadenhuetten, there was a general desire, throughout Washington County especially, for a campaign against Sandusky—the Wyandot town and settlement on the Sandusky River, in Wyandot County, Ohio, the rendezvous for the Indian allies of the British. Near Sandusky were Mingoes, Shawnees, Ottawas and Delawares, mostly of the Munsee or Wolf Clan. A general call then went out for volunteers to strike this stronghold of the Indians. The general muster was fixed for Monday, May 20, 1782, at Mingo Bottom, opposite Steubenville; and a few days later, four hundred and eighty horsemen assembled at that place, and elected Colonel William Crawford as the leader of the expedition, he, through the influence of General Irvine, then in command at Fort Pitt, receiving five votes over Colonel David Williamson. General Irvine had been requested to lead the expedition, but declined. When he was pressed to give the expedition assistance, he agreed to furnish some gun flints and powder, on condition that the expedition would conform to military

laws and regulations. He also detailed Surgeon John Knight and Lieutenant Rose to serve in the expedition.

Crawford's guides were John Slover, Jonathan Zane and Thomas Nicholson. The staff officers were Colonel David Williamson, and Majors Thomas Gaddis, John McClelland, John Brinton and Daniel Leet. The Captains were Joseph Bane, John Beeson, John Biggs, Charles Bilderback, William Bruce, Timothy Downing, William Fife, John Hardin, John Hoagland, Andrew Hood, William Leet, Duncan McGeehan, John Miller, James Munn, Thomas Rankin, David Reed, Craig Ritchie and Ezekile Ross.

On May 25, the expedition left Mingo Bottom, and marched towards Sandusky. On the 28th, the troops turned aside to visit the ruins of the Moravian town at Schoenbrun, where they fed their horses on the standing corn. On the evening of June 3, the troops reached the upper Indian town on the Sandusky finding the place deserted, the Indians having had warning of Colonel Crawford's approach. Crawford then advised a retirement, but was overruled in council. The next morning the command began the march toward the principal Wyandot town, proceeding through the beautiful plain on the west side of the Sandusky River.

In the afternoon, as the troops neared a large grove, they were fired upon by British and Indians in the grove. The Americans, however, charged, and driving out the enemy, occupied the grove themselves. Dismounting and forming a line along the northern side of the grove, they for several hours exchanged a brisk rifle fire with the British and Indians lying in the bushes. In this combat, five of Crawford's men were killed and nineteen wounded, while the enemy lost six killed and eleven wounded, among the wounded being the British commander, Captain Caldwell.

During the night, Crawford's men were unable to get much rest owing to the hideous yells of the Indians, and when the day dawned, the battle was resumed in long-range fighting. In the afternoon, a band of one hundred and forty Shawnees joined the other Indians. The Americans observed their arrival, and believing that they were greatly outnumbered by the enemy, held a council of war in which it was decided to retreat during the night. As a matter of fact, however, the Indian forces, even when augmented by the arrival of the Shawnees, did not exceed the number of Crawford's forces.

No sooner had Crawford's men begun to retreat during the night, than a strange panic seized them. Many fired their guns into the darkness, and others leaving the ranks fled like maniacs across the prairie. Meanwhile, the Indians were slaying and scalping the straggling fugitives. A few of the troops, exhausted by the long fighting, had fallen asleep in the grove and awoke to find themselves deserted. These were almost all overtaken and scalped.

In the expedition were Crawford's only son, John, his nephew, William Crawford, and his son-in-law, William Harrison. In the wild retreat, the Colonel was unable to find them. Standing by the trail as the fugitives rushed by, he called for his son, and receiving no answer, fell to the rear and became lost. He then met with Dr. Knight, the surgeon, and nine other men; and together they wandered about for two days, when they were captured by a band of Delawares. Captain Pipe ordered them to be burned at the stake. Colonel Williamson and Lieutenant Rose kept the main body together on the retreat. In the southern part of what is now Crawford County, Ohio, the Shawnees and Delawares vigorously attacked the rear guard, but

were repulsed. Colonel Williamson made good his escape, and with 300 soldiers, arrived at Mingo Bottom, on June 12.

In the hope of escaping such a dreadful fate as death at the stake, Colonel Crawford asked that his old friend, the Delaware chief, Wingenund, might be sent for. Wingenund appeared before the Colonel, who entreated him to save his life, calling his attention to the fact that they had always been friends. Wingenund reluctantly advised the Colonel that it was beyond his power to save him. He told him that the Delawares and other tribes making up the Indian forces, were determined to avenge Colonel Williamson's butchery of the helpless women and children at Gnadenhuetten during the preceding March. He told Crawford that if Colonel Williamson had not been with Crawford's forces, it might be possible to save Crawford's life; that the Indians had their spies watching Crawford's march from the very beginning; and that these spies saw him turn aside from the line of march and visit the ruins at Schoenbrun. These things, said Wingenund, convinced the Indians that Crawford's expedition was simply seeking an opportunity to commit an outrage similar to the atrocity committed by Williamson's troops, especially since Williamson hastened the retreat. Failing to capture the hated Williamson, they determined that Crawford must pay the penalty. Then Wingenund burst into tears, and turned aside that he might not witness the torture of his friend.

The date of Colonel Crawford's torture was June 11, 1782, and the place was in the valley of Tymoochee Creek, about five miles west of the present town of Upper Sandusky, Ohio. He was tied by a long rope to a pole; his body was shot full of gun powder; his ears were cut off; burning fagots were pressed against

his skin, and he was horribly gashed with knives. The unfortunate man endured this terrible agony for four hours in the presence of Dr. Knight and the renegades, Simon Girty and Matthew Elliott. He appealed to Girty to shoot him and end his misery, but in vain. Falling unconscious, his scalp was torn off, and burning embers were poured upon his bleeding head. The excruciating pain revived him; he rose to his feet and started once more to walk around the pole, then groaned and fell dead. The Indians then burned his body to ashes.

Thus perished this prominent man of the Western Pennsylvania frontier, the friend and land agent of George Washington. His residence was, for some years prior to his tragic death, at Connellsville, Fayette County. Crawford County bears his name.

The other prisoners were divided among the Indian towns, and, so far as is known, all were tortured to death except Dr. Knight, the surgeon, and John Slover, one of the guides. Crawford's son John succeeded in making his way home.

Dr. Knight, after the torture of Colonel Crawford, spent the night at Captain Pipe's house, and early the next morning, started for the Shawnee towns, forty miles distant, in charge of an Indian on horseback, who, after once more painting him black, drove the unfortunate surgeon before him. The Indian was a large rough-looking man, but very sociable, and Dr. Knight soon began to ingratiate himself. That night the Doctor tried many times to untie himself, but the wary Indian always detected his efforts. However, at day-break, the Indian untied him, and arose to rekindle the fire. The wood-gnats being very annoying Dr. Knight asked the Indian if he would make a big smoke, so as to drive the gnats away. The Indian said "yes,"

whereupon, Knight began to gather sticks for the fire, and finding a short dog-wood fork, slipped up behind the Indian, and smote him on the head with it with all his strength. The Indian fell headlong into the fire, but soon recovered himself, sprang up, and ran off, howling with pain. Dr. Knight then took the Indian's gun, and started through the wilderness for home. On the evening of the twentieth day of his journey, he reached Fort McIntosh, and the next day, reached Fort Pitt, almost crazed by the hardships through which he had gone, and to the great delight of General Irvine. H. H. Brackenridge, who saw Knight upon the latter's arrival at Fort Pitt, said that the Doctor was so weak that he could hardly articulate, and that it was three weeks before he could give a continued account of his sufferings. (See McKnight's "Western Border," pages 468 and 469; also Butterfield's Washington-Irvine Correspondence," page 126).

John Slover was captured by the Shawnees, and carried to one of the Shawnee towns, where he saw the burned and mutilated bodes of William Harrison (Crawford's son-in-law), William Crawford (Crawford's nephew) and Major John McClelland, who had been fourth officer in command. The next day the heads and limbs of the bodies were cut off and stuck on poles, and the other parts of the corpses given to the dogs. The Indians carefully interrogated Slover as to the progress of the war and the movements of the Americans, and he had the satisfaction of telling them of Cornwallis' surrender. In a few days, Dr. John Knight's guard arrived with a wound four inches long on his head, and told a marvelous story of a desperate struggle he had had with the surgeon, whom he described as a large and powerful man, whose fingers he claimed he had cut off and to whom he had

given two deep knife thrusts, which he was sure would prove fatal. Slover then told the Indians that Dr. Knight was a small weak man. This information, in view of the guard's wonderful story, greatly amused the Indians. Later, George Girty bound Slover, painted him black, and dragged him off to Mack-a-chack, where he was bound to a stake, wood was piled around him and fired, and the horrible tortures were about to commence, when a sudden rain storm drowned out the fire. He was then untied and seated on the ground. The Indians decided to postpone his torture until the following day, and carefully bound him for the night. During the night, his three guards fell asleep, and he succeeded in loosing his bonds and making his escape unnoticed. After great suffering he reached Fort Henry, where Wheeling, West Virginia, now stands. He reached Fort Pitt on July 10.

General Irvine wrote from Fort Pitt to General Washington, on July 11, 1782, that both Dr. Knight and John Slover told him "they were assured by sundry Indians they formerly knew, that not a single soul should, in the future, escape torture; and gave, as a reason for this conduct, the Moravian affair."

Also, General Washington, writing General Irvine on August 6, 1782, thus refers to Colonel Crawford's expedition and the Colonel's unhappy fate: "I lament the failure of the former expedition, and am particularly affected with the disastrous fate of Colonel Crawford. No other than the extremest tortures that could be inflicted by savages, I think, could have been expected by those who were unhappy enough to fall into their hands; especially under the present exasperation of their minds for the treatment given their Moravian friends." Thus the slaughter of the Moravian Delawares at Gnadenhuetten by Colonel Williamson's

Scotch-Irish troops, was in the mind of Washington as he penned this letter to General Irvine. (See Butterfield's "Washington-Irvine Correspondence," pages 126 to 132).

Captain Pipe

Captain Pipe (Hopocan, "tobacco pipe"), a member of the Munsee or Wolf Clan of Delawares, is remembered principally on account of his having ordered Colonel William Crawford to be burned at the stake. It is but fair to say that he told the British commander at Detroit that he had no interest in the Revolutionary War, save to procure subsistence for his people. In Chapter XIX, we saw how he befriended the Moravian missionaries when they were summoned to trial before the British commander at Detroit, in November, 1781. When Washington became first president of the United States, in 1789, Captain Pipe urged the western tribes to remain at peace with the young republic. He died at Captain Pipe's Town, about ten miles southeast of Upper Sandusky, Ohio, just a few days before the battle of Fallen Timbers, August 20, 1794.

German Settlers Petition General Irvine—Fate of the Frantz Family

When the news of the fate of Colonel William Crawford reached the Pennsylvania-German settlers on Brush Creek, Westmoreland County, they, on June 22, 1782, sent a petition from Fort Walthour to General Irvine at Fort Pitt, reciting their terrible sufferings at the hands of the Indian allies of the British since the beginning of the war, and asking that Continental troops might be sent to guard the parties who must soon go out to reap the harvest. This petition, so elegant in diction, so forcible and clear, has no superior,

if indeed an equal, in these qualities, in all the Revolutionary records of the west. Probably its author was the Lutheran schoolmaster and catechist, Balthasar Mayer (Meyer), mention of whose classical attainments has been made in a former chapter. At the time when the petition was sent, those gallant defenders of the Brush Creek settlement, Adam Saam's German riflemen, had almost all lost their lives at the hands of the Indians. The petition is as follows:

"To the honorable Brigadier General Irvine, commanding the troops in the western department.

The petition of the frontier inhabitants of Brush Creek humbly sheweth:

"That, since the commencement of the present war, the unabated fury of the savages hath been so particularly directed against us, that we are, at last, reduced to such a degree of despondency and distress that we are now ready to sink under the insupportable pressure of this very great calamity; that, from our fortitude and perseverance in supporting the line of the frontier and thereby resisting the incessant depredations of the enemy, our bravest and most active men have been cut off from time to time, by which our effective force is so greatly reduced that the idea of further resistance is now totally vanished. That the season of our harvest is now fast approaching, in which we must endeavor to gather in our scanty crops, or otherwise subject ourselves to a calamity equally terrible to that of the scalping knife,—and from fatal experience, our fears suggest to us every misery that has accompanied that season. That we are greatly alarmed at the misfortune attending the late incursion into the enemy's country [Crawford's expedition against Sandusky]; as we have every reason to believe that their triumphs upon

that occasion will be attended with fresh and still more vigorous exertions against us.

“In this perilous situation, sir, we submit our case to your consideration and beg that it may be applied to the feelings of humanity and benevolence, which we firmly believe you to possess. Wherefore, we humbly pray for such an augmentation of our guard through the course of the harvest season as will enable them to render us some essential service. But, as we know from experience that no certain dependence can be placed on the militia upon these occasions, as some failure may probably happen on their part through the course of the season, and as we have hitherto been accustomed to the protection of the Continental troops during the harvest season, we further pray that we may be favored with a guard of your soldiers, if it is not inconsistent with other duties enjoined on you. But particularly we pray that, whatever guard may be allotted for us in the future, may be ordered into the inhabited stations along the frontier, where they can be of service, either in covering our working-parties in the fields, or protecting our defenseless families in our absence. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall pray.”

The following were the signers of this petition:

George Waldhauer (Walthour), Joseph Waldhauer, Michael Waldhauer, Abraham Studabedker (Studebaker), Joseph Studabedker, Michael Byerly, Jacob Byerly, John Rutdorfs, Jacob Rutdorfs, Frederick Willard,—Weisskopf (Whitehead), Abraham Schneider, Peter Loutzenheiser, Jacob Loutzenheiser, Hanover Davis, Conrad Zulten, Garret Pendergrast and John Kammerer.

A force of Continental soldiers was stationed at Turtle Creek to protect the region from there to Brush Creek settlement.

During the spring and summer of 1782, similar petitions to the above were sent General Irvine from McDonald's Blockhouse, Doddridge's Station, Wells' Fort and the Cross Creek settlement, all in Washington County, and from "the inhabitants living on the Allegheny River." (Butterfield's Washington-Irvine Correspondence," pages 298 to 301.)

One of the Brush Creek families whose sufferings at the hands of the Indians are part of the recorded history of "Old Westmoreland," was the Frantz family, which lived on the farm that is now the home of the Greensburg Country Club. Some time in the spring of 1782, a band of Indians attacked this family, capturing Mr. and Mrs. Frantz and their little daughter, Emma, aged seven years, and killing several other members of the family. The father and mother, after being taken a short distance from the home, were tomahawked and scalped. Some accounts say that several sons were captured. Little Emma was taken to the Seneca country, but escaped several years later through the efforts of a trader and returned to Westmoreland County, where she married and left descendants in Hempfield Township. After killing Mr. and Mrs. Frantz, the Indians set fire to the cabin. The following day, Jacob Detar and other neighbors found their bodies, one being so near the cabin that it was roasted on the one side. The neighbors buried the bodies near the garden fence.

*Guyasuta Burns Hannastown—His Warriors Attack
Miller's Station*

The hardest blow dealt by the Indians during the Revolutionary War, within the limits of Western Pennsylvania, was the burning of Hannastown, the county seat of Westmoreland, by Guyasuta, on Saturday, July

13, 1782. This historic frontier village was located about three miles north of Greensburg. The town grew up around the tavern of Robert Hanna, on the old Forbes Road, before the Revolutionary War.

At the time of its destruction, Hannastown contained thirty log houses, and, at the northern end, was a stockade fort of logs set upright, mentioned in former chapters. In the center was a spring whose waters still gush forth to quench the thirst of the lover of Pennsylvania history, who makes a pilgrimage to the spot where the frontier village stood.

Guyasuta, with a band of one hundred Seneca warriors and sixty Canadian rangers, left Lake Chautauqua, New York, descended the Allegheny River to a point a short distance above Kittanning, and leaving the canoes on the bank of the river, marched overland into the settlements of Westmoreland. While the expedition was making its visitation of death and destruction, many of these canoes broke loose from their moorings, and floated down the river to Fort Pitt, where some of them were picked up by the garrison. This was a detachment of a larger force that intended to attack Fort Pitt, but gave up the undertaking upon learning that the fort had been strengthened by General Irvine.

On this midsummer day when Guyasuta's warriors destroyed the historic town, one of the harvesters, who were cutting wheat on the farm of Michael Hufnagle, the county clerk, about a mile north of the village, discovered a band of Indians, in war paint, creeping through the woods. He informed his companions, and all fled unseen to the stockade. The alarm was spread throughout the Hannastown settlement by Sheriff Matthew Jack. About sixty persons were in the village, and they took refuge within the fort. Hufnagle carried

most of the county records safely into the fort, assisted by Mrs. Matthew Jack. The prisoners in the county jail were released that they might assist in the defense of the fort.

Four young men, among whom were David Shaw and James Brison, were sent out to scout. Coming upon the Indians creeping through the thick woods in the valley of Crabtree Creek, they narrowly escaped death, and fled back to the fort, followed closely by the Indians. It seems that GUYASUTA intended to take the fort by storm; for his warriors did not shoot or yell until they rushed into the village. One man was wounded before he reached the fort.

The Indians then drove into the woods all the horses found in the pasture lots and stables, killed one hundred cattle, and plundered the deserted houses. From the shelter of the houses, they opened a hot rifle fire upon the stockade, defended by twenty men with seventeen rifles, only nine of which were fit for use. With these, the frontiersmen took turns at the loopholes, and succeeded in preventing the Indians from assaulting and battering down the gates. At least two of the Indians were killed, and others wounded; while only one person inside the stockade was wounded, a maiden of sixteen summers named Margaret Shaw, who received a bullet in her breast while exposed before a hole in one of the gates, as she was rescuing a child, who had toddled into danger. She was a sister of the noted scout, David Shaw, mentioned in this account. The young lady died from the effects of her wound about two weeks later. Her dust reposes in the soil of "Old Westmoreland," her grave being in the cemetery of the Middle Presbyterian Church about two miles north of Mt. Pleasant.

The attack on the fort continued until night, when the Indians set fire to the village, and danced in the

glare of the flames. The county jail and all the other buildings, except the courthouse and one dwelling, were reduced to ashes. These two had been set on fire, but the fire went out; and, as they stood near the fort, the unerring rifles of the frontiersmen frustrated an attempt to set fire to them again. Happily, the wind blew strongly from the north, carrying the flames and burning embers away from the fort. After the buildings were burned, the Indians and their white allies retired to the valley of Crabtree Creek, where they were joined by other war parties that had scourged the settlement and there they reveled and feasted until late at night.

The attack was not renewed in the morning, and Guyasuta and his forces made good their escape. It was not until Monday morning that a force of sixty frontiersmen took up the pursuit, following them to the crossing of the Kiskiminetas, a short distance below Apollo.

Other places in the neighborhood of Hannastown were also attacked with deadly effect. Among these were Miller's Station, the homestead of Captain Samuel Miller, who was killed by Indians near Fort Hand, on July 7, 1778. This place was located about two miles northeast of Greensburg and on the north side of the Pennsylvania railroad, being on the William Russell farm. Andrew Cruikshank, who married Captain Miller's widow, resided at the station at the time of the Hannastown raid. A wedding had taken place at the Cruikshank home on July 12; and, on July 13, many friends were assembled at the home for the wedding party, when Guyasuta's warriors fell upon them, killing several and making captives of fifteen. Among the captives, were Lieutenant John Brownlee, his wife and several children, Mrs. Robert Hanna and her two daughters and a Mrs. White and her two children.

Brownlee was compelled to carry a heavy load of pots, kettles and other things which the Indians had taken from the cabins at Miller's Station. In addition to these, he was carrying his small son on his back. After the Indians had taken their captives about half a mile, Mrs. Hanna addressed him as "Captain Brownlee." The Indians then recognized him, and no doubt some of them remembered that he was one of the band of Hannastown settlers that, in the autumn of 1780, planned to kill the friendly Delawares at Fort Pitt, as related in Chapter XIX. No sooner had Mrs. Hanna addressed Brownlee than it became evident that he was a doomed man. Several of the Indians exchanged glances and looked earnestly at him. Then, as he stooped slightly to adjust his child on his back, one of them sank his tomahawk into the unfortunate man's brain. When he fell, the same Indian killed the child. One of the women screamed at this double murder, whereupon the same bloody weapon and ferocious hand ended her anguish of soul. Meanwhile Mrs. Brownlee was speechless with woe. Some authorities say that the Indians slew a total of nine captives on this occasion. However this may be, the bodies of the slain were found by the settlers the following day and buried where they fell, in Mechling's field. Those captives who were fortunate enough to escape death on this occasion were taken to Canada, where they were released at the end of the Revolutionary War. However, it seems that Jennie Hanna married a British officer in Canada, according to statements in the pension petition of Mrs. Elizabeth Guthrie, formerly Mrs. Brownlee.

Before daylight on Sunday morning, some of Guyasuta's force attacked the Freeman settlement on Loyalhanna Creek, a few miles northeast of Hannastown, killing one of Freeman's sons and capturing two of his

daughters. On the same day, an attack was made on the Brush Creek settlement west of Hannastown, where many farm animals were killed, and several farm buildings were burned. This attack was promptly reported to General William Irvine, then the commander of Fort Pitt, by Michael Huffnagle, the defender of the Hannastown fort.*

A small force of militia, under Colonel Edward Cook, County Lieutenant of Westmoreland County, was stationed at Hannastown soon after the destruction of the town, and the settlers were advised to rebuild their homes. But Hannastown never arose from its ashes. Court was held there for a few sessions after the burning of the village. Then a new road was laid out from Bedford to Pittsburgh, following the course of the present Lincoln Highway; and, in January, 1787, the Westmoreland Court began its sessions in the town of Greensburg, on the new road, the present county seat of the historic county of Westmoreland.

It appears that there was a previous attack on Hannastown. Boucher, in his "History of Westmoreland County," refers to this former attack, as follows:

"Eve Oury was granted a special pension of forty dollars per year by Act of April 1, 1846. The act itself recites that it was granted for heroic bravery and risking her life in defense of the garrison of Hannastown Fort in 1778, when it was attacked by a large number of Indians, and that by her fortitude, she performed efficient service in driving away the Indians, and thus saved the inmates from a horrid butchery by the merciless and savage foe."

Eve Oury (Uhrig) was the daughter of Francis Oury. She died at Shieldsburg, Westmoreland County, in 1848, and is buried at Congruity, in the same county.

*On Sunday, the Indians burned the house of John Duff, in Franklin Township.

There were British with Guyasuta's warriors. The testimony of the defenders of the Hannastown Fort proves this, as does the fact that, after the enemy left, many jackets were found having on them the buttons of the King's Eighth regiment.

Michael Huffnagle, the defender of the Hannastown Fort, it will be recalled, was a captain in the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. He had seen service in the campaigns in New Jersey. He had been wounded in the leg in one of the battles of the Revolution. His wound allowed him to be exempt from military duty; and upon his return from the army, he entered actively into civil affairs and gained much influence in the western country. He was clerk (prothonotary) of the Westmoreland Court and one of the judges of the Common Pleas. This Pennsylvania-German pioneer and soldier has an honored and permanent place in the history of "Old Westmoreland."

Some other incidents connected with the destruction of Hannastown are the following:

Captain Matthew Jack, while riding his fleet-footed horse through the settlement to warn the people of the coming of Guyasuta's warriors, came upon the Indians and Canadians near Huffnagle's farm. Reining his horse just in time, he started towards Miller's Station, and on the way, met two of the scouts, James Brison and David Shaw, and told them to flee to the fort. This they did, followed by the enemy. Shaw when arriving at the village, stopped at his father's house for an instant to see that he got safely into the fort. By this time the Indians were emerging from the forest skirting the village. Shaw raised his rifle and shot one of the foremost, and then sprang through the gate into the stockade. In the meantime, Matthew Jack arrived at the home of a settler named Love. Taking Mrs. Love

and her babe behind him on the horse, he rode to Miller's Station, where he found the Indians firing upon some men who were mowing in the meadow. He was detected; the bullets of the enemy whistled about his head, and cut the bridle of his horse.

Captain (Sheriff) Matthew Jack was a brother of William Jack who, in April, 1803, donated 137 perches of land "to the Burgesses and inhabitants" of Greensburg for church and cemetery purposes. The Presbyterians, with the consent of the other inhabitants of Greensburg, erected the first house of worship of their denomination on this land, and so the burial ground adjoining was called the Presbyterian graveyard.

Some of the settlers at Miller's escaped to Rugh's blockhouse, the large two-story log house of Michael Rugh, about two miles south of Greensburg. Among those who fled from Miller's, were Mrs. Andrew Cruikshank, her young daughter and her brother. They were closely pursued by an Indian. Turning suddenly, the brother shot at the Indian just as the latter was springing behind a tree, and at the same time dropped the child. Not waiting to see whether the Indian was killed or wounded, Mrs. Cruikshank and her brother continued their flight to a blockhouse, probably Rugh's. During the night they were joined there by her son, the only surviving son of her former husband, Captain Samuel Miller. The next day, the child was found unharmed in the only cabin left at Miller's Station, to which it had made its way through the forest at night. This child grew to womanhood. Another version of this incident has gotten wide publicity, due partly to an account published in 1836 by Hon. Richard Coulter, at that time a leading lawyer in Greensburg but later Judge of Westmoreland County and Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. According to this

version, a man who was carrying off his babe and at the same time assisting his aged mother in her flight, saw the Indians gaining upon him and certain death for all three, if he did not abandon one of his charges and escape with the other. He abandoned his child and escaped with his mother, and the next morning the babe was found safe asleep in its home. But owing to the researches of that able Westmoreland County historian and lawyer, George Dallas Albert, this version has been obliged to yield to the historic account of the experience of Mrs. Cruikshank, her brother and child.

Michael Kepple, a brother-in-law of Michael Rugh, was working in his field near his blockhouse, about a mile and a half north of Greensburg on the afternoon of the attack on Hannastown. He became aware of the presence of Indians in the woods near his field by the strange actions of his dog. Unhitching his horses, he hastened to his blockhouse, where his family and a number of other families took refuge.

At the blockhouse of a settler named Adam George, about a mile east of Miller's Station, a band of forty horsemen assembled during the night, and then proceeded to the Hannastown stockade. When they arrived, they found that the Indians had retired to the valley of Crabtree Creek, and were engaged in feasting and reveling. The horsemen entered the stockade, unnoticed by the enemy. Then they rode their horses back and forth across the bridge over the little stream below the stockade in order that the enemy might believe from the sound of the horses' hoofs that reinforcements had arrived from Fort Ligonier. At the same time, two old drums which had been found in the fort were beaten vigorously. These actions on the part of the occupants of the stockade had the effect of causing the Indians and Canadians to leave the neighborhood.

When the Indians surrounded the main house at Miller's Station, Lieutenant John Brownlee, who belonged to Captain Joseph Erwin's Company, Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, seized a rifle, made his way to the door and rushed at some Indians who were entering the gate. Above the screams of the other women in the house, he heard the shrill, clear voice of his wife, exclaiming, "Jack, will you leave me?" He then sat down by the door and yielded himself a captive. Brownlee was one of the most active defenders of the western frontier in 1781 and 1782. He was also one of the immortals of Valley Forge. His home was on what was later known as the Cope farm, northeast of Miller's Station. Among others captured at Miller's, was Dorcas, the eight-year-old daughter of Captain Samuel Miller. She was on the hill back of the station gathering berries with her little brother, Isaac, when the Indians came. After the Revolutionary War, she returned to the neighborhood, and ended her days in Greensburg, March 15, 1851. She became the wife of Joseph Russell and the mother of a large family. Many who fled from Miller's Station took an east course, over the steep hills towards Adam George's Blockhouse.

Neither of the daughters of Mrs. Robert Hanna was harmed by the Indians. From the very first, Jenny, the younger of these, had received the favor of the warriors. With great tact, she extended her hand to the Indian who captured her, and greeted him as "brother." But one of the Freeman girls was beaten almost to death on the first night of her captivity. For many years after her return, Dr. Posthlewait attended her when suffering as a result of the blows on her skull from the butt end of a tomahawk.

Margaret Shaw, whose memory will dwell sweetly in the heart of "Old Westmoreland," was a daughter of

Moses Shaw and his wife, Margaret. She had a sister, Sarah, a few years older than she. On the day of the Hannastown raid, Sarah was washing, and when the attack was made, she fled with her parents, her brothers, David and Alexander, and her sister, to the fort, leaving the pot full of clothes on the fire and the smoothing-iron before the fire. Although the house was burned by the Indians, the pot and the iron withstood the fire, and are cherished heirlooms in the Shaw family. It has been said that the child rescued by Margaret Shaw was James Moore, who was then residing at Hannastown with his widowed mother. He died in Salem Township, Westmoreland County, in 1846. Charles Sterrett was killed on the Shaw farm, in Salem Township, on the day of the raid, and David Shaw and William Hays buried him. Two men of the Ourry (Uhrig) family, neighbors of the Shaws, were killed during this raid. They were buried, where they fell, on their farm in Salem Township.

At the Unity Presbyterian Church near the present town of Latrobe, preparatory services were being held, on the afternoon of the attack on Hannastown, for the communion services to be held the next day. Word reached the assembled congregation that Indians were in the settlement, whereupon Rev. James Power, dismissed the worshippers, and hastened to his home near Mount Pleasant, hearing the sound of firing as he rode swiftly along the forest trail. He was pastor of the Middle Presbyterian Church, about two miles northeast of Mount Pleasant, in whose cemetery Margaret Shaw was buried. There is a tradition that Rev. Power attended the wedding festivities, or "infair," at Miller's Station before going to conduct services at the Unity Presbyterian Church.

At Fort Allen, about three miles west of Greensburg, many families took refuge during this incursion. Many of the settlers, however, were unable to reach the block-houses in the Westmoreland settlements, and hid in the grain fields and forests.

On the day of the destruction of Hannastown, John Guthrie, who had been ill, did not go to the harvest field with other members of his family, but remained at home with his youngest son to watch the bread baking in the oven. The little boy soon strayed into the woods to play. Then came the alarm. The father from the house and the other members of the family from the field hastened to the Hannastown Fort, none noticing that the little boy was missing. He was never seen again.

At the time of the Hannastown raid, a sixteen-year-old boy in the neighborhood, named Isaac Steel, escaped his Indian pursuers by leaping over a rail fence and hiding in the thick brush of the woods. He was probably a relative of the John Steel, mentioned by Loudon, who was attacked by Indians while alone in his house and escaped by jumping out of a window. In 1797, Isaac Steel settled in Perry Township, Armstrong County, where he ended his days.

One young man who fled from Miller's Station had a race for his life and that of a child, said to have been Captain Brownlee's. He snatched up the child and fled up the hill towards Adam George's, but had not gone far until he found himself pursued by several Indians. He was a swift runner and would no doubt have outrun the Indians had he not been encumbered with the child. Suddenly before him rose a thick copse of low growth, beyond which was a field of tall rye. Dashing into the copse, he was lost to the view of his pursuers by the intervening foliage. Coming to a rail

fence between the bushes and the rye field, he climbed it and leaped far out into the rye. Where he alighted he lay down with the child, so as not to make a trail through the rye. Then the Indians came running up. Leaping over the fence, they ran along the edge of the field and past the place where he and the child lay. Soon he heard them coming back. The child lay quiet. The Indians repassed the two without finding them. With expressions of disappointment, they gave up their search and left to join the other Indians.

Tradition says that, about the time of the Hannastown raid, a young lady, named Rea, lived seemingly not far from Murraysville, was attacked by an Indian when alone in the house, her brothers being at work in the fields at the time. While attempting to climb in at the window, the Indian placed his hands over the sill. The girl then seized an axe, struck the hand and severed it at the wrist, and the Indian departed, howling with pain.

Some time before the Hannastown raid, John Hill, an inhabitant of Westmoreland County, was returning to his home with some young fruit trees which he intended to plant on his farm. While lying down at a spring drinking, he was attacked and overpowered by some Indians, likely Senecas, who took him to the upper Allegheny. The only report ever heard from him was given by a Mrs. McVey, or McVeigh, who was captured in the same incursion, and later returned to her home. Both were taken to the Hickory Flats and were required to run the gauntlet. Hill accomplished this feat in safety, but Mrs. McVey was beaten down. Then Hill dashed among the Indians and carried her to safety. The last sight she had of John Hill he was bound to a tree.

Thus ends the account of the burning of Hannastown. Scotch-Irish and Pennsylvania Germans, going out from Westmoreland County in after years to seek new homes in the rapidly developing country, took with them the thrilling story of the Hannastown raid even to the far West. Along with it, they took the story of the "Hannastown Resolutions" of May 16, 1775—a virtual Declaration of Independence; also the story of the "Rattlesnake Flag" of Colonel John Proctor's First Battalion of Westmoreland County. In a word, they took with them the story of the long years of suffering and heroic action which have caused the mighty memories of the Revolution to cling, like gathering mists, around the hills of "Old Westmoreland."

(For account of the destruction of Hannastown, see Pa. Archives, Vol. 9, pages 596 and 606; Butterfield's "Washington-Irvine Correspondence," pages 176, 251, 381 and 383; "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania," Vol. 2, pages 299 to 321, also 324; also Albert's and Boucher's histories of Westmoreland County.)*

Irvine Aids Hannastown Settlers—Rangers at Fort Ligonier

On August 22, General Irvine loaned to Michael Huffnagle and David Duncan for aid to the suffering settlers of Hannastown and vicinity the sum of one hundred and thirty-two pounds and eight shillings of money belonging to the State of Pennsylvania.

Reference has been made to the fact that Colonel Edward Cook, County-Lieutenant of Westmoreland County, stationed militia at Hannastown soon after its destruction. Colonel Cook, in a letter to President William Moore of the Supreme Executive Council, on September 2, makes the following mention of these troops:

*See Appendix for Hannastown court records.

“It may be necessary to inform your excellency that upon an application made to me by some of the distressed inhabitants of Hannastown and vicinity thereof, I have allowed them to enroll themselves under the command of Captain Brice and draw rations for two months, upon their making every exertion in their power to keep up the line of the frontiers.

“The ranging company, consisting of about twenty-two privates and two officers, is stationed at Ligonier for the defense of that quarter.”

*The Walker Tragedy—Attack On Ewing’s Blockhouse—
Attack On Rice’s Fort*

The scene now shifts to Allegheny and Washington Counties. In September, 1782, about twenty-five Indians approached the cabin of Gabriel Walker near Robinson’s Run, in the southern part of Allegheny County, not far from the present town of Carnegie, and concealed themselves with the intention of surprising the family while at dinner. Fortunately some travelers, with guns, came to the Walker home just at this time, causing the Indians to delay their attack. When the travelers had taken their departure, and while the younger members of the family and an apprenticed boy, named William Harkins, were working in a field some distance from the house, the Indians, coming from their place of concealment, captured five of the Walker children, and pursued William Harkins, who made his escape to the fort or blockhouse of James Ewing, two miles away, and gave the alarm. Mrs. Walker, seeing the Indians approach, made her escape with her infant and another small child to the high weeds back of the house, and then fled to Ewing’s fort. Mr. Walker also made his escape to this place of refuge. In the meantime, William Harkins, while running to the fort,

passed the cabin of Isaac Walker, gave him the alarm, and thus enabled him and his family also to escape to the fort. After burning the home of Gabriel Walker, the Indians assembled for an attack on Ewing's fort or blockhouse. Just then several men from Miller's Run, among whom was Captain Joseph Casnet, arrived at Ewing's. After a consultation, the Indians murdered two of the captive children of Gabriel Walker in sight of the blockhouse, boys aged eight and twelve, respectively, and left their bleeding bodies on the ground.

The Indians then departed in a northwesterly direction, taking with them Gabriel Walker's two daughters and a son. The news of the murders and capture soon spread through the neighborhood, and a band of about fifty settlers, among whom were James Ewing, John Henry, Peter Hickman and John Conner, pursued the Indians, and fired upon them as they were crossing the Ohio, killing one and wounding another. The three Walker children returned to their parents after the Revolutionary War, according to the "Narrative of the Walker Family," written by Isaac Walker, III, now in the possession of Charles M. Ewing, of Washington, Pa., a descendant of James Ewing.

H. H. Brackenridge, in a letter recorded in the first volume of Loudon's "Indian Narratives," mentions the murder of the Walker children, and says that, at about the same time, other atrocities were committed in what is now Allegheny County, among them being the murder of two boys, named Chambers, in a corn field within three miles of Fort Pitt and on the south side of the Ohio. He seems to indicate that the Walker tragedy took place in 1781, instead of 1782 as set forth in Isaac Walker's "Narrative."

On September 13, 1782, a band of about seventy Indians attacked the blockhouse of Abraham Rice, on Buffalo Creek, in what is now Donegal Township, Washington County. The attack continued from two o'clock in the afternoon until two o'clock the following morning. Although the little fort was defended by only six men, yet the Indians were not able to capture it. One of the defenders, George Felebaum, was shot through the brain while peering through a loop-hole, and four of the Indians were killed. As the Indian band was returning to the Ohio River, they met two settlers who were on their way to the relief of Rice's stockade and killed them. The attack on Rice's Fort was the last invasion of Western Pennsylvania by a large body of Indians.

The Indians that attacked Rice's Fort were part of a larger force which had unsuccessfully attacked Fort Henry, at Wheeling, West Virginia, on September 11 and 12. Before the Indians gave up the siege of Fort Henry, two white men who had been with them several years and held commands in the British army, deserted, and on the next morning were captured by Captain Swearingen, who was on his way, with about one hundred men, to the relief of this post. Learning from these prisoners that the Indians had decided to give up the siege of Fort Henry and detach a portion of their forces to operate on the Washington County frontier, Captain Swearingen sent runners to warn the Washington County settlers. This intelligence was received by Jacob Miller, who hastened to Fort Rice with the word and arrived in time to prepare for its defense. Besides Jacob Miller, the defenders of Fort Rice were George Felebaum, George Leffler, Jr., Peter Fullenweider, Daniel Rice and Jacob Leffler. About ten o'clock at night, the Indians fired a large barn, filled with grain

and hay, about forty yards from the fort, which for a time seemed to endanger the place, but fortunately the wind carried the flames and sparks in an opposite direction from the fort. Collecting on the side of the fort opposite to the burning barn, the Indians renewed their attack amid the glare of the flames and kept it up until two o'clock.

We have stated that, as the Indians were returning from Fort Rice to the Ohio River, they killed two men. There were four men in this party, and the two were killed at the first fire. The third man soon made his escape, as he was very fleet of foot. The fourth was closely pursued by one of the Indians, and, in danger of being overtaken, wheeled to fire upon his pursuer, but his gun snapped. His pursuer continued to gain on him. Then the man wheeled again to shoot his pursuer, but again the gun snapped. The Indian was now so close that he hurled a tomahawk, which whizzed past the man's head. In a moment the Indian was so close that he caught hold of the man's belt, but fortunately it was tied in a bow-knot, and came loose. A third time the man wheeled to shoot his pursuer. This time the gun went off, and the Indian fell dead.

Other Events In Washington County In 1782

In the summer of 1782, Matthew (Michael) Dillow and his son John, were at work in a clearing near Dillow's Fort, in what is now Hanover Township, Washington County, when Indians attacked them, killing the father and capturing the son. The son saw them secrete the body of his father near a large log before starting on their march. After being in captivity several years, the son returned to the neighborhood, and was questioned as to what became of his father's body. He told the incidents of his capture, whereupon several

settlers, after a search, found the skeleton of the murdered frontiersman, and buried it near the fort.

Some time during the Revolutionary War, probably in 1782, Indians attacked the home of Priscilla Peak or Peck, located not far from Wolf's Fort, a place of refuge located about five miles west of Washington and in the present township of Buffalo, Washington County. She was confined to her bed with fever when the Indians came. Some member of the family or other occupant of the home, threw a quilt around her, and told her to flee. In her weakened condition she had only strength enough to reach a pig-pen, where she stopped for breath. Here an Indian discovered her and scalped her, but was so closely pursued by the whites that he did not tomahawk her. Later she crawled to Wolf's Fort on her hands and knees. She recovered, and her head healed, but she always wore a black cap to conceal her mutilation.

During the Revolutionary War, also, a Miss Clemens and Lydia Boggs were chased by Indians to this fort, being able to outrun their pursuers. Miss Boggs was later captured and taken across the Ohio River. She made her escape, however, swimming her horse across the Ohio.

*The Abandoned Expeditions—Frontiersmen Celebrate
Thanksgiving*

In the summer of 1782, General Washington decided that three expeditions should be sent against the Indian allies of the British. One was to be sent by the state of New York against the eastern Iroquois in the neighborhood of Oswego; one, under Major-General James Potter, was to advance from Fort Augusta (Sunbury, Pa.) against the Seneca strongholds in the valley of the Genesee; and the third, to be commanded by General

William Irvine, was to advance from Fort Pitt against the Wyandots, Delawares and other tribes on the Sandusky River in Ohio. General Irvine began assembling his forces—regulars, volunteers, rangers, and Pennsylvania and Virginia militia—but was compelled to postpone the contemplated date of departure until October 20th. While he was thus making ready to advance against the Wyandots and Delawares, General George Rogers Clark was busy preparing a similar expedition in Kentucky against Shawnee towns on the Scioto. A correspondence passed between General Irvine and General Clark for the purpose of securing simultaneous action. Then a change of policy came about on the British side, which we shall now relate.

General Sir Guy Carleton, a humane man who had never approved the infamous alliance of the British with the Indians, which for six years had spread terror, desolation and death throughout the frontier, was appointed commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, shortly before the burning of Colonel William Crawford at the stake on June 11, 1782. Soon after his appointment, shocked by the terrible fate of Colonel Crawford and other American prisoners at Sandusky, he sent orders to all British officers on the frontier to exert their efforts to prevent further atrocities by their Indian allies. Soon these orders were followed by other orders sent by him to the commandants at Detroit and Niagara to cease entirely the sending out of Indian bands against the American frontiers and to act only on the defensive. These latter orders reached DePeyster, the commandant at Detroit, late in August and too late to prevent the expedition which attacked Fort Henry at Wheeling on September 11 and 12 and Rice's Fort in Washington County on September 13. General Washington, at Newburg-on-the-Hudson, learned

of General Carleton's action, on September 23, and at once wrote the authorities at Philadelphia to stop the expeditions preparing to set out from Sunbury and Fort Pitt (See Butterfield's "Washington-Irvine Correspondence," page 135; Pa. Archives, Vol. 9, page 641.) However, Washington's countermand did not reach General Clark in time to prevent his expedition against the Shawnees. He moved on and destroyed the Shawnee towns of Upper and Lower Piqua in what is now Miami County, Ohio.

On the last Thursday of November, 1782, the harried frontiersmen, believing that the Indian incursions were at an end, participated with earnestness and great joy in the observance of the first general Thanksgiving Day in the United States.

Indian Raids In The Spring Of 1783

Western Pennsylvania was free from Indian raids during the winter of 1782-83. But in the spring of 1783 a band of twenty-five Shawnees, probably in revenge of the destruction of their towns by General Clark in the autumn of 1782, entered Washington County and committed murders. On March 27, a certain Mrs. Walker was captured on Buffalo Creek, this county, but succeeded in making her escape. On April 1, a family, named Boice, consisting of eight persons, was captured not far from Washington, and carried to the Indian villages in Ohio. On April 2, a man, whose name has not been preserved, was killed within the limits of the present town of Washington. At about the same time as the capture of Mrs. Walker, persons were killed and captured near Walthour's Fort in the Brush Creek settlement in Westmoreland County. The following letters describe these atrocities in Washington and Westmoreland Counties:

General Irvine left Fort Pitt in March, 1783, to visit his home in Carlisle, leaving Colonel Stephen Bayard in command. On April 5, Bayard wrote him, stating that, about ten days prior to the time of writing this letter, Indians killed James Davis and his son and took two prisoners, near Fort Walthour, Westmoreland County. Colonel Bayard adds: "An express came to me last night from Col. Shepard, giving an account of six persons being killed, six wounded and five made prisoners within seven miles of Catfish (now Washington). This moment I am informed by a man from the Widow Myres' (Myres' Blockhouse) that one Thomas Lyon who lived four miles from her house, was yesterday killed and scalped." On the same day (April 5), William Parker and James Allison, sub-lieutenants of Washington County, wrote the president of Pennsylvania as follows: "They (the Indians) took one Mrs. Walker prisoner on the 27th ult., on Buffalo Creek, but she happily made her escape. This woman says that two parties of Indians are gone against the inhabitants. Two days after, there were two men taken prisoners at Wheeling; the day following a man was wounded on Short Creek. The 1st of April, they took the Wilson Boice and family consisting of eight persons, and a man was killed the day following, near Washington county court house." ("Washington-Irvine Correspondence," 408 to 410; Pa. Archives, Vol. 10, page 167.

John Cummins, Lieutenant of the Westmoreland Rangers, writing President Dickinson from Hannastown, on March 29, 1783, referring to the murder of James Davis and his son, near Fort Walthour, says: "Last week they killed two and took two prisoners about ten miles from this place, near Brushy Run [Brush Creek]. I could not learn what number there was of the enemy. I only hear of four that were dis-

covered. They were so bold as to endeavor to break open the house, but were bravely repulsed by one man and one woman who were within, but without any arms or weapons of defense. One of the Indians attempted to push his gun in at the door, which those on the inside of the room seized and broke, upon which the Indians left them. The inhabitants of the frontiers seem more discouraged this spring than they have been, having flattered themselves with the most sanguine hopes of peace, which hopes they now think are frustrated." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 10, page 22).

At this point a few additional words concerning the killing of Thomas Lyon and the attack on his family, based on the narrative of his son, James, who was captured on that occasion. The Lyon family, consisting of the father, his daughter, Mary, and the two small sons, James and Eli, lived on Turtle Creek. On April 4, 1783, James and Eli were fishing in the creek with pin hooks, made for them by their sister, Mary, when a band of Indians appeared, and captured the boys. One of the Indians was wearing Mr. Lyon's bloody shirt and hunting frock, the band having murdered the father before coming upon the boys. The boys were carried to the Indian towns of central Ohio. At one of these towns, a white man, who they were told was Simon Girty, treated little James very kindly, taking him on his knee and caressing him. At White Woman's Creek, James was adopted by an Indian family. At the close of the Indian troubles, James was delivered to the Americans at Fort McIntosh. His narrative is silent as to what became of Eli, but it is presumed that he, too, was delivered at the same time and place. But to return to their sister, Mary. She was not killed as the brothers supposed, but ran to Rayburn's Blockhouse, and gave the alarm. After James returned from

captivity, she told him of the anguish she endured when she missed her little brothers and saw the prints of the Indians' moccasins in the mud on the shore of the creek.

In May, 1783, a band of Indians led by Simon Girty captured a boy named John Burkhart five miles from Pittsburgh, at the mouth of Nine Mile Run. The guns of Fort Pitt were firing at the very time of the boy's capture, on account of the receipt of the news that Washington had discharged the American army on April 19 and announced that the Revolutionary War was over. This fact was made known to Girty by young Burkhart; yet he was carried to Detroit. However, he was well treated by Girty, and in July, was permitted by Colonel DePeyster, then commandant at Detroit, to return home. (Butterfield's "Washington-Irvine Correspondence," pages 417 and 418).

Peace Mission of Major Ephraim Douglass

Some of the frontiersmen believed that the atrocities just described were committed by Indians who had been out hunting all winter and had not heard of the peace made between Great Britain and the United States, or of the orders issued by General Carleton. There was great fear, among the frontiersmen, that the Indians might continue their raids without British support; and hence appeals were sent to Congress for definite treaties of peace with the tribes. The Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania asked Congress, on April 4, to take some action to pacify the Indians; and repeated this request, on April 29, with the statement that forty persons had been killed and captured on the Pennsylvania frontier, since the opening of the spring of 1783. Two days later, Congress voted to send a messenger to inform the tribes that Great Britain had been compelled to make peace with the Americans, and

had agreed to evacuate the forts at Detroit and Niagara. Major Ephraim Douglass, of Pittsburgh, was the person chosen by Major-General Benjamin Lincoln, Secretary of War, for this dangerous mission.

Douglass, accompanied by a guide and Captain George McCully, left Fort Pitt on June 7, well mounted and carrying a white flag. Arriving at the Sandusky River, on June 16, they went to the principal town of the Delawares, where they met the noted Delaware chief, Captain Pipe, who received them very cordially. Captain Pipe declared himself greatly in favor of peace, but declined to enter into peace negotiations until after Douglass had treated with the Wyandots and the Shawnees, his reason being that the Wyandots and Shawnees had first taken up the hatchet against the Americans, and had forced the Delawares into the war. Douglass and his companions remained at Captain Pipe's town two weeks. The chief of the Wyandots residing in that neighborhood (on the Sandusky River) was the Half King, Dunquat. Douglass learned that Dunquat was at that time at Detroit, but his wife thought he would soon come home, and persuaded the peace messengers to wait for him. Captain Pipe sent a runner to the Shawnee towns on the Miami, asking their chiefs to come to Sandusky to meet Major Douglass, but the runner returned in five days with the news that the Shawnees had just been called to Detroit to attend a council with the British commander at that place.

Captain Pipe then advised Major Douglass to go to Detroit, and treat with all the Indian chiefs in the presence of the British commander. Dunquat did not return at the time his wife expected him, and Captain Pipe said that he (Dunquat) could not make peace with the Americans without the authority of the Wyan-

dot council, which had its seat in Canada, not far from Detroit. For these reasons Major Douglass decided to take Captain Pipe's advice, and go to Detroit, at which place accompanied by Captain Pipe, he arrived on July 4, and was kindly received by the commander, Colonel DePeyster, who, however, would not permit him to hold a council with the Indian chiefs. DePeyster objected to some of the language in Douglass' letter of instruction, and was afraid that if the Indians were told that Great Britain had been compelled to make peace with the Americans, it might cause the tribes to have contempt for the power of the British. Nor was he willing that the Indians be told that the British had agreed to evacuate Detroit, explaining that he had no knowledge of such agreement. He finally advised Major Douglass to go to Niagara and state the terms of his mission to Brigadier-General Allan Maclean, who had superior authority in such affairs.

However, DePeyster gave much assistance to the object of Douglass' mission, by holding a council, at Detroit, on July 6, with the chiefs of eleven tribes, representing nearly all the Indians from the Scioto River to Lake Superior. They were the chiefs of the Delawares, Shawnees, Chippewas, Kickapoos, Weas, Miamis, Pottawattamies, Wyandots, Ottawas, Piankeshaws and part of the Senecas. He made the chiefs a long speech in which he told them the essential part of Douglass' message; that Great Britain and the United States had made peace; that the British could, therefore, no longer give the Indians assistance in their raids against the Americans; that the Americans desired peace with the Indians, also, and had sent Major Douglass to invite them to a treaty; and he closed by advising the Indians to cease their warfare against the Americans.

DePeyster's speech had a good effect on the assembled chiefs, and although they could hold no council with Douglass, they surrounded his lodging, and saluted him with many and earnest expressions of friendship. On July 7, the peace envoys left Detroit, and traveled through Ontario towards Niagara, which place they reached in four days, and were civilly received by the commander, General Allan Maclean, who made the same objections as those raised by Colonel DePeyster.

However, General Maclean, while not permitting Major Douglass to speak directly to the Iroquois chiefs at Niagara, informed them through Colonel Butler, of the desire of the United States for peace with all the Indian tribes. While at Niagara, Douglass had a long interview with the celebrated Mohawk chief, Joseph Brant, in which he did all in his power to persuade this chieftain of the kindly intentions of the United States towards the Indians.

General Maclean advised Major Douglass to go to Quebec and confer with the Governor-General of Canada, but Douglass, feeling that he had sufficiently carried out the mission on which he was sent, decided to return home. General Maclean sent him by boat to Oswego, from which place he went by way of Albany, to Princeton, New Jersey, where he made his report to General Benjamin Lincoln. His mission effected peace on the long harried frontiers. The Indian allies of the British ceased to spread terror, devastation and death in the settlements of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky. The Angel of Peace then descended on the war-scarred, desolated country to plume her ruffled pinions and to bring the blessings of Heaven in her train. (See Major Douglass' report, dated August 18, 1783, and recorded in Pa. Archives, Vol. 10, pages 83-90).

General Irvine Leaves Fort Pitt

General William Irvine remained at Fort Pitt until October 1, 1783. In gratitude for his distinguished services, Pennsylvania gave him a tract of land below Erie, known as "Irvine's Reserve." On March 26, 1785, he was appointed to examine the Donation Lands, promised the Pennsylvania soldiers. He reported the result of his commission in November, 1785. It was General Irvine who advised the acquisition of the "Erie Triangle" by purchase from the United States, which gave Pennsylvania one of the best harbors on Lake Erie. He was a member of the Third Congress and, in 1794, he was appointed a commissioner, with Andrew Ellicott, to lay out the towns of Erie, Waterford, Warren and Franklin. He was also one of the commissioners appointed to endeavor to settle the "Whiskey Insurrection," and, negotiations failing, he was a Major-General in command of Pennsylvania troops sent with others from Maryland, Virginia and New Jersey to quell this disturbance in Western Pennsylvania. He was elected treasurer of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati upon its organization on October 4, 1783, and was afterwards its president. He died in Philadelphia on July 29, 1804, to which city he had removed from Carlisle.

CHAPTER XXI

Passing of Fort Ligonier and the Western Pennsylvania Frontier

THE FRONTIER DRINKS THE BLOOD OF INNOCENT
MEN AND IS SATISFIED

Farewell to Fort Ligonier

With the ending of the Indian raids in Westmoreland County in the spring of 1783, followed by the successful peace mission of Major Ephraim Douglass later in the same year, the history of Fort Ligonier, as a post occupied by regular or citizen soldiers, comes to a close. Little mention of the place is made in the records of the Post-Revolutionary Indian uprising, to which we devote this final chapter and which came to an end with the overwhelming defeat of the western tribes at the battle of Fallen Timbers, on August 20, 1794. It rapidly crumbled into decay.* One official mention of this historic post after the eight years of fire and blood of the Revolutionary War, is in the journal of Captain (later Major) Jonathan Heart, as he was marching with his company of United States soldiers over the mountains by way of Fort Ligonier and Fort Pitt, in the autumn of 1785, to assist in the building of Fort Harmar at the mouth of the Muskingum. The following is from his journal:

“Encamped, Top of Laurel Hill, Oct. 7, 1785. Company marches tomorrow morning at sunrise. Route: Fort Ligonier, 7 miles; 4 Mile Run, 4 miles. Total—11 miles.”

It is with sincere regret that we take leave of historic Fort Ligonier. Before the young Republic of

*During an Indian alarm in the Ligonier Valley in the autumn of 1783, the people seem to have fled to Mount Pleasant instead of to Fort Ligonier. (Albert's "Westmoreland", page 701).

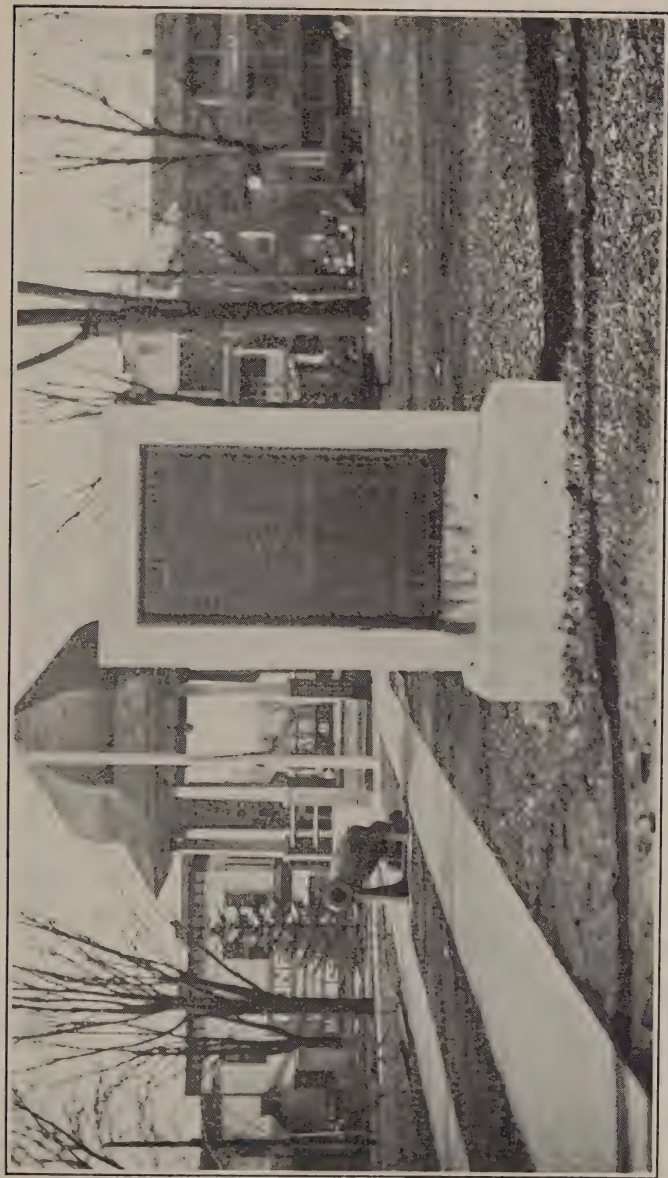
the West had fairly started on its way, the fort had crumbled into dust. Soon a thriving town grew up where the Indian town and the fort had stood. Thus do changes come and go. As the historical pilgrim visits the spot where the frontier fortress stood, he is surrounded by the ghosts and shadows of other days, and angel voices whisper to his soul: "Remember the days of old; consider the years of many generations." Truly, the hallowed memories of "Old Westmoreland's" historic, heroic and mighty past shall cling, like gathering mists around the spot where the famed fortress stood. Truly, long as the rippling Loyalhanna shall flow through the beautiful mountain vale to join the Conemaugh to form the Kiskiminetas, the memory of this fortress shall be enshrined in the hearts of the people of the valley for whose gallant defenders it was the chief place of refuge and defense in the days when the foundations of America's greatness were laid.

We shall devote the remainder of this chapter to calling attention to thrilling, tragic and important events that took place in Western Pennsylvania while Fort Ligonier's walls were crumbling into dust, as follows:

Purchases at Fort Stanwix and McIntosh

Before showing how Western Pennsylvania again became a frontier, after the Revolutionary War, we, at this point, call attention to the purchases at Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh, the former on October 23, 1784, and the latter on January 21, 1785. Inasmuch as this volume will go into many high schools in Western Pennsylvania, it is important that it contain this historical data for the boys and girls of today, the men and women of that great tomorrow.

At the treaty at Fort Stanwix, the Six Nations ceded to Pennsylvania that part of the state northwest of the



Monument in the public square at Ligonier, Pa., marking site of Fort Ligonier. Among other things, the inscription thereon states that the fort stood 500 feet south-east of the monument. This monument was erected in 1915 by the Pennsylvania Society Sons of the American Revolution.

boundary of the purchase of 1768. The Seneca chief, Cornplanter, who was the bitter enemy of the United States during the Revolutionary War, but became the firm friend of the young Republic upon the conclusion of peace, took a prominent part in the treaty of Fort Stanwix, using all the energies of his brilliant intellect in favor of peace. The following is the description in the deed of the Six Nations, dated October 23, 1784:

“Beginning on the south side of the river Ohio, where the western boundary of the state of Pennsylvania crosses the said river, near Shingo’s old town, at the mouth of Beaver Creek, and thence by a due north line to the end of the forty-second and the beginning of the forty-third degrees of north latitude; thence by a due east line separating the forty-second and the forty-third degree of north latitude, to the east side of the east branch of the Susquehanna River; thence by the bounds of the late purchase made at Fort Stanwix, the fifth day of November, Anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight, as follows: Down the said east branch of Susquehanna, on the east side thereof, till it comes opposite to the mouth of a creek called by the Indians Awandac, and across the river, and up the said creek on the south side thereof, all along the range of hills called Burnet’s Hills by the English, and by the Indians———, on the north side of them, to the head of a creek which runs into the west branch of Susquehanna, which creek is by the Indians called Tyadaghton, but by the Pennsylvanians, Pine Creek, and down the said creek on the south side thereof to the said west branch of Susquehanna; thence crossing the said river, and running up the south side thereof, the several courses thereof to the forks of the same river, which lies nearest to a place on the river Ohio called Kittanning, and from the fork by a

straight line to Kittanning aforesaid; and thence down the said river Ohio by the several courses thereof to where said State of Pennsylvania crosses the same river, at the place of beginning."

It will be noticed in the above deed of the purchase of 1784, that the line was to run along the south bank of the West Branch of the Susquehanna; thence "crossing the said river, and running up the south side thereof, the several courses and distances thereof to the forks of the same river, which lies nearest to a place on the river Ohio called Kittanning, and from the fork by a straight line to Kittanning aforesaid." The name "Canoe Place" is given in the old maps of the state to designate the point on the West Branch of the Susquehanna from which the purchase line ran to Kittanning. The point also designated the head of navigation on the West Branch. A survey of that line was made by Robert Galbraith, in 1786, and a cherry tree, standing on the west branch of the river was marked by him as the beginning of his survey. The same cherry tree was also marked by William P. Brady as the southeast corner of a tract surveyed by him "at Canoe Place," in 1794, on a grant in the name of John Nicholson, Esq. The town of Cherry Tree, Indiana County, now covers a part of this ground. The historic cherry tree disappeared many years ago. The Legislature of Pennsylvania, in 1893, granted an appropriation of fifteen hundred dollars for marking the historic site, and a substantial granite monument now stands where the tree stood.

From the Fort Stanwix purchase of November 5, 1768, described in Chapter XIII, to the Fort Stanwix purchase of October 23, 1784, the northwestern boundary of Indian purchases in Pennsylvania ran from the North Branch of the Susquehanna, on the New York

line, to Towanda Creek, thence to the head of Pine Creek, thence to the mouth of Pine Creek, and up the West Branch of the Susquehanna to its source; thence over to Kittanning; and thence down the Allegheny and Ohio to the west line of the state. Now one of the important features of the Fort Stanwix purchase and treaty of October 23, 1784, was the settlement of the difficulty that, ever since the Fort Stanwix treaty and purchase of November 5, 1768, had existed among various Pennsylvania settlers in relation to that part of the boundary of the former purchase marked by the creek called Tyadaghton by the Indians. Some settlers claimed that this was the Indian name for Lycoming Creek, while others claimed it was the Indian name for Pine Creek. Therefore, at the purchase and treaty of October, 1784, the Pennsylvania commissioners, in compliance with their instructions inquired specifically of the Six Nations which stream was really the Tyadaghton, and also the Indian name of Burnet's Hills, left blank in the deed of November, 1768. The Indians then informed the commissioners that Tyadaghton was what the white people called Pine Creek, which flows into the West Branch of the Susquehanna in the western part of Lycoming County, instead of Lycoming Creek, which also flows into the West Branch of the Susquehanna in Lycoming County, but some fifteen or more miles farther to the east. As to Burnet's Hills, the Indians said they knew them as the "Long Mountains" and by no other name.

The deed given at Fort Stanwix extinguished the Iroquois title to this region, but it became necessary to appease the Wyandots, Delawares and other western tribes, who likewise claimed title to the same lands. Therefore, the same commissioners who were at the treaty at Fort Stanwix, were sent to Fort McIntosh,

the site of the present town of Beaver, Beaver County, where, on January 21, 1785, Pennsylvania received a deed from these Indians for the same land. However, no Shawnees, the most warlike of the western tribes, were present at the Fort McIntosh Treaty. British agents among them were neutralizing the efforts of the American commissioners. The Fort Stanwix deed and the Fort McIntosh deed are identical as to boundaries, but the consideration in the former was five thousand dollars, and in the latter two thousand dollars. "Thus," says Meginness, "in a period of about one hundred and two years was the whole right of the Indians to the soil of Pennsylvania extinguished."

These deeds included all of the counties of Lawrence, Mercer, Crawford, Butler, Venango, Forest, Warren, Clarion, Jefferson, Elk, Kane, Cameron, Potter, and a part of Beaver, Allegheny, Armstrong, Erie, Indiana, Clearfield, Clinton, Tioga, and Bradford. That part of Erie County called "the triangle," was ceded to Pennsylvania by the United States, in 1792.

The great Frenchman, General Lafayette, attended the Fort Stanwix purchase, and addressed the assembled Indian chiefs. The Pennsylvania commissioners, Samuel J. Atlee, William Maclay and Francis Johnston, say in a letter written to President John Dickinson of the Supreme Executive Council, recorded in Pa. Archives, Vol. 10, page 346:

"The Marquis addressed them, praised those who had adhered to us in the late war—blamed those who had been our enemies, with freedom. Their answer was pertinent, and breathed the spirit of peace. The Mohawks, in particular, declared their repentance for the errors which they had committed. We were likewise introduced to them by the Continental Commissioners."

One of the Continental Commissioners at the Fort McIntosh treaty was General Richard Butler, for whom Butler County is named. Another was Arthur Lee, of Virginia. On his way to Fort McIntosh, Lee passed through Pittsburgh, and wrote the following, which provokes a smile at the present day:

“Pittsburgh is inhabited almost entirely by Scots and Irish, who live in paltry houses and are as dirty as in the north of Ireland or even in Scotland. There is a great deal of small trade carried on; the goods being brought at the vast expense of 45 shillings per cwt. from Phila. and Baltimore. They take in the shops money, wheat, flour and skins. There are in the town four attorneys, two doctors and not a priest of any persuasion, nor church, nor chapel; so that they are likely to be dammed without benefit of clergy. The river encroaches fast on the town. The place, I believe, will never be very considerable,” (“Craig’s History of Pittsburgh,” pages 173 and 174).

*British Agents Cause Post-Revolutionary Indian Uprising—
Western Pennsylvania Again a Frontier*

Upon the close of the Revolutionary War, enterprising men turned their attention to the settlement of the vast and fertile region west of the Alleghenies; and Congress, in 1787, formed the Northwest Territory out of which the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin have been formed. General Arthur St. Clair was appointed governor of the Northwest Territory, and, in January 1789, held a treaty at Fort Harmar, at the mouth of the Muskingum River, with representatives of the Six Nations, Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas and other Western Indians, by the terms of which they ceded large tracts of land to the United States. However, the great majority of these Indians

refused to acknowledge the validity of the treaty, and shortly thereafter, instigated by British traders, went on the war-path, sending many of their war parties into the valleys of the Ohio and Allegheny.

As C. W. Butterfield points out, in his "Washington-Irvine Correspondence" (page 194), Great Britain, during all the time from the close of the Revolutionary War until the Treaty of Greenville, Ohio, in August, 1795, was covertly hostile to the United States, aiding and abetting the Western Indians in various ways. Therefore, as early as May 12, 1784, an incursion was made into Washington County by Indians from Ohio in which two men were killed at or near Cross Creek. Also, in the harvest time of 1785, Indians from Ohio again entered this county, mortally wounding Josiah Scott, Jr., and capturing William Bailey, near Candor. About November 1, 1787, according to James Marshal's letter of November 6, 1787, recorded in Pa. Archives, Vol. 11, page 209, a band of Indians from Ohio entered Washington County, attacking two families of seven persons each, and killing all except two whom they carried off.

The atrocities mentioned in the above volume of the Pennsylvania Archives were probably the murder of the Davis and Crowe families, though some authorities place the date of the murder of these families as late as 1792. All authorities agree that these two families were murdered on the same day, and since they do not agree as to the date, we are inclined to believe that the account given in the above mentioned volume of the Pennsylvania Archives refers to these families. We shall now describe these atrocities.

The family of James Davis lived in what was then Washington County, but is now Richill Township, Greene County. The family was at the breakfast table

on a Sunday morning, when the Indians came to the cabin. The father and his two sons sprang for their rifles, but were shot dead on the spot. After killing several of the children, according to some accounts, and scalping the victims, eating the food, and plundering the cabin, the Indians captured the mother and only daughter, and started away. One of the Indians was riding one of the Davis horses, with the daughter before him and the mother behind. Presently, John Henderson, who lay concealed in a thicket, shot the Indian rider, causing him to fall from the horse, badly wounded. Some time later, settlers found the decaying body of the daughter, but no trace of the mother was ever discovered. The mutilated bodies of the father, two sons and daughter were buried near the cabin. At a later date, a skeleton of an Indian was found near the scene of this atrocity, supposed to have been that of the warrior shot by Henderson. A son of Davis managed to elude the Indians. It appears that he had been sent to the pasture field for the horses, while the other members of the family were at breakfast. ("Frontier Forts," Vol. 2, page 442).*

The Crowe family also lived in what is now Richill Township, Greene County. One of the daughters worked for the family of James Davis, whose murder we have just related, and came home every Saturday evening to spend Sunday with her parents. On the afternoon of the day of the murder of the Davis family, this girl, accompanied by her four sisters, started for the Davis home. They sat down under a tree, not far from the mouth of Wharton Run, to crack nuts,

* Old accounts say that a renegade named Spicer was with the Indians who attacked the Davis and Crow families, and some have thought that he was the William Spicer captured by Chief Logan. See page 295. Researches by Dr. C. C. Wright, of Charleroi, Pa., a descendant of Betsey (Elizabeth) Spicer, indicate that the renegade was not William Spicer. Whoever he was, it seems that a band of settlers soon killed him near the mouth of Dunkard Creek, tanned his skin and made shot pouches out of it.

when their brother, Michael, who had been searching for a strayed colt and found it, passed them and told them not to delay as it was getting late. Two of the girls then started up Wheeling Creek and the other three started down the stream. Presently two rifle shots broke the stillness of the autumn afternoon, and two of the girls fell mortally wounded, while the other three fled with the Indians in pursuit. One of the girls, named Taner, was knocked down with a tomahawk, and the Indians, thinking she was dead, pressed on after the others, one of whom was captured. The youngest girl, Mary, outran her pursuers, and was taken up behind her brother, Michael, on the horse. She and Michael rode swiftly home, and told their agonized parents what had happened. The parents and the surviving children, except Taner and Michael, fled to Ryerson's Fort, near the present Ryerson's Station. Michael was too young to run that distance and too large to be carried. His father concealed him under the floor of the cabin and told him to remain there until help arrived. In a short time, the Indians pillaged the cabin, but did not find the boy. He remained hidden for three days without food or water, before he was rescued. Taner Crowe, after being knocked down, crawled into the brush and concealed herself beyond discovery. She recovered from her wound, and lived to raise a large family.

In Colonel James Marshal's letter of November 6, 1787, he asked the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania to provide one hundred men for the defense of Washington County. His letter was addressed to Benjamin Franklin, then president of this body. The Council not only failed to provide the troops asked for, but also neglected to send any ammunition. Then Colonel Marshal, in the spring of 1788, took upon him-

self the authority to order out twenty men of the militia, placing them on the frontier, where they remained for some months. There being no provision in the law for providing these militia with rations, Marshal personally stood good for this expense himself, as is shown in his letter of August 22, 1788, to President Franklin.

It was during the year 1787, that Levi Morgan was attacked by three Indians, on Buffalo Creek, Washington County, and, in a running fight killed one of them. The story is told in McKnight's "Western Border." He was skinning a wolf which he had just taken from from his trap, when three Indians came towards him, two on foot and one mounted on a horse of one of Morgan's neighbors. Hastily taking shelter behind a large tree, he shot one of the Indians. Upon beginning to reload his rifle, he was horrified to find that the powder had spilled out of the powder-horn while he had been engaged in skinning the wolf. He then took to flight, pursued by one of the Indians. Finding his pursuer gaining on him, he dropped his rifle in order that he might flee faster. Later he found it necessary to throw away both his coat and his bullet pouch. Arriving at the summit of a hill, he resorted to the expedient of calling as if to friends, whereupon the Indian, thinking that other white men were near, retreated as fast as he had advanced. He took Morgan's rifle with him. After the Treaty of Greenville, Morgan met this Indian. They talked over the matter of his escape, and then agreed to test each other's speed in a friendly race. The Indian being beaten, exclaimed, "Stiff, stiff, too old, too old." "Well," said Morgan, "you got the gun by out running me then, and I should have it now for out running you." He accordingly took it. (See Withers' "Chronicles of Border Warfare," pages 375

and 376; Forrest's "History of Washington County," pages 254, 255).

On March 27, 1789, Indians from Ohio made an incursion into Washington County, capturing a Mrs. Glass, her little son, and her female slave and two children. One of the Negro children was killed after the Indians had proceeded a short distance with their captives. Mr. Glass, discovering that his wife and son had been captured, fled to Well's Fort, in Cross Creek Township, and there organized a party of ten settlers who pursued the Indians, and recovered the captives on the other side of the Ohio River. Mr. Glass died a few years later, and his widow married John Brown, and became the mother of Jane Brown, who, on March 12, 1811, became the wife of Rev. Alexander Campbell, the founder of the Campbellite or Christian Church.

One of the most horrible atrocities committed in Washington County in the pioneer days was the murder of the McIntosh family, in what is now West Finley Township, in August, 1789. The members of the family were in the harvest field, stacking hay or grain, when a band of Indians fired on them, killing the father, who was on the stack. The mother and six children then fled toward the house, but were overtaken, tomahawked and scalped. Thus perished the entire family, except a daughter who had been sent to a pasture field with a horse, and hearing the firing, fled to Roney's Blockhouse, and gave the alarm. Hercules Roney, at the head of a band of settlers, started for the scene of the tragedy. They found eight mutilated bodies of the victims, and buried them.

About the time of the murder of the McIntosh family, John McCleery was murdered by hostile Indians, near the present Hookstown, Beaver County.

Indians Murder Within Two Miles of Pittsburgh

It seems almost unbelievable that, as late as 1789, Indians committed murders within two miles of what was then the center of Pittsburgh. But the fact is beyond dispute. The *Pittsburgh Gazette* of July 2, 1789, contained the following:

"Yesterday was brought to this place and buried, the bodies of two young men, named Arthur Graham and Alexander Campbell, who had gone out the evening before to fish. They were killed by the savages about two miles from this place."

Escape of the Bender (Painter) Children

Smith says, on page 158 of his "History of Armstrong County," that, in 1787 or 1788, Mrs. Elizabeth Snyder, who died at the great age of 100 years soon before Smith's work was published, and her brother were hoeing corn one morning on their father's farm on the Westmoreland side of the Kiskiminetas, below Saltsburg, when they discovered a number of Indians in ambush. She and her brother escaped to a block-house in that vicinity. That night the Indian band stole nearly all the horses of the settlers in that neighborhood. They were pursued by the whites the next day and overtaken between Pine Run and what is now Logansport, on the Allegheny, in Armstrong County, where all the horses except a stallion were recaptured. The place of the recapture of the horses was on land later owned by Mrs. Snyder's son, Joseph Snyder. The Indians escaped across the Allegheny at the mouth of Nicholson's Run, following the Indian trail which led up this stream, thence to Kuskuskies and the Indian towns in Ohio. It would seem from Smith's account, which he got from Mrs. Snyder, that the recapture of the horses took place near the spot where

Colonel James Smith had a skirmish with the Indians "near Kittanning" during the Revolutionary War.

Mrs. Snyder was the daughter of George Bender (Painter), the great-great-grandfather of the present author. The trail over which the Indians fled after crossing the Allegheny at the mouth of Nicholson's Run, led over the high hill on the farm on which the present author was born and reared, in South Buffalo Township, Armstrong County.

General Harmar's Defeat

Realizing that the only way to put a stop to the Indian raids from Ohio into Western Pennsylvania and Kentucky, was to carry the war into their country, the Federal Government sent troops down the Ohio in the summer and autumn of 1789, and erected Fort Washington, where Cincinnati, now stands. General Josiah Harmar arrived at that place on December 29, with three hundred regular troops, and took command. Leaving Fort Washington with one hundred regulars, he joined General Scott with two hundred and thirty Kentucky volunteers, and marched into the Scioto country, but was unable to engage the Indians in battle, as they abandoned their villages and fled. The troops then returned to Fort Washington, having accomplished nothing definite.

The Indians continued their raids into Pennsylvania, Kentucky and West Virginia during the summer of 1790. Then President Washington called upon Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky to raise militia to invade the Ohio country. On September 30, General Harmar left Fort Washington, and joined Colonel John Hardin at Turkey Creek, on October 3. Harmar's forces numbered between fourteen and fifteen hundred men. On October 4, the army took up the

march towards the Indian towns on the Maumee and its tributaries, the St. Joseph and the St. Mary. The principal town Harmar intended to attack was the Miami town, called Kekionga, or Omee, located where the city of Fort Wayne, Indiana, now stands. Having camped on the St. Mary River on the night of October 13, General Harmar, on the following day, sent Major James Paul, who commanded a battalion from Western Pennsylvania and Virginia, with six hundred volunteers to attack Omee. This force arrived at Omee on October 16, but found that the Indians had fled after having burned the town. General Harmar arrived with the main column the next day. The troops then destroyed 20,000 bushels of corn in the vicinity.

On October 19, Colonel Hardin, with one hundred and eighty Pennsylvania and Kentucky militia and thirty regulars, started in pursuit of some Indians who had stolen some horses the night before. After a march of six miles, the troops were ambushed by the Indians and badly defeated. Concluding that a general engagement with the Indians was impossible, General Harmar decided to return to Fort Washington. On October 20, he marched back eight miles, and then decided to bring on a partial engagement. Late that night Harmar sent Colonel Hardin and Major Wyllys, with three hundred Pennsylvania and Kentucky militia and sixty regulars, with orders to find the enemy and engage them. Hardin and Wyllys marched their forces to the junction of the St. Joseph and St. Mary Rivers, and then separated into three columns, moving up the east bank of the St. Joseph at some distance apart. This separating of the forces was the opportunity the Miami chief, Little Turtle, and the Shawnee chief, Blue Jacket, had been waiting for. Soon after the troops separated, the Indians attacked the two columns of militia, and

then retreated, luring them away from the regulars. They then fell upon the regulars, overwhelming them with terrible slaughter. More than fifty regulars were slain. Among the slain was Major Wyllys. In the meantime the militia lost one hundred and eighty officers and men, killed, wounded, and missing. It was estimated that the Indians lost only about one hundred. The American survivors joined the main column under General Harmar, on October 23, and the army then took up the march back to Fort Washington, at which place it arrived on November 3. In this campaign, General Harmar lost over two hundred men and one half of his horses. The campaign was a failure, and the battle, fought near Fort Wayne, Indiana, has gone down in history as "Harmar's Defeat."

Among those who were with General Harmar, was Colonel Christopher Truby, of Westmoreland County, who was in command of the Pennsylvania militia. General Harmar gave him very favorable mention in his official report.

Robert McClellan, born several miles north of Mercersburg, Franklin County, about 1770, was a noted spy in General Harmar's expedition. In this service, he had many thrilling experiences. On one occasion, he and a companion, named White, escaped capture and death by White's choking and drowning an Indian woman. While choking the squaw to death with one hand, he had a death clutch with the other hand on the throat of a girl who he supposed was a squaw, but the latter managed to gasp a few English words revealing that she was the sister of Corneal Washburn, one of Simon Kenton's men, and had been a prisoner among the Indians for ten years. During the last three months of 1793, McClellan was a member of Captain James Flynn's scouts under General Wayne. From

July, 1794, to December, 1794, he served under Wells as division chief of the spies employed by General Wayne. While McClellan, Wells and that other noted scout, William May, had thrilling experiences in their service under Wayne that have been recorded in many histories of border warfare, they were not present at the Battle of the Fallen Timbers, when Wayne broke forever the power of the western tribes.

Conciliation of the Senecas

On June 27, 1790, two friendly Senecas were murdered by Benjamin Walker, Henry Walker, Joseph Walker and Samuel Doyle, on Pine Creek, Lycoming County, Pennsylvania. The Walkers were sons of John Walker who was killed by Indians in the attack on the home of Major John Lee, in Union County, on August 13, 1782. At the time of the murder of the friendly Senecas, the Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots and other western tribes were at war with the United States, and were doing all in their power to draw the Senecas into the conflict. Hence it was feared that the murder of the friendly Senecas would have the effect causing their tribe to join the hostile Indians. In order to avert the threatened danger, President Washington, on September 4th, commissioned Colonel Timothy Pickering, then at Wyoming, to meet the chiefs of the Senecas and offer to make reparations for the injury done their tribe. Colonel Pickering and Colonel Simon Spalding met Red Jacket, Farmer's Brother, Fish Carrier, Big Tree, Aupamont and other chiefs of the Senecas, at Tioga, on November 14th to 23d, gave them presents and secured their friendship. The work of conciliation was concluded at a treaty held at Elmira, New York the following year.

On October 29, 1790, the Seneca chief, Cornplanter, accompanied by his half-brother, Half Town, appeared before the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and laid before that body a number of wrongs committed against the Senecas. He had intended to go to Philadelphia at an earlier date, but was detained by the excitement among the Senecas on account of the murder of their two chiefs on Pine Creek. He told the Council of the robbing of some of his company at Cat Fish (Washington, Pa.,) as they were returning from the treaty at Fort Harmar, early in 1789; and of the murder of a young Seneca, the husband of the sister of Cornplanter's wife, by a white man, about four miles above Pittsburgh, in 1786, and of the murder of his (Cornplanter's) nephew, about fifteen miles below Pittsburgh, during the preceding winter. Said he, on this occasion: "Fathers, consider me and my people, and the many injuries we have sustained by the repeated robberies and in the murders and depredations committed by the whites among us." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 16, pages 501 to 506.)

Cornplanter and Half Town remained in Philadelphia until the meeting of Congress. On December 1st, he met President Washington, and laid before him the complaints of the Senecas and their request that lands be allotted to them. Washington gave the noted chief a sum of money, and bespoke his aid in pacifying the Miamis. In the meantime Governor Mifflin sent a message to the Senecas with some of Cornplanter's companions, deploring the murder of the two chiefs on Pine Creek.

It was a dark hour for the young Republic when Cornplanter was holding his councils with Governor Mifflin and President Washington at Philadelphia. The army of General Harmar had gone down to inglorious

defeat before the might of the western tribes, and the British at Niagara were using their utmost influence to array the powerful Senecas against the United States.

*Measures For Defense of the Western Frontier—Forts
Erected—Citizens of Pittsburgh Arm Themselves*

United States troops, under Captain Jonathan Heart, erected Fort Franklin, at the site of the town of that name, in the summer of 1787. Captain Heart received his orders on April 10, while at Fort Harmar, at the mouth of the Muskingum. The exposed condition of the Washington County frontier in 1789 and 1790, together with the Indian depredations in that county, led Alexander Addison, James Ross, Thomas Ryerson and Henry Taylor, all very prominent citizens of the county, to place the matter before the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. On January 25, 1790, these gentlemen appeared before the Council with a written statement describing the Indian depredations in their county. They asked for help, not only from Pennsylvania, but from the federal government, sending a letter, signed by the four, to President Washington, describing the defenseless condition of the Washington County frontier. As a result of these petitions, the County-Lieutenant of Washington County, on April 13, 1790, received a letter from the Secretary of War, General Henry Knox, directing him to take steps for the defense of the frontier and authorizing him to call out scouts whenever, in his judgment, such a step was necessary. But the number of men was not to exceed eight. This measure was intended as a temporary expedient until the danger should be over, or until some general measure for defense should be adopted. There is no record of how many men were called out in Washington County in 1790, but considerable num-

bers were called out in the period from 1791 to 1794. In 1792, two companies of militia, or Minute Men, were called out by General Absalom Baird, County-Lieutenant of Washington County at that time, for the protection of the frontier. One company composed of fifty-four men and commanded by Captain William Crawford, was mustered in on May 7 and discharged on December 12, 1792. This company had its headquarters at Enoch's Blockhouse. The second company, composed of twenty-five men and commanded by Captain James Seals, was mustered in on April 12 and discharged on December 9. Its headquarters were at Ryerson's Fort, in the present Greene County.

After the bloody Indian raids near Pittsburgh early in 1791, which will be described presently, the people of this town became thoroughly alarmed. Under threats they compelled Major Isaac Craig, commander of Fort Pitt, to deliver to them one hundred muskets and sufficient ammunition for two months. In a letter to General Knox, Secretary of War, March 25, Major Craig, reported this incident and asked that the Secretary approve his action, saying: "I had no alternative but either to see the store houses broken open, and perhaps part of the stores destroyed, or to deliver one hundred muskets." General Knox replied: "The issuing of the arms seems to have been justified by the occasion." Thus did the citizens of Pittsburgh and yeomanry of the countryside, with visions of the tomahawk and scalping knife, rise to the defense of their borderland.

It was not until after the result of General Harmar's campaign became known that the people of Westmoreland County became really alarmed for their safety. Men like Colonel Charles Campbell, County-Lieutenant, and Captain John Guthrie had given frequent

warnings prior to this time, but they went unheeded. In 1791, Colonel Campbell called out a company for defense, which was taken along in General St Clair's expedition of the same year. Major John Irwin, acting County-Lieutenant of Allegheny County, declared, on June 3, that the people of Westmoreland County had no great cause for alarm, as, up to the middle of 1791, only three murders had been committed within the limits of Westmoreland, whereas certainly fourteen persons had been killed in Allegheny County. By an act of the Pennsylvania Assembly, of March 17, 1791, four thousand pounds were appropriated for the defense of the western counties; and in 1792, the government was empowered to engage three companies of riflemen for defense of the frontier posts. A little later three more companies were authorized to be raised and stationed for the protection of the counties of Westmoreland, Allegheny and Washington. During this period, the Westmoreland militia and riflemen were stationed most of the time at forts and blockhouses along the Allegheny and Kiskiminetas. Among their officers were John Guthrie, William Cooper, Stephen Mehaffey, Samuel Murphy, John Sloan, William Jack, Alexander Craig, John Craig, William McDowel and George Smith.

Some of the principal blockhouses erected during the Post-Revolutionary Indian uprising were: 1. Reed's Station, in Allegheny Township, Westmoreland County, about two miles below the mouth of the Kiskiminetas. 2. The blockhouse at Freeport, commanded most of the time by Captain John Craig. 3. Green's Blockhouse, where the town of Rosston, Armstrong County, now stands. 3. Claypoole's Blockhouse, on the east bank of the Allegheny, just above the present town of Ford City, Armstrong County. 4. Clark's Blockhouse, near the mouth of Plum Creek, Armstrong

County. 5. Nicholson's Blockhouse, on the west bank of the Allegheny, at the mouth of Nicholson's Run, Armstrong County. 6. Coe's Station, about a mile below Parnassus, but on the west bank of the Allegheny. 7. James Paul's Blockhouse, on Pine Run, in the northwestern part of Westmoreland County. 8. Mead's Blockhouse, where the town of Meadville, Crawford County now stands. 9. The Blockhouse at New Brighton (Fallston), commanded at different times by Lieutenant Nathan McDowell and Major Toomey. 10. Chambers Station in the northwestern part of Westmoreland County.*

*Murders and Captures in Allegheny and Other
Western Counties in 1791*

Following the unsuccessful expedition of General Harmar, many Indian raids were made into Western Pennsylvania. In one of these raids, about February 1, 1791, the entire family of Thomas Dick was captured, below the mouth of Deer Creek and in the present Shaler Township, Allegheny County. So stealthily had the Indians come and gone that the capture of this family was not known for two days. They were taken to the Indian towns in Ohio, and exchanged at Detroit about two years later, returning home. James Sample's hired man, named Chapman, was killed at the Dick home at the time of the capture of that family. Sample was a neighbor, living on Girty's Run. On the same day, the family of this James Sample was captured by Indians, likely the same band that captured the Dick family; but all escaped that night through the assistance of a squaw whom Mrs. Sample had furnished with clothing during the winter before. During the night, as the Indians were dancing and celebrating their exploits in having taken many prisoners and scalps during

* Also Dinsmore's Blockhouse in Canton Township, Washington County.

their raid into the Allegheny County settlements, this faithful squaw, mindful of the kindness shown her by Mrs. Sample, ferried the three eldest children, one at a time, across the Allegheny in a canoe, amid the floating ice, and then turned the canoe over to Mrs. Sample, who crossed in it to the other (Pittsburgh) side of the river with her two-weeks'-old infant, Thomas. Thus the family escaped to Pittsburgh after having been captured at their home on Girty's Run on the western side of the Allegheny. Thomas Sample became one of the most prominent men of that part of Allegheny County.

In the spring of 1791, John Brickell, a lad of ten years was captured by some Delawares, on the west bank of the Allegheny, in the present Reserve Township, Allegheny County. He was taken to the Delaware towns in Ohio, at one of which he was compelled to run the gauntlet. However, a chief, whom he believed to be Captain Pipe, saved him from most of the tortures of this ordeal. Later, he was adopted by the Delaware chief, Big Cat, who treated him very kindly. During his captivity of four and one-half years, he met some of his neighbors, who had also been captured, among these being Jane Dick.

Young Brickell was delivered up at Fort Defiance, following General Wayne's victory over the western tribes at the battle of the Fallen Timbers. In his "Narrative," he thus describes this occasion:

"Big Cat told me I must go over to the fort. The children hung around me crying, and asked me if I was going to leave them. I told them I did not know. When we got over and were seated with the officers, Big Cat told me to stand up, which I did. He then arose, and addressed me in about these words: 'My son, there are men the same color as yourself. There may

be some of your kin there, or your kin may be a great way off from you. You had lived a long time with us. I call on you to say if I have not been a father to you.' I said: 'You have used me as well as a father could a son.' He said: 'I am glad you say so. You have lived with me; you have hunted with me. But our treaty says you must be free. If you choose to go with the people of your own color, I have no right to say a word; but if you choose to stay with me, your people have no right to speak. Now reflect on it and take your choice, and tell us as soon as you make up your mind.'

"I was silent a few minutes, in which time it seemed as if I thought of almost everything. I thought of the children I had just left crying; I thought of the Indians I was attached to, and I thought of my own people, and this latter thought predominated, and I said: 'I will go with my kin.' The old man then said: 'I have raised you; I have taught you to hunt; you are a good hunter; you have been better to me than my own sons. I am now getting old, and cannot hunt. I thought you would be a support to my age. I leaned on you as a staff; now it is broken. You are going to leave me, and I have no right to say a word; but I am ruined.' He then sank back, in tears, to his seat. I heartily joined him in his tears; parted with him, and have never seen or heard of him since."

On the night of March 22, 1791, seven Indians came to the house of Abraham Russ (Roose), two miles below the mouth of Bull Creek, on the west side of the Allegheny and twenty-three miles from Pittsburgh. They appeared friendly, leaving their rifles at the door, a well known token of Indian friendship, and asked that they be given supper. Their request was granted, and they ate heartily. After they had finished their meal, one of the Indians placed himself against the door

to prevent any of the white people from escaping, while the rest of the band tomahawked and scalped four men, Mr. Russ' aged mother, and six children. Then after plundering the house, they set it on fire and burned the dead bodies with the building. Mrs. Dary (Derry), a daughter of the aged Mrs. Russ witnessed an Indian's taking her eighteen-months-old child and knocking out its brains. However, she and three of her daughters made their escape by pulling open the clap-board door. Agnes Clark escaped with two of her children, as did also Catherine Cutright, whose husband and son were among the victims, murdered before her eyes. John Dary (Derry), a boy of thirteen years and son of Jacob Dary, was absent when the Indians came to the home. Returning, he saw them at supper and suspected from their manner that they had murder in their hearts. Stealthily withdrawing from the house, he hid in a hollow tree, where he remained until morning, when he again concealed himself, this time in a hole which he dug among some rocks on the bank of Little Bull Creek. He remained in this latter place of concealment until the third day, when he was frightened from his retreat by the appearance of a wolf. Jacob Dary, John's six-year-old brother, escaped from the house during the slaughter and hid under a log, covering himself with leaves. While he thus lay concealed, the Indians frequently came to the log with fire brands in their hands, searching for those who had escaped.

The women and children who had escaped hastened to the bank of the Allegheny, where they called so loudly as to be heard a mile and a half, whereupon Levi Johnson, Mrs. Russ' son-in-law, ventured at the hazard of his life to cross the river in a canoe and take the item to the other side. The night was bitterly cold, and those who had thus crossed the Allegheny from the scene of

slaughter, had to run nine miles through the woods, many of them almost naked and without shoes, before they arrived at place of shelter. By eleven o'clock, William Critchlow and Samuel Orr carried the news of this horrible atrocity to Massey (Massa) Harbison and eight other families of the present Allegheny Township, Westmoreland County, some of them residing within a mile of the junction of the Kiskiminetas and Allegheny, who then fled through the night to James Paul's Station on Pine Run,* arriving there before daybreak. By the time the sun was up, there were between seventy and eighty women and children collected at this place of refuge. All the men at the place, except four, went in pursuit of the Indians. The pursuers went first to the place of slaughter, where they found the stench of the roasted bodies of the slain to be so offensive that they were scarcely able to endure it. From there, they went to a point about two miles below the mouth of the Kiskiminetas and erected Reed's Station, on the Westmoreland side of the Allegheny, where all the families who had fled from Allegheny Township and other sections in the northwestern part of Westmoreland County collected and remained during the summer.

It was the massacre of the Russ family that so aroused the people of Pittsburgh that they compelled Major Isaac Craig to provide them with one hundred muskets, as related earlier in this chapter.

While the Harbison and other families of the northwestern part of Westmoreland County were huddled together at Reed's Station, a man was murdered by Indians on the east side of the Allegheny, on May 27. About this time, Indians attacked David McKee and another young man at a fish-basket on the Allegheny, about seven miles from Reed's Station, and brutally

* In Allegheny Township, Westmoreland County.

murdered them. This was the last atrocity on the east bank of the Allegheny in 1791.

About this time, a scouting party of sixty crossed the Allegheny to where Freeport now stands, John Guld and two Scouts, Jack and Carnahan, led the advance. They were surprised by Indians and Guld was captured.

Another atrocity on the Western Pennsylvania frontier in the spring of 1791 was the attack on the fortified home of James Kirkpatrick, in South Bend Township, Armstrong County, on April 28. Mr. Kirkpatrick's family had just completed morning worship, when George Miller, who was at the home at that time, went to the door and found three Indians with their rifles cocked and tomahawks ready for attack. They rushed forward to enter the house, but Miller succeeded in closing it before them. The Indians then fired through the door and wounded Mr. Miller in the wrist, and fatally wounded Kirkpatrick's child lying in its cradle. Mr. Kirkpatrick then went to the loft, made an incision in the wall, and began to fire on the Indians, killing one of them on the spot. In the meantime, Mrs. Kirkpatrick remained below busily employed in making bullets, while her husband and his companion were defending the house.

The above is the account given by most historians; but attention is called to the fact that, on page 555 of volume Four of the Second Series of the Pennsylvania Archives, William Findley, in a letter written to A. Dallas, Secretary of the Commonwealth, on April 29, 1791, states that there were six militia in Kirkpatrick's house at the time of the attack. Also Andrew Gregg, in a letter written to Colonel Samuel Bryson, and recorded in the same volume of the Pennsylvania Archives, page 559, states that two men were killed in

this attack and one wounded, in addition to the killing of the babe.

Kirkpatrick's child was carried to Shields' Fort, located near New Alexandria, Westmoreland County, where Captain John Shields, who was skilled in frontier surgery, attempted to relieve its suffering. But the unfortunate little one died after lingering for several days. Shields' Fort has sometimes been called Craig's Fort, from the fact that it was located near the line separating Captain John Shields' farm from the farm which he sold to Captain Alexander Craig.

There is a tradition among Mr. Kirkpatrick's descendants that, after the attack on his home he decapitated the dead Indian and placed his head upon a pole as a warning to other Indians that might chance to come into the neighborhood; also that he skinned the Indian, tanned the skin and made it into razor straps. Robert McIntyre, of Butler, Pa., one of Kirkpatrick's descendants, has one of the razor straps.

Two children, John Sloan and his sister, Nancy, a few weeks after the attack on the home of James Kirkpatrick, were captured near the Lutheran and Reformed Church, in South Bend Township, Armstrong County. They were working in the corn field at the time. After being with the Indians for several years, they were delivered at Fort Washington, and returned to their parents. After returning, they said that, as they were being carried away, their captors contemplated attacking the cabin of a settler named Lowry, who lived in the same neighborhood, but seeing a hand spike leaning against the cabin door, and mistaking it for a rifle, decided not to make the attack.

The Mitchell family lived in Derry Township, Westmoreland County, on the Loyalhanna, about two miles east of Latrobe. In 1791 the family consisted of the

mother and two children, Charles, aged seventeen, and Susan, aged fifteen, the father having died a few years before. During this year, four Indians approached the home while Charles and Susan were in the stable attending to the work of feeding the stock. Charles tried to escape by running towards the Loyalhanna, but was captured. Susan hid under a trough for feeding horses, and the Indians were unable to discover her. They then captured the mother, and started north with her and Charles. They soon found that Mrs. Mitchell was too old to travel. Then two Indians pushed on ahead with Charles, while the other two loitered behind with Mrs. Mitchell. After a while those conducting Charles stopped to build a fire, when the two who had charge of Mrs. Mitchell joined them with her bleeding scalp. They stretched and dried it in the presence of her son. The band then crossed the Kiskiminetas into Armstrong County where they came upon the tracks of two white men, which Charles recognized as those of Captain John Sloan and Harry Hill. There was snow on the ground, and Captain Sloan's exceedingly large feet made such large tracks as to astonish the Indians. One of them took the ramrod of his rifle and measured Sloan's tracks. Charles told him that Sloan was a well-known Indian fighter; whereupon the Indians decided not to follow Sloan and Hill, and immediately pushed on northward, taking Charles to the Senecas on the headwaters of the Allegheny River. Here he escaped three years later, and returned to the Ligonier Valley.

A few years later this Captain John Sloan, who was one of the early sheriffs of Westmoreland County, killed and scalped an Indian at Fort Hamilton, Ohio. He kept the scalp at his home, near Latrobe, for many years, often displaying it on public occasions.

A final word as to the Mitchell atrocity. It was long a tradition in Derry Township that the Indians who committed this outrage first came to a man by the name of Cleckhorn who, in order to save his own life, told them of the defenseless condition of the Mitchell family; that, upon his villainous act becoming known, he lived such a miserable life among his neighbors that he was compelled to sell his farm and remove to the West, where he died.

One of the outrages committed about this time was the capture of little Jacob Nicely, aged five years, the son of Adam Nicely, who lived on Four Mile Run, in Westmoreland County, about two miles from its junction with the Loyallhanna. Authorities differ as to the time of the capture, some stating that it was during the summer of 1790, and others during the summer of 1791.

Little Jacob and his brothers and sisters were picking blackberries. Jacob returned to the house where his mother, who was baking, gave him a cake and told him to rejoin his brothers and sisters. He then started to return to the other children, when a band of Indians, concealed in the woods, captured him. The father with some companions followed the captors as far as the Kiskiminetas, where the trail was lost in the forest.

Years came and went, and no trace of the captured child was found. Finally, in 1828, a man from Westmoreland County, who was trading among the Senecas in Warren County, recognized Jacob, and brought back this information to the mother, who was then an old lady past seventy years of age. In the meantime the father had died. A brother then traveled on horseback to the Seneca reservation, and found the long-lost Jacob. The brothers recognized each other. Jacob had been adopted by the Indians, had a family, and considerable possessions. A tradition in the Nicely family

says that some time prior to 1828, Jacob had made a journey to Westmoreland County, in an effort to locate his relatives, but being unable to speak English and mispronouncing the family name, had returned to his Indian family without finding his mother, brothers, and sisters.

Jacob accompanied his brother part way on the latter's return to Westmoreland County, and presented him with a rifle and other implements. He promised to return the following summer to visit the aged mother. However, he did not return as he had promised, perhaps having died. It is said that the father was unable to converse on the subject of the capture of "Jakey" without shedding tears. The aged mother went to her grave with the vivid recollection of her child captured so many years before.

Some time in 1791, David Peelor was killed by Indians while working on his farm, a short distance from his blockhouse in Armstrong Township, in the western part of Indiana County.

On April 1, 1791, the settlers in "Mead's Settlement," where Meadville, Crawford County, now stands, were warned by the Seneca chief, Flying Cloud, of threatened danger from the hostile Indians in Ohio. On the same day, eleven hostile Indians were seen a short distance north of the settlement. Then, the Seneca chief, Half Town, who was encamped in the neighborhood with twenty-seven of his warriors, joined the settlers in a fruitless search for the hostile Indians. On May 3, Cornelius Van Horn was captured in this settlement by a band of Indians. They carried him to Conneaut Lake, where he made his escape and returned to the settlement. At the time of the capture of Van Horn, William Gregg was killed, and Thomas Ray was captured. He was taken to Detroit, where Captain White,

his former schoolmate in Scotland, purchased him from the Indians for two gallons of whiskey, and sent him to Buffalo, from which place he was conducted to Franklin, Pa., by the friendly Mohawk, Stripe Neck.

Also in the summer of 1791, Darius Mead was captured near Franklin. His body was afterwards found side by side with that of one of his captors, Captain Bull, a Delaware. They had fought a duel to the death. Their bodies were buried side by side where found, near the Shenango, in Mercer County.

At this point, we call attention to the fact that, in the spring of this year, Captain Samuel Brady killed two Indian women and several Indian men near the blockhouse at New Brighton (Fallston), for which he was tried and acquitted in the courts of Allegheny County in May, 1793, as was related in Chapter XVIII. Concerning the killing of these Indians, Major Isaac Craig wrote from Fort Pitt to General Knox, Secretary of War, on March 31, 1791, as follows: "Your observations on the murder of these Indians at Beaver Creek, are already confirmed. Several persons within a few miles of this place have lately fallen victims to the revenge of those Indians who escaped on Beaver Creek."

We quote the following as to Brady's trial: "The Chief Justice, in a charge distinguished not less by learning than humanity, explained the laws of war, and the right of putting enemies to death, urged the impropriety of killing those who might with safety be taken prisoners, and the baseness of killing women; lamented that any acts of outrage by our citizens should occasion retaliation on themselves; but stating that, in his opinion, the Indians killed were hostile, directed, if the jury concurred in his opinion, of which he had no doubt, they should acquit the prisoner without leaving

the bar. The jury did so, and the court ordered Captain Brady to be discharged on payment of fees.”*

Throughout the year 1791, Major Isaac Craig kept the Secretary of War posted as to conditions on the western frontier. On May 19, he wrote him: “We have frequent accounts of murders being committed on our frontiers by the Indians. Several parties of them have penetrated ten, fifteen and twenty miles into the country.” On October 6, he wrote: “Small parties of Indians are still thought to be in our neighborhood.” And again, on December 29: “I am making every possible exertion for the erection of a work to defend this town Pittsburgh. Accounts from Fort Franklin, as well as your orders, urge the necessity of prompt attention to the defense of this place * * * I take the liberty of inclosing to you two letters from Fort Franklin, and extracts of others of the same date (December 26), by which it appears that that garrison is in imminent danger, and that the fidelity of the northern Indians the Senecas is not to be depended upon.”

General St. Clair's Defeat

On November 4, 1791, General Arthur St. Clair's army went down to overwhelming defeat at the hands of the Delawares, Shawnees, Miamis and Wyandots at the battle of Fallen Timbers. An account of this terrible misfortune to the armed forces of the United States in the Post-Revolutionary Indian uprising was given in the sketch of General St. Clair, in the opening paragraphs of Chapter XIV, to which the reader is now referred.

Fort Fayette Erected at Pittsburgh

By the autumn of 1791, much of historic Fort Pitt had been torn down. In Major Isaac Craig's letter of

*See page 481.

October 6 to General Knox, the Secretary of War, quoted in part above, he informed him as follows: "Messrs. Turnbull and Marmie continue to pull down and sell the materials of the Fort." The Secretary of War, then, in a letter to Major Craig, on December 16, directed the building of a new fort for the protection of Pittsburgh, as follows:

"I request you immediately to procure materials for a block-house and picketted fort to be erected in such part of Pittsburgh, as shall be the best position, to cover the town as well as the public stores which shall be forwarded from time to time. As you have been an artillery officer during the late war, I request you to act as engineer. I give you a sketch of the work generally, which you must adopt to the nature of the ground."

Major Craig at once began carrying out the orders of the Secretary of War. On December 29, he wrote the Secretary the letter, quoted in part above, in which he further reported that the fort would "be erected on lots, Nos. 55, 56, 57, 58, 91, 92, 93 and 94; they belong to John Penn, Jr., and John Penn,"—where the Western National Bank, Pittsburgh, now stands. From time to time, in the early part of 1792, Major Craig reported the progress being made in erecting the new fort. Then, on May 18, he wrote the Secretary:

"Capt. Hughes, with his detachment, has occupied the barracks in the new fort since the 1st instant. Two of the six-pounders are very well mounted in the second story of one of the blockhouses. The others will be mounted in a few days. The work, if you have no objections, I will name Fort La Fayette."

General Knox approved this name; and on June 14, 1792, General Anthony Wayne, with whose name Fort Fayette will be forever linked, arrived at this new post

to begin preparations for his campaign against the western tribes.

*Capture of Massey (Massa) Harbison—
Westmoreland Invaded*

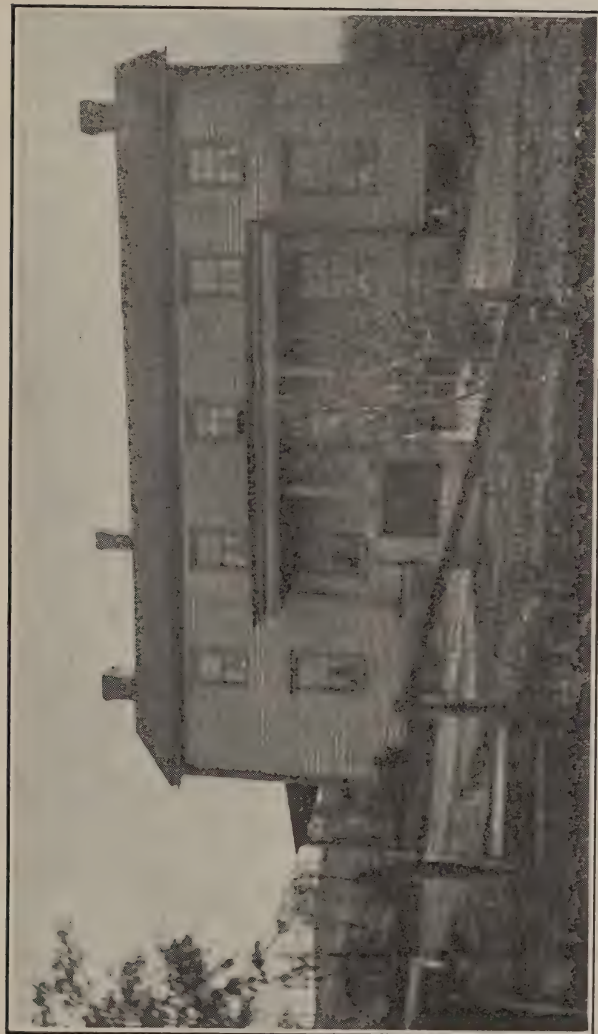
Massey (Massa) Harbinson, whose terrible sufferings at the hands of the Indians have been given wide publicity in Western Pennsylvania, was born in Amwell Township, Somerset County, New Jersey, March 18, 1770, the daughter of Edward White, a soldier in the Revolutionary War. As a child she witnessed the battles of Long Island, Trenton, and Monmouth. In 1773 her father settled in Brownsville, Fayette County, where she married John Harbison, in 1787.

In 1789, Mrs. Harbison and her husband moved to Allegheny Township, in the northwestern part of Westmoreland County, being among the first to settle in this township. Earlier in this chapter, we have related how she and other settlers of this region fled through the night of March 22, 1791, to James Paul's Station on Pine Run, upon the receipt of the news that, on that same night, the family and neighbors of Abraham Russ had been murdered by Indians at the Russ home below the mouth of Bull Creek on the other (western) bank of the Allegheny. At this point, we add that Mrs. Harbison, although within two months of confinement, mounted a horse, and, with one child in her arms and another about four years old tied on behind her, thus traveled through the cold night to James Paul's. We have also related how the Harbisons and their neighbors removed to the newly-built Reed's Station, about two miles below the mouth of the Kiskiminetas, about two weeks later, where they remained during the summer. Mr. Harbison later in that year enlisted in Captain John Guthrie's company and ac-

accompanied St. Clair's army in its campaign against the western tribes. He was wounded at St. Clair's defeat, and returned home on December 24, 1791.

After Mr. Harbison's wound had healed, he was given lighter duty as a scout along the Allegheny frontier, and was ordered into the woods on March 22, 1792. The appointment of scouts along the Allegheny to watch the movements of the Indians, gave those who had been huddled up at Reed's Station for nearly a year a feeling of greater security and consequently many of them returned to their forest farms in the spring of 1792. The Harbison home at this time, within gunshot of Reed's Station, was a favorite place for the scouts to meet. While engaged as a scout, Mr. Harbison returned home about once a week. On May 15, Captain John Guthrie, Mr. Harbison and other scouts came to the Harbison home to get supper, and Mrs. Harbison, accompanied by William Maxwell as guard, went to the spring for water. While at the spring, they heard a sound like the bleating of a lamb or fawn, which alarmed them and they hastily returned to the house. This ominous sound was likely made by Indians lying in hiding.

A week later, Mrs. Harbison and her children were captured by a band of Munsees and other Indians. Two scouts, Davis and Sutton, having spent the night at the Harbison home, left the next morning, Sunday May 22, 1792, when the horn at the blockhouse was blown, leaving the door open. Several Indians soon afterward entered, and dragged Mrs. Harbison and her two eldest children by their feet from their beds, the third and youngest child, about a year old, being in bed with her. While the Indians were plundering the home, Mrs. Harbison ran outside and shouted to the men in the blockhouse. Then an Indian ran up and



General St. Clair's Mansion, "The Hermitage," as it appears today. Located on the right hand side of the road leading from Ligonier to New Florence, as one travels from the former place to the latter, at a point about two miles from Ligonier. Marker in front of the house was erected by the Phoebe Bayard Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution. See page 267.

stopped her mouth, and another rushed at her with up-raised tomahawk, which a third seized, calling her his squaw and claiming her as his own. Fifteen Indians then advanced and fired upon the blockhouse, killing one man and wounding another, named Wolf, who was returning from the spring. When Mrs. Harbison told her captors that there were forty men at the blockhouse, each having two guns, those who were firing were called back, and the band then started off with their captives. Because one of the little boys, three years old, was crying and unwilling to leave, one of the Indians seized him, dashed out his brains on the threshold of the house, stabbed and scalped him.

The unfortunate woman and her two surviving children were then taken to the top of the river hill, east of Freeport, where the band stopped to tie up the plunder, and Mrs. Harbison counted them, with their number being thirty-two, among whom were two white men, painted as Indians. Several could speak English. Mrs. Harbison knew some of them well. Two were Senecas and two were Delawares of the Munsee Clan, whose guns her husband had repaired almost two years before. Two Indians were detailed to guard her, and the rest then went off towards Puckety Creek. Her guards then caught two of her uncle, John Currie's horses, and placing her and her youngest child on one and a guard and the other child on the other, proceeded towards the Kiskiminetas River to a point opposite the upper end of Todd's Island in the Allegheny, where, in descending the steep river hill, the Indian's horse fell and rolled over, throwing the boy from his back. On reaching the Allegheny, the horses could not be made to swim. Then the Indians took their captives over to the island in canoes.

After landing on Todd's Island, the little boy who had been injured in falling from the horse, was tomahawked and scalped. The Indians then crossed with their captives to the west side of the Allegheny, where Freeport now stands, and proceeded to the forks of Buffalo Creek, thence to the Indian camp near Kearns' Crossing, on the Connoquenessing, about two miles north of Butler. Here the unhappy mother and her child spent two nights in captivity. Here, also, she succeeded in escaping with her child on the morning of May 25, when one of the guards was absent and the other had fallen asleep. For two days, she fled through the wilderness towards the Allegheny, carrying her child, her legs and body being torn with briars and thorns and her feet pierced by thorns. The Indians followed her trail, and, at one time, were so near her as she lay concealed in a tree top, that she could hear the wiping stick of one of the guns of the Indians, as it struck against the weapon. For two hours she lay there, the child's mouth full of cloth to keep it from crying, in a stillness so profound that she could distinctly hear the beating of her heart.

On May 27, she arrived at the Allegheny, opposite Six-Mile Island. Seeing three men on the east side of the river, she called to them, telling them who she was and of her terrible experience. They requested her to walk up the bank of the river for some distance, that they might see whether the Indians were using her for a decoy. James Crozer then came over in a canoe, while the other men stood with cocked rifles, ready to fire if she proved to be a decoy. She was taken to the house of Mr. Carter, where Sarah Carter and Mary Ann Crozer extracted one hundred and fifty thorns from her feet and legs, by actual count of Felix Negley,* who watched the operation. On May 28, she was taken in

*A son of Alexander Negley. See page 436.

a canoe to Pittsburgh, where, before John Wilkins, justice of the peace, she made an affidavit setting forth her terrible experiences. In her affidavit she stated that one of her captors asked her whether she knew Thomas Girty. She replied that she did. This Indian then said that Thomas Girty lived near Fort Pitt, that he was a good man, "but not so good as his brother [Simon] at Detroit," and that Thomas' wife was a bad woman who "tells lies on the Indians, and is a friend to America." Her husband met her at Mr. Wilkin's office that evening, and the next day she was taken to Coe's station, on the west bank of the Allegheny, at a point about a mile below the present town of Parnassus. From this place a scout went the following morning to Todd's Island, and buried the body of her five-year-old-son.

Six-Mile Island, where Mrs. Harbison was taken across the river to safety, lies in the Allegheny just above Sharpsburg and opposite Highland Park, Pittsburgh.

The Indian camp from which Mrs. Harbison escaped was visited by twelve spies and a company of 130 armed men soon after her return. The scouting party was commanded by Major McCully and Captains Guthrie and Stevenson. They found the camp deserted, and after ranging through the woods for ten days without seeing any Indians, these frontiersmen reassembled and marched back to Coe's Station.

In December, 1794, Mrs. Harbison and her husband moved to the valley of Bull Creek on the west side of the Allegheny, Mr. Harbison still being a scout and returning home only once in eight or ten days. The following spring they removed to the spot where Freeport now stands, near the protecting walls of the block-house at that place, often called Craig's Station, from

its commander, Captain John Craig. In the middle of May, in this spring, on the approach of a large body of Indians in the evening who were heard chasing the horses of the settlers, all the women and children at the blockhouse, under command of the resolute Mrs. Harbison assisted by Mrs. Stephen Mehaffey, got into a pirogue and floated down the Allegheny to Owen's Station, where there were some men to protect them.

She resided during several subsequent years at Salt Lick, a mile and a half north of Butler, on the Connoquenessing, at or near the site of the Indian camp mentioned in her affidavit and narrative. The last years of her life were passed in a cottage on the lot on the northeastern corner of Fourth Street and Mulberry Alley, Freeport, opposite the Methodist Episcopal Church, where she died on Saturday, December 9, 1837.

Concerning her husband, John Harbison, Smith's "History of Armstrong County" relates the following incident:

"On a certain occasion Craig (Captain John Craig, commander of the blockhouse at Freeport), ordered a scouting party to make a tour of observation as far up the country as the mouth of Red Bank. They went, and on their return reported that they had not discovered any Indians. One of them, however, while on his death-bed, many years afterward, sent for Craig and confessed to him that, while on that tour, he and his comrades had captured an Indian, and after obtaining all the information possible from him, and not wishing to have the trouble of taking him as a prisoner to the blockhouse, they concluded to keep his capture a secret, and to dispatch him by tying him to a tree and each one shooting him, so that, all being equally guilty, there would be no danger of any one disclosing their dread secret. Others of the scouting party, having been

questioned about that affair, acknowledged to finding the Indian, but averred that John Harbison, who had just cause for a deadly hate toward all Indians, tomahawked him while he was conversing with another one of the party who understood the Indian language, and that they all agreed to keep that deed secret on Harbison's account."

Mrs. Harbison, however, in her narrative says that the killing of this Indian occurred on Puckety Creek, Westmoreland County.

The capture of Massa Harbison was the most memorable of any on the Allegheny frontier; yet no tablet has been erected on the site of the home from which she and her children were dragged by the ruthless savages, and on whose threshold her little son was killed. Her dust with that of many others of the pioneers, was removed to the new cemetery at Freeport some years ago, where a marble monument has been erected at her grave, bearing the following inscription:

Massa, Wife of John Harbison

1770-1837

Captured By Indians May 22,
and Escaped May 27, 1792.

The reader will recall that, when the Indians dragged Mrs. Harbison and her children from their cabin home, a large part of the band went off towards Puckety Creek, plundering and burning John Currie's (Curry) house and stealing his horses on the way. The inhabitants heard of their approach, and fled in every direction. About a mile up Puckety Creek, the Indian band came upon the families of Mr. Flails and Hugh Mellon. They fired upon them, wounding two men and the aged Mrs. Flails, and captured Mr. Flails'

eldest daughter, Elizabeth. They then burned the house and barn of Hugh Mellon. About sixty women and children, who had fled from their homes, collected together that night at the fortified home of Mr. McLaughlin, where the Indians came and took a number of horses from McLaughlin's field. Two days later they killed Bartholomew Garvey, who was taking two horse-loads of bacon to the garrison at Reed's Station. This murder was committed within fifty rods of Chambers' Station.* In the following week, Samuel Holmes, his wife and daughter were captured on Crooked Creek, likely by this same Indian band.

Miss Elizabeth Flails remained a captive among the Indians for six months, according to some authorities, while other say for sixteen months. While the Indians were taking her through the wilderness of what is now Butler County, they came very near recapturing Massey Harbison. It was one of this band who followed Mrs. Harbison, attracted by the crying of her child, and listened for two hours as she and her child lay concealed in a tree top. Afterwards Miss Flails lived in Armstrong County for many years, near the Butler County line.

Colonel Charles Campbell wrote from Black Lick, Indiana County, to Governor Mifflin, shortly after the capture of Massey Harbison, that the Indians on this raid penetrated into the Westmoreland settlements for about fifteen miles east of the Allegheny, and killed, wounded, and took prisoner eleven persons. In this letter he mentions Green's Station (Blockhouse) and Reed's Station. It was probably in this raid that a man, named Young, was killed in the Congruity settlement in Westmoreland County, though it may have been during the Revolutionary War.

*In Washington Township, Westmoreland County.

Other Indian Outrages in 1792

In 1792, an outrage occurred on Fort Run, near Kittanning, thus described in Smith's "History of Armstrong County:"

"George Cook, who was born about 1764, was a soldier, a scout, and resided in the Manor (Manor Township) from either his boyhood or his early manhood until he was nearly four score, used to narrate to his neighbors, among whom was William McKellog, of 'Glentworth Park,' from whom the writer obtained a statement of these tragical facts: While Cook was a member of a scouting party who occupied a fort or blockhouse near Fort Run, so called from Fort Armstrong, some Indians made a small cord from the inner bark of a linden tree, with which they anchored a duck in a hole or pool in that run, formed by the action of the water about the roots of a sugar maple tree on its brink. Three of the scouting party, while out on a tour of duty, noticed the duck which must have appeared to them to be floating on the water. They set their guns up against a buttonwood tree, which with the sugar maple tree, was cut down after that land came into the possession of Richard Bailey. While they were stooping to catch the duck, as it was presumed they did, they were shot by Indians, probably three, because three reports of guns were heard. They fell dead into the run, whose water was colored with their blood. Hence that stream also bears the name of Bloody Run. The bodies of those three men were buried on a knoll opposite where they were shot, eight or ten rods higher up the river. The Indians were probably concealed among the weeds, which were then quite rank and abundant."

"Several of the men who were in the fort or blockhouse, on hearing the gun shots, came out, saw what

had occurred, and discovered the Indians' trail, which, on that or the next day, they followed to the mouth of Pine Creek, and were about to give up the pursuit, when, looking up the hill, they saw smoke on its face. After dark, they crossed the mouth of the creek, and ascertained the exact position in which the Indians were. The next morning they crawled as carefully and quickly as possible through the weeds and willows, until they thought they were within sure gunshot of the murderers of their comrades. They saw one of them mending his moccasin. The other two were, they thought, cooking meat for breakfast. They shot and killed two of the Indians, and captured the other. Having brought him past the mouth of that creek, on their return, and having reached 'an open grove,' they told him that they would give him a start of some distance ahead of them, and if he would beat them in running a race, he should be released. He accepted the offer, started, but was overtaken, fatally, shot, and his body was left where he fell."

Some time during the summer of 1792, an aged lady, named Nancy Ross, was killed and scalped when hunting for her cows, near the site of the present town of West Alexander, Washington County.

Dr. Creigh, in his "History of Washington County," says that, following the murder of Nancy Ross, the Indians went to Beekman's Run, in West Finley Township, where they captured two boys, named Beekman, who were in the woods hunting their horses. Says Dr. Creigh: "They took them some distance with the horses, when they halted and put them under the care of one of the Indians, while the other two went to seek a camping ground. It appears a dog had been following the boys, which, when the Indians discovered, they took alarm—fearing they were pursued—tomahawked

and scalped the boys, and left them for dead. The elder boy received a gash on the forehead above his left eye, which did not penetrate the skull, but glanced into the eye, cutting the eyeball. As soon as they came to, the elder boy put his brother on the horse, but he was too weak to ride. He himself mounted the horse and started for home, but, after riding some distance, became weak and faint from the loss of blood, dismounted, hitched the horse, went some distance down into a gulley at the head of the run, and crept under a rock to rest. Fortunately the colt, which had followed, chewed the bridle and let the mare go. In a short time, the Indians came on the trail of the horses. He saw them from his hiding place pass by, and, after waiting some considerable time, he set off, and by a different route reached home. I have seen this boy when grown up to manhood, with his scalp off and his eye closed up, with a large scar above it."

However, Earle R. Forrest points out in his "History of Washington County," that there is no Beekman's Run in West Finley Township at the present time, that there are no records of this event other than Dr. Creigh's account, and that probably the event described by Dr. Creigh is the same as the capture of the two little sons of James Benham (Beham) in West Finley Township, in 1780, as described in Chapter XIX.

Murders and Captures on the Western Frontier in 1794

The advance of General Wayne's army into the Indian Country in 1793, the preparations then being made by the western tribes to oppose its advance and the efforts of the United States commissioners to treat for peace, caused the western frontier to be comparatively free from Indian raids in this year. But the advance

of "Mad Anthony's" troops did not prevent the Indians again making their appearance on the Allegheny, in May, 1794. In this month, they attacked a canoe going up the river to Franklin, killing John Carter and wounding William Cousins and Peter Kinner. They were unable to get any scalps on this occasion, as the other occupants of the canoe paddled it out of their reach.

Major Denny mentions the above attack in his journal under June 1, 1794, stating that this band of Indians then "crossed the Kiskiminetas and unfortunately fell in with a Kentucky boat full of women and children, with but four men, lying to, feeding their cattle." This was the attack on Captain Sharp, which is thus described in Smith's "History of Armstrong County:"

"Among the pioneers in the Plum Creek region was Captain Andrew Sharp, who had been an officer in the Revolutionary service, under Washington. He, with his wife and infant child, emigrated to this region in 1784, and purchased, settled upon, and improved the tract of land, consisting of several hundred acres, on which are Shelocta and the United Presbyterian Church, near the county line.

"Captain Sharp, after residing about ten years on his farm, revisited his kindred in Cumberland County, procured a supply of school books and Bibles for his children, and returned to his home in the wilderness. Determined that his children should have facilities for education which did not exist there, he traded his farm there for one in Kentucky. In the spring of 1794, he removed with his family to Black Lick Creek, where he either built or purchased a flatboat, in which he, his wife and six children, a Mr. Connor, wife and five children, a Mr. Taylor, wife and one child, and Messrs.

McCoy and Connor, single men, twenty in all, with their baggage and household effects, embarked on the proposed passage down the Kiskiminetas and Allegheny Rivers to Pittsburgh, and thence on to Kentucky. Low water in the Black Lick rendered their descent down it difficult. They glided down the Cone-maugh and Kiskiminetas to a point two miles below the falls of the latter, at the mouth of Two Mile Run, below the present site of Apollo. Capt. Sharp tied the boat there, and went back for the canoe which had been detached while crossing the falls. When he returned the children were gathering berries and playing on the bank; the women were preparing supper, and the men who led the horses had arrived. It was about an hour and a half before sunset. A man then came along and reported that the Indians were near. The women and children were called into the boat, and the men having charge of the horses tied them on shore.

"It was then thought best that the party should go to the home of David Hall, who was the father of David Hall, of North Buffalo Township, this county, and the grandfather of Rev. David Hall, D. D., the present (1883) pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Indiana, Pennsylvania, to spend the night. While the men were tying the horses, seven Indians concealed behind a large fallen tree, on the other side of which the children had been playing half-an-hour before, fired on the party in the boat. Capt. Sharp's right eyebrow was shot off by the first firing. Taylor is said to have mounted one of his horses and fled to the woods, leaving his wife and child to the care and protection of others. While Capt. Sharp was cutting one end of the boat loose, he received a bullet wound in his left side, and, while cutting the other end loose, he received another wound in his right side. Nevertheless, he suc-

ceeded in removing the boat from its fastenings before the Indians could enter it, and, discovering an Indian in the woods, and calling for his gun, which his wife handed to him, shot and killed the Indian. While the boat was in the whirlpool, it whirled around for two and a half hours. When the open side of the boat, that is, the side on which the baggage was not piled up for a breastwork, was toward the land, the Indians fired into it. They followed it twelve miles down the river, and bade those in it to disembark, else they would fire into them again. Mrs. Connor and her eldest son—a young man—wished to land. The latter requested the Indians to come to the boat, informing them that all the men had been shot. Capt. Sharp ordered him to desist, saying that he would shoot him, if he did not. Just then young Connor was shot by one of the Indians, and fell dead across Mrs. Sharp's feet. McCoy was killed. All the women and children escaped injury. Mr. Connor was severely wounded. After the Indians ceased following, Capt. Sharp became so much exhausted by his exertions and loss of blood, that his wife was obliged to manage the boat all night. At daylight the next morning they were within nine miles of Pittsburgh. Some men on shore, having been signaled, came to their assistance. One of them preceded the party in a canoe, so that when they reached Pittsburgh, a physician was ready to attend upon them. Other preparations had been made for their comfort and hospitable reception, by the good people of that place.

“Capt. Sharp, having suffered severely from his wounds, died July 8, 1794, forty days after he was wounded, with the roar of cannon, so to speak, reverberating in his ears, which he had heard celebrating the eighteenth anniversary of our national independence, which he, under Washington, had helped to achieve.

Two of his daughters were the only members of his family that could follow his remains to the grave. He was buried with the honors of war, in the presence of a large concourse of people. His youngest child was then only eleven days old. As soon as his widow had sufficiently recovered, she was conducted by her eldest daughter, Hannah, to his grave.

"Col. Charles Campbell, in his letter to Gov. Mifflin, June 5, 1794, respecting the stopping of the draft of the support of the Presque Isle station, stated: 'The Indians, on the evening of May 30, fired on a boat that left my place to go to Kentucky, about two miles below the falls of the Kiskiminetas, killed three persons and wounded one, who were all the men in the boat, which drifted down to about twelve miles above Pittsburgh, whence they were aided by some persons on their way to Pittsburgh.'"

"Mrs. Sharp—her maiden name was Ann Wood—and her children were removed to their kindred in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania. Having remained there three years, they returned to the farm near Crooked Creek, of which they had been repossessed, where the family remained together for a long time.

"Mrs. Sharp's death occurred fifteen years after her husband's. Their daughter Agnes is said to have been the first white child born this side, or west, of Crooked Creek, in this section of Pennsylvania. She was born on that farm February 21, 1785; married to David Ralston in 1803, and, after his death, to James Mitchell in 1810, and died August 2, 1862, and was buried in the Crooked Creek Cemetery."

To Mr. Smith's account of the attack on Captain Sharp and his party, we add the following:

The boat, in floating down the Allegheny in that night of horror, passed two stations—Reed's Station and

Coe's Station—without being discovered and without any one on board to steer or row it. It was at a point opposite the plantation of Thomas Girty, brother of the notorious Simon Girty, below the mouth of Deer Creek, that help came from the shore. At this moment the fourth man in the boat had just died; the women feared that Captain Sharp was about to die and that they would be left alone. Says Albert, in his "History of Westmoreland County:" "Four of the men had wives in the boat with them, who were compelled to witness the murder of their husbands, and to sit in their blood as it flowed freely and warm from their veins. The wife of Captain Guthrie, who was in the boat with her husband, was, shortly after she arrived in Pittsburgh, delivered of her ninth child."

Some time in the spring of 1794, Andrew Allison, his wife and child, and a neighbor named, Gawin Adams, fled to Moorhead's blockhouse, located about two miles west of the town of Indiana, Indiana County, to escape from Indians who were prowling around the neighborhood. When Mr. Allison returned, he found that his cabin had been burned by these Indians.

*An Armstrong County Tradition—William Ritchey—
Rolleter—Ezekiel Miller*

There is a tradition in Wayne Township, Armstrong County, that about the year 1794, a boy was captured by an Indian about two miles east of the present village of Echo. He was with his father at the latter's forge, helping to make cow bells, when a commotion was heard among the father's pigs. The father went to see whether a bear was attacking the pigs, and when he returned to his forge, he found the boy missing. The Indian had carried off the boy and had caused the com-

motion among the pigs to trick the father. Years afterwards, the boy, grown to manhood and having married an Indian woman, returned for a while to his boyhood home, and then went back to the Indians and was never heard of again. About this time Indians who had captured a family in Indiana County were pursued and overtaken near Barnards in the present Cowanshannock Township, Armstrong County. Three Indians were killed and the captives released.

According to Evert's "History of Allegheny County," William Ritchey was a soldier in Wayne's expedition against the Western Indians. When Wayne's Legion of the United States was in camp at Legionville, Ritchey was sent on a mission to Pittsburgh. Near the camp he heard what he supposed was the call of a wild turkey. Peering into the woods he saw an Indian, whom he killed, and then hid the Indian's gun and tomahawk in a hollow log and afterwards recovered the weapons. According to the same authority, a man named Rolleter was killed by Indians near Wilkesburg during the Post-Revolutionary uprising, and, about the same time, a man and wife were riding home in Aleppo Township after their day's work in the field, when Indians attacked them, killing the man, but the wife escaped.

About 1794, Ezekiel Miller, the first settler in Fawn Township, Allegheny County, being attacked by Indians, escaped on horseback to Fort Crawford.

Wayne Breaks Power of the Western Tribes Forever

The uprising of the Western Indians and the raids upon the Western Pennsylvania frontier continuing, as we have seen, the country, burning under the disgrace of Harmar's and St. Clair's defeats, called loudly for a third expedition. Then President Washington

chose General Wayne, "Mad Anthony," the hero of Stony Point, to lead the expedition. When informed by Washington of his selection, Wayne is said to have replied: "I am the very man you want." He was a strict disciplinarian, and determined to avoid the faults which brought overwhelming and inglorious defeat upon his predecessors. He arrived in Pittsburgh in June, 1792, having been furnished with instructions from Washington in which it was stated "that another defeat would be irredeemably ruinous to the reputation of the Government." His force was to consist of five thousand troops, carefully drilled, and to be called "The Legion of the United States." His headquarters while at Pittsburgh were at Fort Fayette.

Many desertions had detracted from the military efficiency of the army of General Harmar as well as the army of General St. Clair; and it seemed for a while that the army of General Wayne would have a similar record. Writing from Pittsburgh to the Secretary of War, on July 20, 1792, "Mad Anthony" says: "Major Ashton's detachment arrived here on Monday. Lieutenant Campbell with Stokes dragoons, and Faulkner's riflemen on Tuesday. Not less than fifty of Ashton's detachment and seven dragoons deserted on the way from Carlisle to this place." But Wayne was determined that his army should be free from desertions. Some have censured him for the severity of his discipline while he was at Fort Fayette, especially for the execution of Sergeant Trotter.

One night in August, intending to test his troops, General Wayne caused it to be reported that a large force of Indians was near Fort Fayette. He immediately ordered the troops to form in line of battle, and rode among them to inspire confidence. The soldiers occupying the redoubts were ordered to hold their posi-

tion at all costs until Wayne could get in the rear of the Indians with the dragoons. But the very mention of Indians had so unnerved the soldiers that about one third of them fled and left the accessible places unguarded. Yet out of these soldiers, most of them raw recruits, General Wayne forged the most formidable fighting machine that was ever sent against the Western Indians.

Late in the year, General Wayne took his troops from Fort Fayette to the beautiful plain overlooking the Ohio, about twenty miles below Pittsburgh, and known as Legionville to this day. The following letters give some of the details of the moving of the Legion to its winter camp:

Major Craig wrote to Samuel Hodgdon, Quartermaster General, on November 9, 1792: "This morning a detachment of the troops and the artificers, with the necessary tools for building, set off for the winter ground below Logstown, on the Ohio; in a few days the whole army will follow." Later, on November 30, Major Craig wrote to the Secretary of War: "This morning, at an early hour, the artillery, infantry and rifle corps, except a small garrison left in Fort Fayette, embarked and descended the Ohio to Legionville; the cavalry crossed the Allegheny at the same time and will reach the winter ground as soon as the boats. As soon as the troops had embarked, the General went on board his barge, under a salute from a militia artillery corps of this place, and all have, no doubt, before this time, reached their winter quarters."

But it was really at the winter camp at Legionville that General Wayne made highly disciplined troops out of the raw recruits. Sham battles were fought, and daily drills held. Neither life nor the lash was spared. The following laconic letter written by Captain John

Finley to Major Isaac Craig, from the camp at Legionville, on February 22, 1793, is a very significant allusion to the discipline of the iron-willed "Mad Anthony:" "Major Craig: Please send down some whip cord for cats,—they have no cats to whip men with."

While General Wayne was at Legionville, he was visited by several chiefs of the Six Nations, among them Guyasuta and Cornplanter. The latter afterwards went on a peace mission to the western tribes, but in vain, as they were too much elated by their triumphs over the armies of Harmar and St. Clair and too much under the influence of British traders and agents, to listen to peace proposals. While on this mission, Cornplanter heard that three of his people, near the Genesee, were unprovokedly attacked by the whites, one being killed and another severely wounded. Said he: "It is hard when I and my people are trying to make peace for the whites, that we should receive such a reward."

Breaking camp late in April, 1793, Wayne led his forces to Fort Washington (Cincinnati), where they were reinforced by regulars and mounted militia from Kentucky. It was so late in the season before all his forces were collected and supplies procured, that the offensive movement was delayed until the next spring. Late in the year, he moved to a new camp, Fort Greenville, in Darke County, Ohio, six miles north of Fort Jefferson. During the winter, Wayne remained at Fort Greenville, swept the country between this place and the Miami villages, and took possession of the ground upon which St. Clair was defeated, erecting a fort there which he called Fort Recovery. Another detachment later marched to the scene of General Harmar's defeat, and erected Fort Wayne, named in honor of the commander of the Legion. His force now consisted of thirty-six hundred troops.

In the meantime, in the spring of 1793, commissioners representing the United States met the western tribes in council, and proposed that, in consideration of the lands ceded by the treaty at Fort Harmar, the United States should pay the Indians "a large sum of money, or goods, besides a full yearly supply of such articles as they needed." The chiefs replied that money was of no value to them. Said they: "You talk to us about concessions. It appears strange that you should expect any from us, who have only been defending our just rights against your invasions. We want peace. Restore to us our country, and we shall be enemies no longer."

During the summer of 1794, Fort Recovery was garrisoned by a small detachment under Captain Gibson. On June 29, Major William McMahon arrived at Fort Recovery with ninety riflemen and fifty dragoons. The next morning the fort was assailed by a large force of Indians and British and Detroit militia. They were repulsed with great slaughter. They renewed the attack the following morning, and were again repulsed. Then they retreated from the same field where St. Clair's army had gone down to crushing defeat. The exact number of the Indian and British losses was never learned; but when the enemy returned to the British post, Fort Miami, they said that no man ever fought better than they did at Fort Recovery, and that they lost twice as many as at St. Clair's defeat. One hundred and forty-two Americans were killed in the two attacks on Fort Recovery. However, the repulse of the Indian and British forces of more than fifteen hundred, showed the mettle of the Legion of the United States.

On July 26, 1794, Wayne was joined at Fort Greenville by General Charles Scott, with sixteen hundred mounted volunteers from Kentucky. He then moved forward, skirmishing with bands of lurking Indians as

he advanced. He marched with open files, to insure rapidity in forming a line or in extending the flanks, and drilled his men to load while marching. He always halted in the middle of the afternoon, encamping in a hollow square and surrounding his camp with a rampart of logs. Arriving at the site of the present village of Defiance, Ohio, the confluence of the Anglaize and Maumee Rivers, Wayne erected Fort Defiance, and made proposals of peace to the Indians. These were rejected contrary to the advice of Little Turtle, and in accordance with the advice of Blue Jacket. Said Little Turtle: "We have beaten the enemy twice under separate commanders. We cannot expect the same good fortune always to attend us. The Americans are now led by a chief who never sleeps. The night and day are alike to him and during all the time that he has been marching upon our villages, notwithstanding the watchfulness of our young men, we have never been able to surprise him." Indeed, so stealthy had been Wayne's advance that the Indians nicknamed him "the Black-snake."

On August 18, Wayne continued his march and, on the morning of August 20 had proceeded about five miles, to a point several miles south of the present town of Maumee, in Lucas County, Ohio, when his advance guard was fired upon heavily by Indians in concealment, and fell back. He then formed his men in two lines where a tornado had blown down a number of trees in the woods—a circumstance which gave the engagement the name of the "Battle of the Fallen Timbers." The fallen trees made cavalry operations difficult, and afforded a shelter for the two thousand Indians and Canadians who were posted among them in two lines. Wayne's militia charged impetuously with the bayonet, leaping over the logs and delivering a well-directed fire,

while General Scott with his mounted volunteers, turned the right flank of the enemy by a circuitous movement, and Colonel Campbell, with his legionary cavalry, turned the enemy's left flank. The Indians were driven at the point of the bayonet for more than two miles through the forest, and decisively beaten. So rapidly did the Indians flee that Wayne's second line was not engaged. Nine Wyandot chiefs lay dead on the field. Blue Jacket, Little Turtle, Buckongahelas, Simon Girty, Alexander McKee and Matthew Elliott led the Indian forces in this battle. Wayne, in his official report, says that the woods were strewn with the bodies of the Indians and their white allies, and that the latter were armed with British muskets. The Americans lost thirty-three killed and one hundred wounded.

The Indians were driven under the guns of the British fort (Fort Miami) in the neighborhood, and so strong was the resentment of Wayne's men against the English, that it was with difficulty that they could be restrained from storming the fort. Indeed, many of the Kentucky troops advanced within gunshot of the fort and hurled a volley of curses against the garrison. However, the gates of the fort were closed against the Indians. Captain Campbell, the British commandant, sent a message to Wayne, complaining of this insult and demanding by what authority Wayne's troops trespassed upon the precincts of the British garrison. Mad Anthony replied in terms little less polite than those of the Kentucky troops, informing Captain Campbell that his only chance of safety was silence and civility. The day after the battle General Wayne rode up to the British Fort Miami and coolly inspected the works while the British held matches ready at their cannon. Then Wayne's troops destroyed the Indian cornfields, orchards, trading-houses, and stores. Soon after their

crushing defeat, the various western tribes sent delegations to General Wayne asking for peace. These were the Wyandots, the Shawnees, the Delawares, the Miamis, the Ojibwas, the Ottawas, the Potawatomes, the Weas, the Kickapoos, the Piankeshaws and the Kaskaskias. In addition to breaking forever the power of the western tribes, one of the results of the battle of the Fallen Timbers was the surrender to the United States of Niagara, Detroit, Mackinac, Miami, and other posts hitherto held by the British, from which bases they had assisted and encouraged the Indians in their hostility against the Americans.

Finally, on August 3, 1795, the conquered tribes signed the Treaty at Greenville, Darke County, Ohio, by the terms of which they ceded to the United States 25,000 square miles of territory north of the Ohio River, about two-thirds of the present state of Ohio. The treaty provided that the western tribes be given twenty thousand dollars in goods and an annual allowance of nine thousand five hundred dollars. That part of Pennsylvania west of the Allegheny River and hitherto known as "the Indian country," henceforth was free from Indian raids. Settlers rapidly took up their abode in the fertile region, felling the forest, cultivating the virgin soil, and laying the foundation of the material prosperity which there abounds today. Meanwhile the Indian continued his march toward the untrodden West before the great tide of white immigration that was pressing him away from the lands he and his forefathers considered their own, as the gift of the Great Spirit, who had stocked the forests with game and the streams with fish for his Red Children.

One of the signers of the Treaty of Greenville, the Shawnee chief, Mio-qua-coo-na-caw, or Red Pole, is buried in the graveyard of Trinity Episcopal Church,

in Pittsburgh. In the latter part of 1796, this chief and Blue Jacket, another Shawnee chief who signed the Treaty of Greenville, went from the Scioto to Philadelphia to interview the authorities of the United States Government. They returned to Pittsburgh on Christmas day. Here Red Pole was taken sick and died on January 28, 1797. On his tombstone, in addition to his name, position among his people and date of death, are the words: "Lamented by the United States."

In this connection, we call attention to the fact that General Wayne did not long survive his victorious campaign. In the autumn of 1796, he left Detroit, intending to return to his home in Chester County, Pennsylvania, as soon as possible. During his passage down Lake Erie, he became seriously ill, and arriving at Presqu' Isle (Erie), was unable to proceed further. No remedies were available either on the ship or at Fort Presqu' Isle, and he became rapidly worse. Dr. J. C. Wallace, who had served with him as surgeon in the campaign against the Western Indians, was summoned, being then at Fort Fayette (Pittsburgh). Dr. Wallace set out for Erie at once, but when he arrived at Franklin, he learned that the General was no more, having died on December 15, 1796, at Fort Presqu' Isle.

Two days after his death, his body was buried at the foot of the flag-staff of the fort. Here it rested until the spring of 1809, when his son, Colonel Isaac Wayne, came to Erie to have the remains taken home and re-buried in the family lot at Radnor, Chester County. On opening the grave, the body of "Mad Anthony" was found in a most remarkable state of preservation, but too bulky for the means of transportation available. The flesh was boiled from the bones by placing the body in a large lye kettle, and then re-interred in the original

grave. Colonel Wayne carried the bones back over the mountains to the church-yard at Radnor. Colonel Wayne afterwards said: "I have always regretted it. Had I known the state of the remains were in before separated, I think I should certainly have had them again deposited there and let them rest and had a monument erected to his memory."

Blue Jacket, Little Turtle and Buckongahelas

Blue Jacket was a very influential Shawnee chief, born about the middle of the 18th century. He was the principal leader of the Indians in the battle of the Fallen Timbers, and, in General Harmar's defeat, was associated with Little Turtle. He was one of the signers of the Treaty of Greenville as well as the Treaty of Ft. Industry, Ohio, July 4, 1805, soon after which he disappears from history.

Little Turtle was a Miami chief, born at Little Turtle's Village, on Eel River, Indiana, about twenty miles northwest of the city of Fort Wayne, in 1752. His mother was a Mohican. He was the principal leader of the Indians at General Harmar's defeat and one of their prominent leaders in General St. Clair's defeat and the battle of the Fallen Timbers. He was one of the signers of the Treaty of Greenville, remarking as he signed it, "I am the last to sign it, and I will be the last to break it." This promise he faithfully kept until death. Even Tecumseh was not able to win him away from friendly relations with the Americans. Early in 1797, he visited President Washington at Philadelphia, where he met Count Volney and General Kosciusko, the latter of whom presented the famous chieftain with his own pair of elegantly mounted pistols. Little Turtle died at Fort Wayne, July 14, 1812.

Buckongahelas, leader of the Delawares in their last war against the United States, also fought against the Americans in the Revolutionary War, as an ally of the British. All accounts agree that he was a noble warrior, "who took no delight in shedding blood." He attended the treaty at Fort McIntosh in January, 1785. He also was one of the signers of the Treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795, as well as the Treaty of Fort Wayne, June 7, 1803, and the Treaty of Vincennes, Indiana, August 18, 1804. He died soon after the treaty of Vincennes. The conduct of the English in closing the gates of Fort Miami against the Indians fleeing from General Wayne's soldiers after they (the English) had instigated and assisted the western tribes in their warfare against the United States, so disgusted Buckongahelas that thereafter he was a friend of the young Republic.

Cornplanter and the Presqu' Isle Lands

Cornplanter was born at or near Ganawagus, on the Genesee, some time between 1732 and 1740. His father was a white man, named Abeel, often called O'Bail, and his mother was a full-blood Seneca. After being an active ally of the British during the Revolutionary War, Cornplanter became a firm friend of the United States after the conclusion of the Revolutionary struggle.

It was owing largely to the influence of the great Seneca chief, Cornplanter, that the Senecas did not join the Miamis and other Western Indians as Wayne's army marched against them. In fact, the Senecas flanked Wayne's advance. Had they thrown their great weight against Wayne, it is very doubtful whether he could have succeeded when he did. The writers of that day say that Cornplanter's success in keeping the Sen-

ecas from joining the Western tribes, is the greatest service he ever rendered the Americans. Had Wayne's army met the fate of its predecessors in that great Indian uprising, it is doubtful whether the Jay Treaty with England would have been made, and that the British would have evacuated the Western posts held by them.

On June 26, 1794, a council was held at Le Boeuf (Waterford, Pa.), by Captain Ebenezer Denny and Andrew Ellicott with representatives of the Six Nations, among whom was Cornplanter. The Six Nations demanded that settlers be removed from the Lake region and objected to the settlement of Presque Isle, claiming that the sale of these lands at the Treaty of Fort Harmar, in January 1789, was not valid. It was feared by many at the time that Cornplanter would turn against the United States. However, the noted chief-tain preferred to adjust the differences between his tribe and the Americans without resort to bloodshed. During the council, Cornplanter and his associate chiefs were fed and supported by the authorities of Pennsylvania and the United States Government.

This great leader of the Senecas died at Cornplanter Town, Warren County, on the banks of his long-loved Allegheny, on February 18, 1836,—the passing of the last great Indian chief of Pennsylvania. "Whether at the time of his death he expected to go to the fair Hunting Grounds of his own people or to the Heaven of the Christians, is not known." It was his wish that his grave should remain unmarked. However, the State of Pennsylvania erected a monument at his grave, in 1866—the first monument erected by any state of the Union to an Indian chief—bearing the following inscription:

“Gy-ant-wa-chia, The Cornplanter,
JOHN O'BAIL, ALIAS CORNPLANTER,
DIED

At Cornplanter Town, Feb. 18, A.D. 1836,
Aged About 100 Years.

“Chief of the Seneca tribe, and a principal chief of the Six Nations from the period of the Revolutionary War to the time of his death. Distinguished for talent, courage, eloquence, sobriety, and love for tribe and race, to whose welfare he devoted his time, his energy, and his means during a long and eventful life.”

Three of Cornplanter's children were present at the dedication of his monument, the last of whom died in 1874, aged about one hundred years. Other descendants still reside on the Cornplanter Reservation, in Warren County, cherishing the memory of “one of the bravest, noblest and truest specimens of the aboriginal race.”

At the Treaty of Fort Harmar, January 9, 1789, Cornplanter and other chiefs of the Six Nations signed a deed, in consideration of twelve hundred pounds, ceding the Presqu' Isle lands (the Erie Triangle) to the United States to be vested in Pennsylvania. On March 3, 1792, Pennsylvania, in consideration of \$151,640.25, paid in Continental Certificates, secured title to these lands, 202,187 acres.

The cession of the Presqu' Isle lands offended many chiefs of the Six Nations, especially Joseph Brant, or Thayendangea, of the Mohawks, notwithstanding the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Fort Harmar. It was Brant's design to restrict the Americans to the region east of the Allegheny and Ohio. With this in mind, he sent word to Cornplanter that the latter should hold himself in readiness to march against the settlers at

Presqu' Isle. British agents, who covertly fostered the war carried on by the northwestern tribes, sympathized with Brant's design. Cornplanter became very unpopular with his own people, the Senecas, on account of his having signed the deed at Fort Harmar, and it was charged against him, at a council held at Canandaigua, N. Y., in October, 1794, that he and the Seneca chief, Little Billy, had received at Fort Harmar, \$2,000, and, at Philadelphia, \$2,000 more as the price of the Presqu' Isle lands. The Seneca chief, Red Jacket, presented these charges at the council. However, we find Cornplanter protesting to the United States, at Buffalo Creek, N. Y., in June, 1794, against the contemplated military occupation of Presqu' Isle.

In the meantime, on February 25, 1794, the Pennsylvania Legislature passed an Act authorizing the Governor to detach troops for the protection of the settlers at Presqu' Isle and other places in Northwestern Pennsylvania. These troops were placed under the command of Captain Ebenezer Denny, of Allegheny County. Leaving Pittsburgh, on April 16, 1794, Captain Denny, with three officers and seventy-seven men, arrived at Franklin on April 25, intending to proceed directly to Le Boeuf and Presqu' Isle. Here he learned of the opposition of the Senecas to the plan of occupying either LeBoeuf or Presqu' Isle, and wrote the Governor that "a council holding at the mouth of Buffalo Creek between the chiefs of the Six Nations and the British may terminate unfavorably to our establishment." The unfriendly feelings of the Indians were increased by the murder, at Franklin, of a Munsee Delaware by a certain Mr. Robertson, in a drunken melee. General John Wilkins accompanied Captain Denny's expedition, and, notwithstanding the opposition of the Senecas, succeeded, about May 11, 1794, in

reaching "the forks of French Creek, about two miles below the old post of LeBoeuf." Here a temporary post was erected, and General Wilkins wrote of the increased determination of the Senecas and British agents to interfere with the progress of the troops towards Presqu' Isle. Here, also, Captain Denny arrived with the rest of the troops on June 24. Soon the site of old Fort Le Boeuf (Waterford) was occupied, and four blockhouses were erected there. Captain Denny was then instructed to remain at Le Boeuf for the present, a note from the Secretary of War saying, "On mature reflection, it is advisable to suspend for the present the establishment of Presqu' Isle." On August 10, 1794, a man named Dickson was fired upon and wounded twice by Indians, in the Cussewago settlement, just below Le Boeuf, an act which intensified the unfriendly feelings towards the Indians.

After Wayne defeated the western tribes at Fallen Timbers on August 20, 1794, the most awesome reports spread among the Senecas of Mad Anthony's ability and bravery, thus opening the door towards final peace with this tribe. Then Timothy Pickering, on behalf of the United States, negotiated a treaty with the Senecas and other members of the Six Nations, at Canandaigua, N. Y., on November 11, 1794, by the terms of which these Indians acknowledged the right and title of Pennsylvania to the Presqu' Isle lands. Early in the spring of 1795, a detachment of troops from Wayne's army, under command of Captain Russell Bissell, came to Presqu' Isle, occupied the place and erected a stockaded fort.

In this connection, we state that in 1796, a fort was erected at Franklin, being the fourth fort to be erected at that place, and subsequently known as the "Old Garrison."

The Western Pennsylvania Frontier Passes

With the Treaty of Greenville and the following shedding of the blood of the white man and the Indian, we find the passing of the Western Pennsylvania frontier:

In the spring of 1795, two Indian events happened in western Pennsylvania, causing considerable alarm in this region. The first was an attack, made on May 7 by a party of ten white men on a family of friendly Indians, on the Allegheny, near Franklin, Venango County, as these Indians were returning from their winter hunt. Two of the Indians were badly wounded, but all escaped with the loss of their goods. The officer at Fort Franklin furnished clothing to the Indian family for immediate relief.

The second event was an act of retaliation. On May 22, Ralph Rutledge (some accounts say his brother, also), one of a party of four men on their way from Le Boeuf (Waterford) to Presqu' Isle (Erie), was killed and scalped by Indians at a point now within the limits of the city of Erie, but then two miles from the fort at that place. (Pa. Archives, Sec. Series, Vol. 6, pages 822 and 823.)

Even after the Treaty of Greenville, the settlers of Western Pennsylvania murdered Indians who chanced to travel through this region, thinking no more of killing an Indian than killing a wild animal. About 1796, James Amberson, an early settler in Forward Township, Butler County, was hunting with a companion in that part of the said township through which the Venango Indian Trail passed. Presently they saw an Indian passing along the trail. Amberson, in opposition to the protests of his companion, shot the Indian and then hid his body in a hollow log.

In 1796, while John Gibson and William Ferguson were on their way to settle in what is now Butler

County, they saw a canoe full of Indians, on the Allegheny River, near Brady's Bend. Ferguson fired on the Indians and killed one of them. Hastening into the wilderness west of the river, he made his escape.

CONCLUSION

The writing of this volume has meant an immensity of labor—a labor of love. Convinced that the historical background of Western Pennsylvania is as interesting, as thrilling and as important as that of any other part of the United States, the author has performed his task in the hope that this book will cause a constantly increasing number of Western Pennsylvanians to become more familiar with the sufferings and sacrifices here in Western Pennsylvania, out of which came, in very large measure, the American Nation.

The author is further convinced that one of the principal guarantees of the perpetuity of the American Nation is a proper appreciation on the part of its citizens of the sufferings and sacrifices of its founders. Our National Tree may bend to many winds as the years roll on. Storms may lop off a dead branch here and there. But if its roots are in the soil of the ideals of the founders of the Nation, it will stand throughout the ages. Until the new earth comes, this grand, old Tree will strike its roots deeper in this soil; and until the new heavens arch themselves, it will wave in tempest and in sunshine its glorious boughs.

The reader has observed that throughout this book has run a note of our Pennsylvania historical neglect. And it is fitting that we end the book, as we began—with an appeal for greater interest in the early history of Pennsylvania.

The story is told that, when Lord Lindsay was in Egypt, roaming among the pyramids and creeping

through the tombs of that land of mystery and shadow, he came upon a mummy which had lain there perhaps from the very dawn of the historic day. Unwrapping it, he found in its closed hand a shriveled root which he planted in a warm, sunny place, and to his utter amazement it grew into a beautiful flower. This story illustrates where the root of our early Pennsylvania history has been for many long years. It has been immured in the musty tomb of our Pennsylvania historical neglect—it has been held in the dry and terrible grasp of the bony fingers of the mummy of our Pennsylvania historical neglect. It is certainly time for the scholars and historians of Pennsylvania to pry open this musty tomb, to release the root from the grasp of these bony and mummified fingers, to plant it in a fertile soil and afford it a genial atmosphere in which to blossom into usefulness and beauty—yes, to bloom in beauty, with a beauty like the beauty of the flowers of our Pennsylvania forests—with a beauty like the beauty of the lilies of our Pennsylvania valleys.

THE END

APPENDIX

A Glimpse at Early Western Pennsylvania Court Records

Original Westmoreland Townships

As pointed out in Chapter XIII (pages 259 to 261,) the court of the original county of Westmoreland was organized at Robert Hanna's house at Hannastown, April 6, 1773, in the reign of George, the Third. Specifically speaking, it was a court of Quarter Sessions of the Peace.

The first business of the court was to divide Westmoreland into eleven townships. This was done on April 6. These townships were:

(1) Fairfield, "Beginning at the Mouth of a Run known by the Name of the roaring run and from thence to run down the Loyal Hannan to the Chestnut Ridge, thence with the line of Armstrong Township to the Laurel Hill, thence along the Line of the County to where the said Roaring Run crosses that Line, or to a point in said line due east of the head Spring of the said Run, thence down the said Run to the Beginning. That part of Armstrong Township that lyes between the Lawrel Hill & Chestnut Ridge to be added to said Fairfield Township."

(2) Donegal (written "Donnegal" in the minutes), "to begin where the line of Fairfield Township intersects the County line and to run along that line to where the Youghiogheny crosses the same, thence down the North side of Youghiogheny to the top of the Chestnut Ridge, thence along the top of the Chestnut

Ridge to the line of Armstrong, thence up the loyal Hannan to the mouth of the big roaring Run & thence up the said Run to the beginning."

(3) Huntingdon (written "Huntington" in the minutes), beginning at the "Mouth of Brush Run where it empty's into Brush Creek and to go along Byerly's Path to Braddock's Road, thence along said road to the line of Mount Pleasant, thence with the lines of Tyrone & Pitt to the Beginning."

(4) Mount Pleasant, "Beginning where the Loyal Hannan breaks thro' the Chestnut Ridge and running down the Loyal Hannan to the mouth of Crabtree Run and up the same to the Main Road the Forbes Road, thence with a due course to Braddock's Road, thence with the south side of that road to where it crosses Jacobs Creek, thence up Jacobs Creek to the line of Fairfield."

(5) Hempfield, "Beginning at the Mouth of Crabtree Run and running down the Loyal Hannon to the junction of Conemaugh, thence down the Kiskiminetas to the mouth, thence with a straight line to the head of Brush Run, thence down Brush Run to Brush Creek, thence with a straight line to the mouth of the Youghiogheny, thence up the Youghiogheny to the mouth of Jacobs Creek, thence up Jacobs Creek to the line of Mount Pleasant."

(6) Pitt, "Beginning at the Mouth of Kiskeminetas and running down the Allegheny River to its junction with the Monongahela, then down the Ohio to the Western limits of the Province, thence up the Western Boundary to the line of Spring hill, thence with that line to the mouth of Redstone Creek, thence down the Monongahela to the mouth of Youghiogheny, thence with the line of Hempfield to the mouth of Brush Run,

thence with the line of said Township to the Beginning."

(7) Tyrone, "Beginning at the mouth of Jacobs Creek and running up that creek to the line of Fairfield, then with that line to the Youghioghenny, thence along the foot of Lawril hill to Gists, thence by Birds Road [Colonel James Burd's Road. See pages 114 and 137] to where it crosses Redstone Creek, thence down that creek to the mouth, thence with a straight line to the Beginning."

(8) Springhill, "Beginning at the Mouth of Redstone Creek and running thence a due west course to the Western Boundary of the Province, thence with the Province line to the Southern Boundary of the Province, thence east with that line to where it crosses the Youghioghenny, then with the Youghioghenny to Lawrel hill, then with the line of Tyrone to Gists, and thence with that line to the beginning."

"Gists," mentioned in the meets and bounds of Tyrone and Springhill townships, was Christopher Gist's plantation at Mount Braddock, Fayette County. See pages 11 and 172.

(9) Manallin, "Beginning at the Mouth of Brown Run, thence due East to the top of Laurel Hill And Westward—to the Limits of the Province."

(10) Rostraver, "Beginning at the Mouth of Jacobs Creek and running down the Youghioghenny to where it joins the Monongahela, then up the Monongahela to the mouth of Redstone Creek, and then with a straight line to the beginning."

(11) Armstrong, "Beginning where the line of the County crosses the Conemaugh, then running with that river to the line of Fairfield, then along that line to the Loyal Hannon, then down the Loyal Hannon and the

Kiskeminetas to the Allegheny, then up the Allegheny to Kittanning, then with a straight line to the head waters of Two Lick or Blacklick Creek, and thence with a straight line to the beginning."

First Prothonotary and Sheriff of the Hannastown Court

Arthur St. Clair, as pointed out in former chapters, was the first prothonotary and clerk of the Pennsylvania court at Hannastown. During dangerous times, he kept the records of the court at his house near Ligonier. When he took the field early in the Revolutionary War, Michael Huffnagel was appointed prothonotary in his stead. Then when Huffnagel took the field as a captain in the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, another officer, under the new government, was appointed in his stead. It is to be noted that Huffnagel refused to turn over the records of the court to his successor until President Wharton brought his refusal to the attention of General Washington in a letter written the Commander-in-Chief on June 25, 1777.

As pointed out in former chapters, Colonel John Proctor was the first sheriff of Westmoreland County, the date of his commission being October 18, 1773. From the organization of the court until the date of his commission, he had performed the duties of his office by virtue of his commission as sheriff of Bedford County.

Most of the records of the Hannastown court are in the handwriting of James Brison, who was employed as clerk by St. Clair and by his successor, Huffnagel. For a number of years, the author of this volume was in possession of a writ which issued out of the Hannastown court in 1774, signed by St. Clair as prothonotary and Colonel John Proctor as sheriff, directing the sale of cattle and other personal property of David

Owens, probably the David Owens mentioned on pages 219 and 220. The author presented this paper to the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Whipping Post and Pillory at Hannastown

The first record of the whipping post at Hannastown is found in the records of the October sessions of 1773, in the case of *The King Vs. James Brigland*. Brigland was arraigned for a felony. Pleading guilty, he was ordered to receive ten lashes on the bare back, at the whipping post, the following morning. For another felony (a larceny,) he was to receive twenty lashes on the bare back the next morning following the first whipping. On the same day, Luke Picket whom a jury found guilty of a felony, received twenty-one lashes on the bare back. The following is the sentence in the case of *The King Vs. Luke Picket*:

“Judgement that the said Luke Picket be taken to Morrow Morning (being the 8th Instant) between the hours of eight & ten to the Public Whipping Post and there to receive 21 Lashes on his Bare Back well laid on, that he pay a fine of £32.1.0 to his Honour, the Governor, that he make Restitution of the Goods stolen to the Owner, pay the Costs of Prosecution and stand committed till complied with.”

The first record of the pillory at Hannastown is found in the records of the January session of 1774. In this case, William Howard was the defendant. He was arraigned for a felony, and was sentenced to receive thirty lashes on the bare back and afterwards to stand one hour in the common pillory.

During the sessions of 1774 and 1775, many defendants were sentenced to the whipping post. One of these was a woman, Elizabeth Smith. In the October

sessions of 1775, she was sentenced to receive fifteen lashes on the bare back. As her fine was only eighteen shillings, five pence and the costs, it is likely that her offense was only a trifling one. She was the indentured servant of James Kinkaid. Four days after she suffered at the public whipping post, Kinkaid presented a petition at a private session of the court held at the house of Charles Foreman, setting forth that he (Kinkaid) had lost the services and labor of his servant during the time she was in jail awaiting trial, and praying that, therefore, she should be ordered to serve him for the space of two years after the expiration of her indenture. The "honorable court," consisting of Robert Hanna, William Lochry, James Cavett and Samuel Sloan, very graciously granted the prayer of the petition and ordered that the said Elizabeth Smith should serve Kinkaid for two years longer than the term of her indenture.

The above mentioned sentences were, as the reader will observe, before the Declaration of Independence and the establishing of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Truly, they were disgraceful enough. But it was reserved for the times of the Commonwealth to have recorded the most shameful and infamous sentence that was ever meted out at Hannastown. This was in the case of Commonwealth Vs. John Smith, in the April sessions of 1783. The following is the record:

"John Smith, the prisoner at the Bar, being arraigned, pleads guilty and submits to the court.

"Judgement, that the said John Smith, the prisoner at the Bar, be taken tomorrow morning, between the hours of ten and twelve in the forenoon, to the Public Whipping-Post, and there to receive thirty-nine lashes on his Bare Back, well laid on; that his Ears be cutt

off and nailed to the common Pillory; that he stand one hour in the Pillory; that he make restitution of the Goods stolen; that he pay a fine of twenty pounds for the use of the commonwealth, and that he stand committed until this sentence is complied with."

The Hanging of Mamachtaga at Hannastown

An incident connected with the history of the Westmoreland County Court, before its removal to Greensburg, was the hanging at Hannastown, in the summer of 1785, of the Delaware Indian, Mamachtaga (Trees-blown-across) for the murder of John Smith, on Smoky or Killbuck's Island, on May 11th of that year. The Indian was defended by H. H. Brackenridge, Esq., later the leader of the Western Pennsylvania Bar. The only defense offered, which was promptly over-ruled by Judges McKean and Bryan, was that the Indian was intoxicated when he killed Smith. In broken English, he said he did not know why he killed Smith, but "supposed he would know when he was under the ground." When some one asked him whether he knew who the scarlet-robed judges were, he replied that one was God and the other the Savior. Thus there was in his untutored mind the faint glimmerings of the teaching of the Moravian missionaries among the Delawares.

While Mamachtaga was confined in the Hannastown jail, awaiting execution, the jailer's little girl became ill. Learning of her illness, the Indian told the jailer that, if permitted to go into the woods for a few hours, he would get certain roots from which to make a medicine that would cure the child, promising on his word as an Indian not to try to escape. The jailer took him at his word. The Indian went to the woods, got the

roots and made the medicine. The child soon got well. The day of execution having arrived, the Indian again asked permission to go to the woods, this time to get earth and herbs from which to make the "death paint." This second request was granted, and he soon returned with his face painted a bright red. After being taken to the top of the gallows, made of two logs with a cross-piece binding them together at the top, he was pushed off into space. His fall broke the rope, and, though stunned, he arose with a grim smile and again ascended the gallows. The broken rope was mended, and it and another were placed about his neck. He was then pushed off a second time. There was no breaking of the rope this time. He was strangled to death. (Pa. Archives, Vol. 10, page 464.)

*Ducking Stool at Pittsburgh and Whipping Post near
West Elizabeth*

On pages 277 and 278, it was pointed out the first session of the court for the Virginia county of West Augusta was held at Fort Pitt, then called Fort Dunmore by the Virginia adherents, on February 21, 1775. On the following day, the court entered the following order:

"Ord. that the Sheriff Employ a Workman to build a Ducking Stool at the Confluence of the Ohio with the Monongahela, and that the person Employed bring in his Charge at the Laying of the Levy."

As pointed out on page 278, the Virginia county of West Augusta was divided, in October, 1776, into the counties of Ohio, Yohogania and Monongahela, and the court of Yohogania County was held at Andrew Heath's house, near West Elizabeth, Allegheny

County. More definitely speaking, this Virginia court house stood on the George Gilmore farm, in Jefferson Township, Allegheny County, at a point about a mile from West Elizabeth and about a quarter of a mile from the west shore of the Monongahela River. On June 25, 1777, the Yohogania County Court made the following order:

“Ordered—that the Sheriff cause to be Erected a pair of Stocks and a Whiping post in the Court-House yard by next Court.”

The Yohogania County Court was sitting at Augusta Town when the above order was made, and it is a fair inference that the stocks and whipping post, even if erected at Augusta Town, were taken to Heath's when the court moved to its new location later in 1777.

INDEX

The author calls the reader's attention to the fact that, under "F," sub-head, "Forts, Blockhouses and Stations, Locations of and Principal Events Connected with Same," will be found approximately 175 of these places of refuge and defense in Western Pennsylvania in pioneer days. The author believes that the reader will appreciate the fact that this book is so arranged that the reader can readily learn the locations of these posts and the principal events in their history. Monuments mark the sites of some of them. Unquestionably every one should be marked.

A

- Abbot, Gov. Edward, 357.
 Abercrombie, Gen. James, 19.
 Acklin, John, 502.
 Adams, Hance, 231.
 Addison, Alexander, 613.
 Albert, George Dallas, 45. See
 Albert's "History of Westmore-
 land County."
 Albert's "History of Westmore-
 land County," 368, 534, 406, 575.
 Allegheny County; principal
 events in during French and
 Indian War, Chapter III, Chap-
 ter VII; principal events dur-
 ing Pontiac's War, 161 to 171,
 207, 221; principal events in dur-
 ing Dunmore's War, 274, 275,
 276, 277; principal events in
 during Revolutionary War, 335,
 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 350, 363,
 366, 376, 397, 398, 399, 413, 414,
 415, 416 to 420, 442 to 448, 453,
 456, 460, 461, 481, 482, 483, 484,
 495, 496, 497, 504, 505, 506, 507,
 511, 517, 522, 524, 525, 535, 548,
 549, 594, principal events in dur-
 ing Post-Revolutionary Indian
 uprising, 607, 614, 615, 617, 618,
 619, 627, 628, 629, 645, 646, 647.
 Allen, Samuel, 21.
 Alligewi, 1.
 Alliance with Delawares, 443 to
 447.
 Allison, Andrew, 644.
 Allison, James, 588.
 Allison, John, 22.
 Amberson, James, 660.
 Amherst, Gen. Jeffrey; appointed
 commander in chief, 19; sug-
 gests that Bouquet inoculate
 Indians with small-pox, 170,
 171; belittles the Indian as a
 warrior, 192.
 Anderson, George, 231.
 Anderson, Isaac, 520.
 Anderson, William, 492.
 Appian Way; Braddock Road and
 Forbes Road Compared to, 242.
 Arbuckle, Capt. Matthew, 327, 402.
 Armour, Thomas, 22.
 Armstrong County; events in dur-
 ing Revolutionary War, 348 to
 351, 359 to 362, 375, 461, 484;
 events in during Post-Revolu-
 tionary Indian uprising, 615,
 621, 622, 632, 634, 637, 640, 644.
 Armstrong, George, 21.
 Armstrong, Col. (later Gen.)
 John; commands First Pa. Bat-
 talion in Forbes campaign, 21;
 he and Washington lead ad-
 vance from Fort Ligonier to
 Fort Duquesne, 119, 120; raises
 British flag over ruins of Fort
 Duquesne, 122; sketch of, 111,
 112.
 Armstrong, William, 22.
 Ashton, George, 22.
 Ashton, Major, 646.
 Atlee, Samuel J., 22, 600.
 Ault, Mathias, 551.
 Augusta County, 277.
 Augusta Town, the county-seat of
 West Augusta County, 278.

B

- Bacon, Catherine, 232, 233.
 Bailey, William, 602.
 Baird, Gen. Absalom, 614.
 Baker, George, family of captured, 376, 377.
 Bald Eagle, kills James Brady, 441; killed by Samuel Brady, 468 to 472.
 Ballentine, Alexander, 417; executed, 418.
 Baltimore agreement in boundary dispute, 283.
 Bancroft, George, quoted, 122.
 Bane, Joseph, 558.
 Baptist Churches, early, 246, 247, 249, 552; Missionaries, 251, 252.
 Barr, Alexander, 428.
 Barr, James, 345, 533.
 Barr, Robert, 247, 428, 430.
 Barton, Rev. Thomas, 21.
 Baskins, Robert, 232.
 Bay, Rev. Andrew, 22.
 Bayard, Phoebe, Gen. Arthur St. Clair's wife, 265.
 Bayard, Lieut.-Col. Stephen, 484, 535.
 Beal, Capt. Thomas, 495.
 Beatty, Rev. Charles, 21, 125, 126, 251.
 Beatty, Rev. C. C., LL.D., 126.
 Beatty, James, 230.
 Beaver County; principal events in during Revolutionary War, 448, 450, 453, 556.
 Bedford County erected, 259.
 Beekman boys captured, 638, 639.
 Beelor, Capt. Joseph, 497.
 Beeson, John, 558.
 Bell, James, 531.
 Bender, George, 608.
 Benham, James, 506.
 Benham, Robert, 425.
 Bentley, William, 418.
 Bible, first printed in America, 253.
 Big Cat, a Delaware chief, 549, 617, 618.
 Big Foot, Wyandot Indian; Andrew Poe's fight with, 526 to 529.
 "Big Knives," the. See "Long Knives."
 Big Tree, a Seneca chief, 611.
 Biggs, John, 558.
 Bilderback, Charles, 540, 558.
 Bines, Robert, 22.
 Bissell, Russell, 659.
 Black's Cabin at the present West Liberty, W. Va.; Courts of Ohio County held at, 278.
 Blackburn, John, 22.
 Blacklegs Town, location of, 7.
 Black Watch Highlanders, 192 to 206.
 Blain, Surgeon, 21.
 Blaine, Ephraim, 348.
 Blaine, Hon. James G., 348.
 Blane, Lieut. (later Capt.) Archibald; in command of Fort Ligonier, 174, 176, 178; letters of to Col. Bouquet, 176, 180, 181, 214, 216, 217.
 Blue Jacket, a Shawnee chief, 650; sketch of, 651 to 654.
 Boggs, Lydia, 585.
 Boice family captured, 587.
 Bond, Dr., 21.
 Bonnecamps, Rev., 250.
 Boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia, Chapter XIV. See also Virginia's claim to Southwestern Pennsylvania.
 Bouquet, Col. Henry; commands First Battalion Royal, 23; sketch of, 23, 24; opposed selection of Braddock Road in Forbes campaign, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30; leads advance in Forbes campaign, 24; builds Forbes Road, 35, 36, 38; arrives at "Camp at Loyal Hannon," 36; gives Major Grant permission to reconnoiter Fort Duquesne, 46; his advance attacked at the "Camp at Loyal Hannon," 67 to 75; commands at Pittsburgh after capture of Fort Duquesne, 125; builds roads and garrisons forts, 136 to 138; holds council with C. F. Post, 139, 144; holds council with Indians at Fort Pitt, 144; his discernment superior to that of Amherst, 192; relieves Fort Ligonier and Fort Pitt and fights battle of Bushy Run, 192 to 212; corresponds with Lieut. Blane as to condi-

- tions at Fort Ligonier, 214 to 217; organizes force to keep line of communication open, 217; leads army to Muskingum and Tuscarawas in 1764, 218 to 237; erects "Old Block House" at Fort Pitt, 237; the hero of Pontiac's War, 237; releases captives, 224 to 233; restores "Regina, the German Captive," to her mother, 233 to 237; his death, 24.
- Boyd, Rhoda, 227, 233.
- Boyd, Robert, 22.
- Boyd, Sarah (Sallie), 231.
- Boyd, Thomas, 230.
- Bozarth, Mrs. Experience, prowess of, 466, 467.
- Brackenridge, H. H., 582.
- Braddock's defeat, 18.
- Bradstreet, Col., holds peace council with Guyasuta, 218.
- Brady, James, killed by Indians, 441.
- Brady, Capt. John, 441; killed by Indians, 467.
- Brady, Lieut. (later Capt.) Samuel; in Eighth Pa. Regiment, 351, 441; his vow of revenge, 468; one of Brodhead's scouts, 467; rescues the Henry children and kills Bald Eagle, 468 to 472; his famous leap, 476; rescues Jenny Stoops, 478, 479; Indian hunt of, 480; in Brodhead's expedition against the Senecas, 484; receives scalp bounty, 508; trial of for killing Indians, 481, 626, 627; sent to impress cattle, 496, 497; sketch of, 473 to 481.
- Brady, William P., 598.
- Brant, Joseph, 271; ambushes Col. Loehry, 520; offended by Fort Harmon purchase, 657.
- Brant's Schoolhouse, 433.
- Brandenburg, Barbara, 246.
- Brickell, John, capture of, 617, 618.
- Brinton, John, 558.
- Brison, James, 569. See also Appendix.
- Brodhead, Col. Daniel; takes command of Fort Pitt, 453; plans for defense of western frontier, 460 to 462; Delawares give Indian name to, 462; hears report that British and Indians were assembling on Sandusky River, 477; his expedition against the Senecas, 481 to 489; "Union" with Cherokees, 489; his activities in latter part of 1779, 489 to 491; sends Brady and Springer to impress cattle, 496, 497; reports Indian raids, 501; endeavors to make peace with hostile tribes, 503, 504; reports attack on friendly Delawares, 506, 507; destroys Coshocton, 509 to 514; Moravian missionaries warn him, 522; abandons expedition against Sandusky, 522; his dispute with Col. John Gibson, 522, 524; his dispute with Col. Lochry, 491, 524, 525; succeeded by Gen. William Irvine, 524, 525.
- "Broadhead Road," the, 448.
- Broken promises, 141 to 149.
- Broken treaties, 141 to 149.
- Brown, Basil, 425.
- Brownlee, Lieut. John, 570, 571, 576.
- Bruce, William, 558.
- Brush Creek settlers, 163, 243, 244; massacre of in 1769, 245, 246; massacre of in 1779, 463; petition of, 564 to 566; suffering of, 567, 572, 587.
- Brush Creek Lutheran Church and School burned by Indians, 534.
- Bryson, Samuel, 621.
- Buccaloons, 486, 487.
- Bucher, Rev. Conrad, 251.
- Buckongabelas, 651; sketch of, 655.
- Bull, John, 22.
- Burd, Col. James; Commands Second Pa. Battalion in Forbes campaign, 22; begins erecting stockade at Ligonier and Breastwork Hill, 36; in command of Fort Ligonier during attack on same, 68 to 75; builds road

- from McDowell's Mill to Confluence, 34; builds road from Mt. Braddock to Redstone, 137; erects Fort Redstone (Fort Burd), 114; sketch of, 113, 114.
- Burgess, Rev. E. B., D.D., 255.
- Burnett, Mr., 530, 531.
- Burns, Alexander, 506.
- Burr, Aaron, 341.
- Bushy Run, battle of, Chapter XII.
- Busse, Christian, 22.
- Butler, James, 231.
- Butler, Capt. (later Gen.) Richard, 281, 293, 381, 440; at Fort McIntosh treaty; 601; killed at St. Clair's defeat, 269, 271.
- Byrd, Col. William, 22, 30, 32.
- Byers, Conrad, 403.
- Byers, John, 22.
- Byerly (Bauerle), Andrew; founder of Brush Creek settlement, 163; warned by Indians, 162; he and his family flee to Fort Ligonier, 176, 177; in battle of Bushy Run, 198, 200, 211; Byerly's Station, 173.
- Byerly, Jacob, 174.
- Byerly, Michael, 175.
- C**
- Cahokia, Pontiac killed, at 151; George Rogers Clark captures, 423.
- Caldwell, Capt., 558.
- Calhoun, Thomas, 164.
- Callender, Robert, 21.
- "Camp at Loyal Hannon" (Fort Ligonier), 36 and Chapters V, VI, VII.
- Campbell, Capt., Commander of British Post of Fort Miami, 651.
- Campbell, Rev. Alexander, 607.
- Campbell, Major Charles; captured, 370. See also 614, 615, 636, 643.
- Campbell family, Robert, sufferings of at hands of Indians, 368, 369.
- Campbell, James, 230.
- Campbell, Mary, 232.
- Campbell, Lieut.-Col. Richard, 449.
- Cannon, John, 278.
- "Canoe Place," 598.
- Captina Creek, 288.
- Captain Jacobs, 5, 240.
- Carleton, Gen. Guy. 586, 590, 357.
- Carlisle, refugees at, 195, 196.
- Carmichael, John 346.
- Carnahan, David, 368.
- Carnahan, James, second sheriff of Westmoreland, 282; Capt. in Eighth Pa. Regiment, 351; succeeds Capt. Samuel Moorehead in command of rangers, 490, 491.
- Carnahan, John, killed, 368.
- Carpenter, John, 538.
- Carson, Moses, 349.
- Carter, John, 640.
- Carter, Mr., 632.
- Carter, Sarah, 632.
- Castleman, William, 527.
- Caveat (Cavett), James, 280. See also Appendix.
- Celoron's expedition, 17.
- Chambers, James, 367, 534.
- Cherokees as allies of Gen. Forbes, 25, 82, 83, 92; Col. Brodhead's treaty with, 489.
- Cherry, John, 527.
- Cherry Tree, 242.
- Christy, Rev. Edward, 541.
- Clapham, Col. William, murdered, 162.
- Clark, Agnes, 619.
- Clark, Mrs. Dolly and her babe, 500.
- Clark, Col. (later Gen.) George Rogers; "declares war" against Shawnees, 287, 288; informs Dunmore of events on the Ohio, 291; his expedition of 1778 and 1779, which captured the Northwest from the British, 423; captures Gov. (Col.) Henry Hamilton, the "hair-buyer," to whom he gave this nickname, 423, 339, 355, 358; his draft and expedition of 1781, 516 to 522; his expedition against the Shawnees in 1782, 586, 587.
- Clark, John 22.
- Clark, Capt. John, 535.
- Clayton, Asher, 22.
- Cleckhorn, Mr., 625.
- Clemm, Daniel, 231.
- Clemm, Lodovick and Betty, 230.

- Clemmens, Miss, 585.
 Clifford, Charles, 173; captured, 465.
 Clifford, James, 173, 373, 386, 387.
 Clymer, George, 415. Cochran, John, 230.
 Committee of Safety, 344.
 Conciliation of the Senecas, 611 to 613.
 Conemaugh Old Town, location of, 7.
 Constitutional Convention, delegates to, 345 to 347.
 Connolly, Dr. John; becomes Virginia adherent, 273, 274; appoints magistrates, 273; arrested by St. Clair, 276; captures Pennsylvania justices and takes possession of Fort Pitt, 277; a justice of West Augusta court, 276, 280; in Lord Dunmore's War, 287, 288, 291, 292, 330; succeeded at Fort Pitt by Capt. Neville, 335, 336.
 Contrecoeur, 251.
 Cook, Col. Edward; a Pennsylvania adherent, 282; delegate to Pa. Constitutional Convention, commander of rangers, and county-lieutenant of Westmoreland, 345, 535; stations rangers at Hannastown and Fort Ligonier, 580, 581; sketch of, 345, 346.
 Cook, George, 637.
 Coon, Jane, 233.
 Cooper, James, kills Joseph Wipey, 302.
 Cooper, William, 615.
 Corbly, Rev. John, murder of members of family of, 552, 553.
 Cornplanter, 485, 486; murder of relatives of, 612; visits Wayne's camp at Legionville, 648; goes on peace mission, 645; his connection with the Presqu' Isle lands, 655 to 659; influence of for peace, 655, 656; sketch of, 655 to 659.
 Cornstalk, Shawnee chief; peace efforts of, 291 to 294; leads Shawnees at battle of Point Pleasant, 321 to 323; murder of, 327, 328.
 Coshocton; destruction of, 509 to 516; council of Delawares at espouses British cause, 509.
 Coulter, Hon. Richard, 574, 575.
 Cousins, William, 640.
 Cozens, Robert, 493.
 Coyle, Manasseh, 520.
 Craig, Capt. (later Maj.) Isaac; comes to Fort Pitt, 497; in Lochry's expedition, 517, 522; citizens of Pittsburgh compel him to give them muskets, 614; reports conditions on frontier, 627; erects Fort Fayette, 627, 628.
 Craig, Capt. John; 373, 374; in command of blockhouse (Often called Craig's) at Freeport, 374, 615, 633, 634.
 Craig, Lieut. Samuel; banner bearer of "Rattlesnake Flag," 342; killed or captured by Indians, 373.
 Craig, Lieut. Samuel, Jr., 373, 520.
 Crawford's fatal expedition, 557 to 564.
 Crawford, John, 520.
 Crawford, Capt. (later Col.) William; first president judge of Hannastown court, 260, 276; raises Virginia regiments, 281; becomes a Virginia partisan, 282; a justice of the Virginia counties of Augusta and West Augusta, 282; in Lord Dunmore's War, 290, 322; land agent of Washington, 282; commander of Virginia regiments, 353; receives Linn's powder at Fort Pitt, 366; signs treaty with Delawares at Fort Pitt, 446; in McIntosh's campaign to the Tuscarawas, 447; erects Fort Crawford, 443; his expedition against Sandusky and death at the stake, 557 to 564.
 Crawford, Capt. William, 614.
 Crawford, Valentine, 290, 300.
 Cresap, Capt. Michael, 287, 288, 289, 297.
 Critchlow, William, 620.
 Croghan, George; as deputy Indian agent of the Crown, as-

- sures Indians at Fort Pitt that English will withdraw east of Allegheny Mountains, 146; receives captives, 225; becomes Virginia adherent, 278; holds councils at Fort Pitt, 238, 240; Shawnee Indians at Croghan's house, 292; Cornstalk send letter to, 291; holds council with Indians at Ligonier, 303; St. Clair's confidence in him wanes, 304; assists St. Clair to raise militia, 316; removed as Indian agent, 338.
- Crow family, members of killed by Indians, 602 to 604.
- Crow, Jane and Polly, captives, 233.
- Crozer, James, 632.
- Crozer, Mary Ann, 632.
- Cruikshank, Mrs. Andrew, 574, 575.
- Culbertson, Samuel, 22.
- Currie, John, 631.
- Custaloga, Delaware chief; sketch of, 153. See also page 224.
- D**
- Dagworthy, Lieut.-Col., 36.
- Dallas, A., 621.
- Dary, Jacob and John, 619.
- Davenport, Jonah, 7.
- Davidson, Agnes and Molly, 232.
- Davis, a scout, 630.
- Davis, Eliezer, 418.
- Davis family, members of killed by Indians, 602 to 604.
- Davis, James, 588.
- Davis, Patrick, 21.
- Davy, sub-chief of Delawares, 554 to 556.
- De Haas, John Philip, 21.
- Delawares; clans of, 3, 4; traditional history of, 2, 3; some great chiefs of, 4, 5; defrauded by "Walking Purchase," 3, 4; eastward migration of, 5, 6; displeased by Purchase of 1754, 19; join the French, 18, 19; Post's treaties with, Chapter V; English break treatis with, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149; join in Pontiac's uprising, 150, 151; they and other Indians attack western forts, Chapters X and XI; not in Lord Dunmore's War, 302, 303; Americans make treaty of alliance with, 443 to 447; Coshocton council of votes to espouse British cause, 509, 510; join in purchase at Fort McIntosh, 599, 660; join in Post-Revolutionary uprising, 601; finally overwhelmingly defeated at battle of Fallen Timbers, 645 to 652; sign treaty of Greenville, 652; Delaware place names in Westmoreland County, 6.
- Delaware George, 89, 146.
- Denny, Capt. Ebenezer, 656, 658, 659.
- Denny, Gov. William, 81, 128.
- De Ligneris (Lignery), 121, 130.
- De Peyster, Maj. (later Col.), 515, 586, 592, 593.
- Derry settlement founded, 247.
- Detars, the, 173.
- Detar, Jacob, 534, 567.
- Detar's Schoolhouse, 39.
- De Unzaga, Don. Louis, 364.
- Devine, Morice, 230.
- Dick family, members of murdered by Indians, 616.
- Dickenson, Mr., 659.
- Dillow, Matthew (Michael ?), 584.
- "Dirty Camp" 493.
- Dixon, —, captured, 371.
- Dod, Rev. Thaddeus, 249.
- Doddridge, Dr. Joseph, 299; errors in his "Notes," 513, 514.
- Doddridge, John, 299.
- Donehoo, Dr. George P., 35, 239, 330, 543.
- Douglass, Maj. Enhram; peace mission of, 590 to 593.
- Downing, Timothy, 558.
- Doyle, Samuel, 611.
- Draper Manuscript, 401, 465, 556.
- Duff, John, 572.
- Duncan, David, 580.
- Dunmore's War; see Chapter XIV and Dunmore, Lord.
- Dunkard Creek, settlement of Germans on, 12, 172, 251.
- Dunmore, Lord; becomes governor of Virginia, 273; appoints Dr. Connolly commandant at Pittsburgh, 274; attempts to ex-

- tend Virginia jurisdiction, 273 to 280; flees, 280; his war against the Shawnees, 285 to 330; cause of Dunmore's War, 285; effects of Dunmore's War, 329, 330; Theodore Roosevelt, in his *Winning of the West*, fails to grasp effects of Dunmore's War, 329, 330.
- Dunquat, Wyandot chief; attacks Fort Randolph, 422; holds council with Col. Brodhead, 489; sons of invade Washington County, 526; at Detroit at time of Maj. Douglass' peace mission, 591.
- Dunseath, James, 520.
- E**
- Early Western Pennsylvania settlements, 11, 12, 161, 162, 163, 172, 173, 238, 239, 240, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 254, 259.
- Eastburn, Robert, 22.
- Eckerlin (Eckerling) brothers, Gabriel, Samuel and Israel, 12, 172, 251.
- Scuyer, Capt. Simeon; in command of Fort Pitt in Pontiac's War, 161 to 171; attempts to inculcate Indians with smallpox, 171; asks to be relieved of command, 217.
- Edgerton (Edgington), Thomas, 550.
- Education among early Western Pennsylvania settlers, 244, 253, 254, 255.
- Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment; organized, 281; officers of, 348, 349, 351; assembles at Kittanning, 350; eastward march of, 350, 351; westward march of, 439 to 443; contributions of to Morgan's Riflemen, 352, 353.
- Ellicott, Andrew, 656.
- Elliott, Matthew; deserts Americans and becomes renegade, 417, 418; leads Indians against Fort Henry, 523; at St. Clair's defeat, 269; at battle of Fallen Timbers, 651; sketch of, 419, 420.
- Emanuel Lutheran and Reformed Church (Union), graves of Indians and whites near, 534.
- Erie Triangle, 600, 655 to 659. See also Presqu' Isle Lands.
- Etwein, Rev. John, 252.
- Everhart, Margaret, 232.
- Ewing, Charles M., 582.
- Ewing, James, 22.
- Ewing, James, 582.
- Express riders, dangers of, 178, 179.
- F**
- Fallen Timbers, battle of, 650, 651.
- Farmer, Christopher, 231.
- Farmer's Brother, Seneca chief, 611.
- Fauquier, Governor, 32.
- Fayette County; erected, 284, 345; forts and blockhouses in, 300, 301, 411, 616.
- Felebaum, George, killed, 583.
- Ferguson, William, 661.
- Ferree, Mr., 534.
- Ferree, Joel, 556.
- Fife, William, 558.
- Findley, George, experiences of at hands of Indians, 370.
- Finley, Ann, a captive, 232.
- Finley, Ebenezer, saves his life by sacrificing the life of his companion, 427.
- Finley, Rev. James, 247, 427.
- Finley, Capt. John, 351, 647.
- Fisher, Jacob, 529.
- Fish Carrier, Seneca chief, 611.
- Flack (Flock), James F., 173; captured, 465.
- Flails, Elizabeth, captured, 636.
- Flails, Mr., 635.
- Flaugherty, Esther, a captive, 233.
- Flying Cloud, Seneca chief, 625.
- Fleming, Richard, 520.
- Forbes campaign against Fort Duquesne, Chapters II, III, IV, V, VI and VII.
- Forbes, Gen. John; appointed to lead expedition against Fort Duquesne, 19; forces composing his army, 20 to 23; his Indian allies, 25; route followed by his army, 26, 27, 39 to 41; rejects Braddock Road, 30, 32, 34, 35;

a sick man in his campaign, 34; arrives at Bedford, 37; arrives at Fort Ligonier, 37; describes military road, 38; his advance attacked at Fort Ligonier, 68 to 75; sends letter from Fort Ligonier to Delaware chiefs, 99 to 102; captures Fort Duquesne, 119 to 126; tells Indians from the Allegheny that the English would not erect forts west of the Alleghenies, 145; his death, 109; sketch of, 108, 109; his campaign against Fort Duquesne in detail, Chapters II to VII.

FORTS, BLOCKHOUSES AND STATIONS, Locations of and Principal Events in Connection with Same.

Note to Reader: Most of these posts were blockhouses; many were stations, such as Miller's Station, in Westmoreland County. The text shows the character of each. For sake of brevity, all these posts are called "Forts" in this index.

Fort Allen (Westmoreland County); erected by Pennsylvania Germans, 314, 315, 316; Henry atrocity near, 468 to 473; settlers flee to during Hannastown raid, 578.

Fort Allen (Washington County), 299.

Fort Armstrong, 412, 461, 462, 484, 490.

Fort Ashcraft, 300.

Fort Augusta, 585.

Fort Bayon, 409.

Fort Beeler, 299.

Fort Barr, 313, 428, 429, 430, 533.

Fort Beeman, 299.

Fort Beckett, 299.

Fort Bedford, 27, 177, 179, 184, 185, 189, 190, 191, 196, 197, 217, 221.

Fort Beeson 300.

Fort Blacklegs, 412.

Fort Braybill, 300.

Fort Breast Work Hill, 36, 98, 102.

Fort at Bull Creek, 521.

Fort Burgett, 299.

Fort Burd, or Fort Redstone, 114, 137, 283, 289, 296, 322, 423.

Fort Byerly, 162, 163, 173, 175, 176, 198.

Fort Byers, 408.

Fort Campbell, 409.

Fort Carnahan, 312, 361, 368, 401, 462, 518.

Fort Cassel, 300.

Fort Chambers, 636.

Fort Cherry, 299, 525, 528.

Fort Clark, 615.

Fort Claypool, 615.

Fort Coe, 616.

Fort Conwell, 300.

Fort Couch, 412.

Fort Cox, 283, 299.

Fort Crable. See Fort Braybill.

Fort Craft, 300.

Fort Craig, (Westmoreland County). This name was sometimes given to Fort Shields. See page 622, also Fort Shields.

Fort Craig (Armstrong County), 374, 615, 633, 634.

Fort Crawford (Westmoreland County), 403, 404, 443, 484, 490, 491, 495, 498, 645.

Fort Crawford (Valentine Crawford's Blockhouse), 300.

Fort Crawford (Col. William Crawford's, Blockhouse), 300 301.

Fort Cumberland, 26, 27, 28.

Fort Defiance, 650.

Fort Dillow, 584.

Fort Dinsmore, 616.

Fort Doddridge, 299; petition from, 567.

Fort Downey, 410.

Fort Dunmore (The name given Fort Pitt by Virginians in 1774), 277.

Fort Dunn, 410.

Fort Duquesne; erected, 18; Gen. Forbes' campaign against, Chapters II, III, IV, V, VI, and VII; Major Grant defeated near, Chapter III; conditions at just prior to its fall, 77, 78, 119, 120, 121, 122; captured by Forbes, Chapter VII; first Roman Catholic services at, 251; first Protestant services

- at, 122, 251, 252; French and Indians plan recapture of, 130 to 135.
- Fort Elder. Erected in 1786 in what is now Young Township, Indiana County. See page 616.
- Fort Enlow, 409.
- Fort Enoch, 410; militia at, 614.
- Fort Ewing, 582.
- Fort Fayette, 627, 628, 646, 648, 653.
- Fort Fincastle, 322.
- Fort Foreman, or Froman, 299, 294.
- Fort Franklin, 613, 653, 658, 660.
- Fort at Freeport. See Fort Craig.
- Fort Gaddis, 300.
- Fort Garard, 298.
- Fort George, 407; settlers assemble at during Hannastown raid, 575, 576.
- Fort Gilson. See Fort Barr.
- Fort Green, 615.
- Fort Greenville, 648.
- Fort Hand; erection of, 400, 401; rangers at, 415, 460, 461; attack on, 464, 465; evacuated and then garrisoned again, 490.
- Fort at Hannastown; erected, 311; sometimes called Fort Reed, 311; petition from, 315, 316; attacked when Hannastown was burned, 567 to 581.
- Fort Harmar, 601; treaty at, 601.
- Fort Harrison, 411.
- Fort Henry, 322, 323, 397, 398; first attack on 399; second attack on 523; third attack on, 583.
- Fort Hoagland, 408.
- Fort Hupp, 298, 299, 410.
- Fort Inyard, 411.
- Fort Jackson, 298.
- Fort Jefferson, 270.
- Fort at Juniata Crossing, 189, 196.
- Fort Kepple, 405; settlers flee to during Hannastown raid, 575.
- Fort Klingensmith, 406; massacre at, 533, 534.
- Fort Lamb, 299, 300.
- Fort Laurens, 450; attacks on, 451, 452, 453-454; evacuated, 454, 482.
- Fort Le Boeuf: French and Indians assemble at intending to recapture Fort Duquesne, 130, 131; Col. Bouquet rebuilds, 137; Capt. Denny at, 656, 658; captured by Indians, 157 to 159; rebuilt by Americans, 659.
- Fort Ligonier; called "Camp at Loyal Hannon", 36, 41; erection of, 41 to 45; naming of, 43; the fort proper, 44, 45; army of Gen. Forbes assembles at, Chapters II, III, IV, V and VI; Forbes marches from to Fort Duquesne, Chapter VII; attacked during Forbes campaign, Chapter IV; Washington's narrow escape from death near, (the present Idlewild Park), 75 to 80; Christian Frederick Post at, Chapter V; attack on in summer of 1759, 130, to 134; importance of during and after Forbes campaign, 123, 124, 128, 129; commanders of after Forbes campaign and prior to Pontiac's War, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 133, 135, 136, 137; Christian Frederick Post again at, 139; commander of during Pontiac's War was Capt. Archibald Blane, 174, 176, 178, et seq; attack on during Pontiac's War, Chapter XI; Capt. Ourry and Col. Bouquet send reinforcements to, 184, 185; Col. Bouquet marches from to battle of Bushy Run and relief of Fort Pitt, 198 to 213; flight of Byerly family to, 175, 176; Maiden Foot rescues Miss Means near, 187, 188; first settlers near, 173, 221, 242, 243, 247; Col. Bouquet at on his march to the Tuscarawas, 221; Arthur St. Clair at 242, 264, 266, 267, 268, 274, 276, 280, 282, 292, 302, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 336, 341; falls into decay after Pontiac's War, 261, 262; is repaired and garrisoned by St. Clair and becomes haven for settlers during Dunmore's War, 304 to 309; Lochry's rangers at, 362, 363; atrocities near in 1777, 367, 368, 369,

- 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375; falls into decay and is repaired in autumn of 1777, 377 to 382; the name of Fort Preservation given the new fort, 380; the new name did not "stick", 380, 381; Thomas Galbraith's journal during the period of repairing the fort, 382 to 395; Col. Archibald Lochry, county-lieutenant, describes events during time of repairing the fort, 377 to 381; settlers of Ligonier Valley flee to in autumn of 1777; see Galbraith's journal above; its commanders during the Revolutionary War were the chief officers of the militia, 396; Col. John Pomeroy commands part of time in 1777, 396; atrocities near in 1778, 426 to 431; atrocities in immediate vicinity in 1778, 431 to 435; flight of Alexander Negly family to in 1778, 435 to 439; Mooreheads rangers at, 436; marks eastern extremity of northern line of defense in 1779, 462; association for defense of, 459; rangers at in 1779, 489; murders near in 1780, 501; attack on blockhouse of Col. John Pomry near, 532, 533; a post for rangers in 1782, 536; Indians attacking Hannastown fear reinforcements from Fort Ligonier, 575; Col. Cook stations rangers at after destruction of Hannastown, 580, 581; murders and captures near in Post-Revolutionary Indian uprising, 622 to 625; falls into final decay, 595, 596; mentioned by Capt. Jonathan Hart, 625.
- Fort Lindley, 299.
- Fort Lochry, 312.
- Fort London, the starting point of the Forbes Road, 26, 39; Col. Bouquet at, 196.
- Fort Lowther, 194.
- Fort Lucas, 301.
- Fort Littleton (Lyttleton), 39.
- Fort Machault; French flee to from Fort Duquesne, 122; French and Indians assemble at in effort to recapture Fort Duquesne, 130 to 135; destroyed by French, 134, 137; Col. Bouquet sends Col. Stewart to take possession of site of and erect Fort Venango, 137.
- Fort Marchand, 406.
- Fort Markle (Maracle), 313; Lochry's expedition camps at, 518.
- Fort Marsel (Marshall), 299.
- Fort Martin, 411.
- Fort Mason, 300.
- Fort Mead, 625.
- Fort Miami, 651.
- Fort Miller (Washington County), 408; attacked and heroically defended, 550 to 552.
- Fort Miller (Miller's Station, Westmoreland County), 407; attack on and captures at during Hannastown raid, 570 to 580.
- Fort Milliken, 299.
- Fort Minter, 300.
- Fort Moorehead, 411.
- Fort Morris, 411.
- Fort Myers, 412.
- Fort McCoy, 300.
- Fort McConaghy, 412.
- Fort McDonald, 410, petition from, 567.
- Fort McLean, 38.
- Fort McDowell (Westmoreland County), 405, 406.
- Fort McDowell (Franklin County), 34, 39.
- Fort McFarland, 299.
- Fort McCartney, 412.
- Fort McIntosh; erected, 448; Gen. McIntosh leads expedition from to Tuscarawas, 448, 449; Col. Brodhead transfers headquarters from to Fort Pitt; 453; Brodhead calls it "McIntosh's hobby horse", 454; engagement near, 504, 505; soldiers ambushed and slain near, 556; purchase at, 599 to 601.
- Fort Necessity, 18.
- Fort at New Brighton, 616.
- Fort at Nicholson Run, 616.
- Fort Norris, 299.
- "Old Garrison", 659.
- Fort Palmer, 314; atrocities near, 369, 370, 372, 373, 388.
- Fort Patterson. See Fort Craft.

Fort Paul, 616, 620, 629.

Fort Pearce, 300.

Fort Peelor, 625.

Fort Perry, 312.

Fort Pitt; erected, 134, 135; Gen. Stanwix at, 132, 135; Col. Bouquet transfers his headquarters to, 137; attack on during Pontiac's War, 161 to 171; relieved by Col. Bouquet, Chapter XII; Gen. Monckton succeeds Gen. Stanwix at, 173, 174; "Old Blockhouse" at, 237, 238; Col. Bouquet at in 1764 on way to Tuscarawas, 221, 222; important Indian councils at prior to Revolutionary War, 144, 145, 146, 238, 240, 241; abandoned in 1772 by the King's order, 277; Dr. John Connolly changes name of to "Fort Dunmore", 277; Virginia Court of West Augusta at, 277, 278; Dr. John Connolly flees from, 280; Captain John Neville takes command of, 335, 336; Gen. Hand succeeds Capt. Neville in command of, 397; Gen. McIntosh succeeds Gen. Hand in command of, 414, 415; Col. Brodhead succeeds Gen. McIntosh in command of, 453; Gen. Irvine succeeds Col. Brodhead in command of, 525; Col. John Gibson in temporary command of, 517, 536, 549; Gen. Irvine repairs and strengthens Fort Pitt, 535, 536; Gen. Irvine leaves Fort Pitt, 594; treaty of alliance with Delawares at, 443 to 447; Col. John Gibson and Richard Butler Indian agents at, succeeding George Croghan, 338; Col. George Morgan Indian agent at, 338 to 341; Indian council at in October, 1775, 336 to 338; Indian council at in October, 1776, 339; flight of Tories from, 416 to 420; British flag set up in King's Orchard near in 1778, 418; George Rogers Clark gets powder at for his expedition of 1778, 366; Eighth Pa. Regiment arrives at, 442, 443; treaty of

alliance with Delawares at in 1778, 443 to 447; Gen. McIntosh opens new road from to Fort McIntosh, often called the "Brodhead Road", 448; Col. Smith's camp opposite, 456; McIntosh marches from to the Tuscarawas, 447 to 450; Capt. Samuel Brady's career as scout at, 467 to 481; Col. Brodhead marches from against Senecas, 481 to 489; Col. Brodhead's council at with Wyandots and other Indians, 489; abandoned expeditions from in 1780 and 1781, 495, 497, 522, 523; friction between Brodhead and Lochry, 491, 525; friction between Brodhead and Col. John Gibson, 522, 524, 525; starving soldiers at, 494 to 596, 507; attacks on friendly Delawares by Scotch-Irish, 506, 507, 548, 549; Brodhead marches from against Coshocton, 509 to 516; Fort Pitt furnishes troops and supplies for George Rogers Clark's expedition of 1781; Fort Pitt furnishes supplies, surgeon and lieutenant for Crawford's expedition against Sandusky, 557, 558; Indians destroying Hannastown had intended to attack Fort Pitt, 568; Gen. Irvine's abandoned expedition from, 585 to 587; Maj. Ephraim Douglass' peace mission from, in 1782, 590 to 593; citizens of Pittsburgh arm themselves with muskets from during Indian raid in 1791, 613, 614, 620; falls into decay, 627, 628.

Fort Pomroy (Pomroy, Pumroy, etc.), 313, 314; attack on, 532, 533.

Fort Preservation. The name given Fort Ligonier when it was being repaired in autumn of 177. See pages 380. 381.

Fort Presqu' Isle, 122; rebuilt by Col. Bouquet, 137; captured by Indians during Pontiac's War, 154 to 157; rebuilt by Americans, 659.

- Fort Proctor, 313, 315.
 Fort Randolph, 397, 398, 402, 447, 460.
 Fort Rayburn, 412, 493, 581.
 Fort Recovery, 648, 649.
 Fort Redstone. See Fort Burd.
 Fort Reed. The name sometimes given to the Hannastown fort. See page 311.
 Fort Reed (Reed's Station), 615, 620; Massey Harbison captured near, 630.
 Fort Reynolds, 299.
 Fort Rice, 408, 551; attack on, 583, 584.
 Fort Riffle (Riefel), 301.
 Fort Robinson, 412.
 Fort Roney, 409.
 Fort Rook. See Fort Rugh.
 Fort Rugh, 404, 405; settlers take refuge at during Hannastown raid. 574.
 Fort Run (a stream), murders near, 637, 638.
 Fort Ryerson, 411; atrocities near, 603; militia at, 614.
 Fort Saam, 407, 408.
 Fort Shields, 312, 315, 373.
 Fort Shippen. See Fort Proctor.
 Fort Spark, 33, 245.
 Fort Stanwix; purchase of 1768 at, 241; purchase of 1784 at, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600.
 Fort Statler, 411.
 Fort Stokely, 405.
 Fort at Stony Creek, 189.
 Fort Striker, 412.
 Fort Swan and Van Meter. See Fort Van Meter and Swan (one fort).
 Fort Swearingen, 301.
 Fort Taylor, 409.
 Fort at Teage Island, 407.
 Fort Teeter, 299.
 Fort at Turtle Creek, 306.
 Fort Thompson, 459.
 Fort Turner, 412.
 Fort Van Meter and Swan, 298, 299.
 Fort Vance, 299; Gnadenhuetten massacre planned at, 538. There was also a Vance's Blockhouse near McKees Rocks, Allegheny County, erected in Revolutionary times.
 Fort Venango; erected, 137; destroyed by Indians during Pontiac's War, 158 to 161; Fort Franklin erected near site of, 613; the "Old Garrison" erected near, 659.
 Fort Walker, 410.
 Fort Wallace, 312; murderers of Joseph Wipey hide at, 307; desperate engagement between Fort Wallace and Fort Barr, 426 to 430; attacked in latter part of 1777, 374, 375.
 Fort Wallower, 410.
 Fort Washington, 608, 609, 648.
 Fort Walthour, 314; petition from to Gen. Irvine, 564 to 567; attack on, 554 to 556.
 Fort Wayne, erected, 648.
 Fort Wells, 300; petition from, 567.
 Fort Wilson (Washington County), 410.
 Fort Wilson (Westmoreland County), 314.
 Fort Williams (sometimes called Miller's blockhouse), 405; Harman boys captured near, 434.
 Fort Williamson, 409.
 Fort Wolf, 408.
 Fort Woodruff, 409.
 Fort Wright, 409, 410.
 Fort at Zollarsville, 410.
 Forrest, Earl R., 430, 542.
 Foulks family; sufferings of at hands of Indians, 499, 500.
 France (Frantz), Elizabeth, a captive, 232.
 Frantz family; murder of, 567.
 Freeman settlement attacked and Freeman girls captured, 571, 576.
 French and Indian War; Chapters II to VII.
 French claim to Ohio Valley; 8, 17, 18.
 Friedenstadt, Moravian mission, 252.
 Fullenweider, Peter, 583.

G

- Gaddis, Thomas, 558.
 Gaither, Edward, 551.
 Galbraith, Thomas; journal of during repairing of Fort Lionier in autumn of 1777, 382 to 395.
 Garraway, Charles, 21.
 George, Adam, 575.
 German settlers; early in Western Pennsylvania, 162, 163, 172, 173, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 251, 252, 253, 254, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321; petition from at Fort Allen; erect first church and first school in Western Pennsylvania, 244, 253; found first church in Pittsburgh, 245; erect Fort Allen, 314, 315; erect Fort Markle, 313; erect Fort Walthour, 314; erect Fort Hupp, likely the first fort in Washington County, 299, 410; erect Fort Saam, 407, 408; erect Fort Rugh, 404; erect Fort Kepple, 405; erect Fort Marchand, 406; erect Fort Klingensmith, 406; erect Fort Rice, 407, 408; erect Fort Wolf, 408; erect Fort George, 407, 575, 576; erect Fort Miller (Washington County), 408; erect Fort Byers, 408; education among, 244, 253, 254; religion of, 243, 244, 245, 246, 251, 252, 253; religious and devotional books read by, 253; 254; oppose slavery, 317 to 321; love religious liberty, 317 to 321; massacre of in 1769, 243, 244; their contribution the saving of Western Pennsylvania for Pennsylvania jurisdiction as over against that of Virginia, 320, 321; sufferings and services of in Pontiac's War, 157, 158, 162, 163, 175, 176, 177, 198, 200, 206, 211; Royal American Regiment composed almost entirely of Pennsylvania Germans, 23; their sufferings and services in the Revolution; see Forts, Allen, Rugh, Kepple, Walthour, Hupp, Marchand, Markle, Miller (Washington County), Saam, Klingensmith, Rice, Byers, Wolf and pages 369, 346, 347, 369, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 348, 463, 469 to 473, 479, 503, 505, 529, 530, 531, 533, 534, 544, 550, 551, 552, 554, 555, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 573, 575, 580, 583, 584, 588, 590; classic petition of Brush Creek and Fort Walthour Germans to General Irvine, 565, 566.
 Gibson, Capt. (later Col.), George; his powder exploit, 363 to 366; killed at St. Clair's defeat, 366.
 Gibson, John, a Butler County settler, 661.
 Gibson, John, a Westmoreland County settler, captured, 370.
 Gibson, Col. John; captured, 165; released by Bouquet, 231; a justice of Augusta County Court, 278; translates speech of Logan, chief of the Mingoes, 290, 324, 325; Indian agent at Fort Pitt, 338; in command at Fort Laurens, 450 to 453; second in command in Brodhead's expedition up the Allegheny, 484; in temporary command of Fort Pitt, 525, 549.
 "Gibson's Lambs," 364, 460.
 Girty, George; at Lachrys defeat, 520.
 Girty, Simon; sent on mission to Ohio tribes, 338; espouses British cause and flees from Fort Pitt, 416, 417; letter of concerning Brodhead's destruction of Coshocton, 514; attacks Fort Laurens and relief parties, 451 to 453; marries Catherine Malott, a captive, 500, 501; at burning of Col. Crawford, 561; at St. Clair's defeat, 269; at battle of Fallen Timbers, 651. See also page 633.
 Girty, James; deserts American Cause, 444.
 Girty, Thomas, 633.
 Gist, Christopher; explores for Ohio Company, 9, 12 to 16; makes settlement at Mt. Brad-dock, 11; the first white man to

- make record of Loyalhanning, 15.
- Glass, Mrs., killed, 606.
- Glen, David, 523.
- Glikkikan, Delaware chief, 542; sketch of, 546 to 548.
- Gnådenhuetten massacre, 538 to 548.
- Gnådenhuetten, meaning of the name, 544.
- Good, Laura McClure, 431.
- Gordon, Lieut.; in command of Fort Venango, 159, 160.
- Gosch-goschunk, 485.
- Goshen, 545.
- Gosser, George W., 188.
- Graham, Arthur, killed, 607.
- Grant, Major James; defeated by French and Indians near Fort Pitt, 46 to 66; his letter in his defense, 57 to 66; French account of his defeat, 55 to 57; sketch of, 110, 111.
- Graydon, Alexander, 22.
- "Great Knives." See "Long Knives."
- Great Meadows, 251.
- Greathouse, Daniel, 289, 290.
- Gregg, Andrew, 621.
- Gregg, William, 625.
- Greenbrier settlement attacked by Indians, 422.
- Greene County; forts and block-houses erected in during Dunmore's War, 298, 299, 300, 411; events in during Dunmore's War, 295, 296; events in during Revolutionary War, 466, 467, 552, 553; events in during Post-Revolutionary Indian uprising, 602 to 604.
- Greenville, treaty of, 651.
- Guffey, Alexander, 346.
- Guthrie, Mrs. Elizabeth, 570.
- Guthrie, John, 520, 578, 614, 615, 644, 630.
- Guyasuta, Seneca, or, perhaps, Mingo, chief; sketch of, 152, 153; likely at Grant's defeat, 48; likely commanded Indians at burning of Fort Venango, 160; pretends to make peace with Col. Bradstreet at Presqu' Isle, 218; burns Hannastown, 569 to 580.
- Haines children killed by Indians, 468.
- Half Town, Seneca chief, 612, 625.
- Hall, Rev. David, D.D., 641.
- Halket, Major Peter, 31, 124, 125.
- "Hallische Nachrichten," 234.
- Hamilton, Hance, 22.
- Hamilton, Col. (Gov.) Henry, the "Hair-Buyer General," 339, 340; enlists Indians in British cause, 340, 354; gives rewards for scalps, 355, 356; attempts to "white wash" him, 356, 357; nick-named "Hair-Buyer General" by George Rogers Clark, 339; send Indians and agents to Westmoreland with proclamations, 371, 372, 374, 384; captured by George Rogers Clark, 355, 423; his speech to the Mingoos quoted by Col. George Morgan, 340, 341.
- Hamilton, Thomas, 22.
- Hance, Hance, a captive, 230.
- Hand, General Edward; takes command of Fort Pitt, 397; extent of the frontier he defended, 397; his expedition of 1777, 398, 399; erects Fort Hand, 400, 401; erects military hospital in connection with Fort Pitt, 401; his "Squaw Campaign," 413, 414; holds council with Indians at Fort Pitt, 415; attempts to seize Tories, 417; succeeded by Gen. Lachlan McIntosh, 414, 415.
- Hanna, Jennie, 571.
- Hanna, Robert; founds Hannastown, 250; first Westmoreland courts at house of, 260.
- Hanna, Mrs. Robert, 570, 571, 576.
- Hannastown; Westmoreland court established at, 260; attacked and burned by Indians and British, 567 to 580.
- Hannastown Resolutions, 279.
- Harbison, John, 629, 630, 634, 635.
- Harbison, Massey (Massa), 620; captured by Indians, 629 to 635.
- Hare, Michael, 520.
- Hardin, Lieut. John, 483, 558, 608.

- Harman, Andrew; killed by Indians, 369.
- Harman family; experiences of at hands of Indians, 369, 434, 435.
- Harmar, Gen. Josiah; his defeat at hands of Indians, 608 to 611.
- Harkins, William, 581.
- Harrison, Lieut. Lawrence, 364, 460.
- Harrison, William, 559.
- Harrold's (Zion) Lutheran Church and School founded, 244; Fort Allen erected near, 314, 315.
- Harrold's settlement founded, 173, 243.
- Hartman, John, 234
- Harry, John, 231
- Haslett, Capt. John, 22, 102.
- Hawkins, Elizabeth, 530, 531.
- Hawkins, William, 530, 531.
- Haymaker, Michael, 258.
- Hays, Col. Christopher, 431; a Pennsylvania adherent, 282; opposes Gen. George Rogers Clark's draft, 517.
- Hays, Robert, killed, 534.
- Hays, Lieut. William, killed, 102, 103.
- Heart, Capt. (later Major) Jonathan, 595, 613.
- Heath, Andrew; courts of Yohogania County held at house of near West Elizabeth, 278.
- Heath, Catherine, a captive, 232.
- Heckewelder, Rev. John, Moravian missionary, 42, 252, 353, 510, 544, 545.
- Henderson, Edward, 231.
- Henderson, John, 603.
- Henry, Elizabeth, a captive, 232.
- Henry (Heinrich), Frederick; Indians murder his wife and child and capture the rest of his children, 468 to 472.
- Henry, John, 582.
- Henry, Governor Patrick, 423.
- Herold, John, 173, 244.
- Hickman, John, 93.
- Hickman, Peter, 582.
- Hicks, —, a captive, 231.
- Hinkston (Hinkson, etc.), John; kills Joseph Wipey, 302; pursues Indians, 375.
- Hill, Harry, 623.
- Hill, John, 579.
- Hill, Peter, 257.
- History, Pennsylvania; neglected. See Introduction and page 662.
- Hoagland, John, 558.
- Hodgton, Samuel, 646.
- Holliday's Cove, 401.
- Hood, Andrew, 558.
- Hoover, President Herbert, 244.
- Hopkins, Capt. 426.
- Huffnagel, Michael; a Pennsylvania adherent, 282; Captain in Eighth Pa. Regiment, 348; supplies rations for militia, 404; clerk of Westmoreland court, 568; commands Hannastown fort when Indians burn Hannastown, 567 to 580; receives loan for use of Hannastown settlers, 580; sketch of, 573. See also Appendix.
- Hughes, Capt., 628.
- Humphreys, Col. David, 78.
- Hunter, David, 22.
- Hunter, James, 520.
- Hunter, Col. Samuel, 507.
- Hupp, Ann; heroism of, 551, 552.
- Hupp, Frank, 529.
- Hupp, John, Sr., 550, 551.
- Hutchins, Thomas, 22.
- Hyndshaw, James, 22.

I

- Indiana County; forts and block-houses erected in during Revolutionary War, 411, 412; events in, 242, 247, 362, 369, 370, 371, 378, 383, 411, 412, 625.
- Innis, Francis, a captive, 230.
- Innis, Jenny, a captive, 232.
- Irvine, Gen. William; takes command of Fort Pitt, succeeding Col. Brodhead, 524, 525; reorganizes western department and strengthens Fort Pitt, 535, 536; investigates and reports on Gnadenhuetten massacre, 549; reports on state of frontier, 501, 556; his connection with Col. William Crawford's expedition,

557, 558, 563; Brush Creek and other settlers petition him, 564 to 567; aids Hannastown settlers, 580; his abandoned expedition, 585 to 587; leaves Fort Pitt, 594; sketch of, 594.

Irwin, Maj. John, 615.

Irwin, Robert, 21.

J

Jack, Sheriff (Capt.) Matthew, 568, 569, 573, 574.

Jack, Mrs. Matthew, 569.

Jack, William, 574, 615.

Jackson, Paul, 22.

Jackson, Philip, 526.

Jacobs, Captain, Delaware chief, 5, 240.

Jacobs Lutheran Church, 246.

Jamison, David, 22.

Jesuit missionaries, 17.

Johnson, David, a captive, 230.

Johnson, English captive; gives information as to strength of French at Fort Duquesne, 77, 80, 119.

Johnson, Levi, 619.

Johnson, Sir William, 135, 159, 220.

Jones, Capt., killed, 132.

Jones, Rev. David, 251.

Jumonville, attacked and slain, 79, 80.

Juniata Crossing, 196.

K

Kane, James, 520.

Kaskaskia, 423.

Keckenepaulin's Town, location of, 7.

Keekyuscung, Delaware chief, 88; killed at battle of Bushy Run, 210.

Kepple, Michael, 575.

Kern, Jacob, 22.

Keyser, Peter; family of murdered, 376.

Killbuck, John, Sr., Delaware chief, 93.

Killbuck, John, Jr., Delaware chief, with William Wilson on peace mission, 338; in Brodhead's expedition against the

Senecas, 484; in Coshocton Council espouses British cause during absence of, 509, 510; in Brodhead's expedition against Coshocton, 512; loses wampum of Penn's treaty as he swims Allegheny to escape from Scotch-Irish settlers, 548, 549; sketch of, 549, 550. See also pages 448 and 462.

Kilgore, Capt. David, 349.

King Beaver, Delaware chief, 5, 92, 143, 144, 164, 167.

King's Orchard near Fort Pitt, 418.

Kinner, Peter, 640.

Kirkland, Rev. Hugh, 258.

Kirkland, Rev. Samuel, 354.

Kirkpatrick, James, murder of child of, 621.

Kittanning; location of, 7; Eighth Pa. Regiment assembles at, 350; McFarlane captured at, 360 to 362; Col. Smith's battle near, 375; Fort Armstrong erected at, 461; murder on Fort Run near, 637, 638.

Klingensmith, Philip; massacre at home of, 532 to 534.

Knight, Dr. John, 558, 559, 561, 562.

Knox, Gen. Henry, 613, 614, 626, 628.

Knox, Robert, a captive, 231.

Knox, Susannah, Jane and Mary, captives, 233.

Kurtz, Rev. B., 234.

Kuskuskies, location of, 86.

L

Lafayette, General; at Fort Stanwix treaty and purchase of 1784, 600.

Lake, William, a captive, 231.

Lancaster treaty and purchase of 1744, 9, 17, 263.

Lancaster treaty of 1762, 138, 139, 146, 147.

Lancot, Godfrey; peace mission of, 503, 504.

Langfitt, William, 505.

Land office opened following Fort Stanwix purchase of 1768, 241, 242.

- Land purchases. See purchases of land.
- Laughlin, Randall, captured, 370, 374.
- Laughlin's mill burned by Indians, 501.
- Lawunakhannek, Moravian mission, 547.
- Lee, Arthur; describes Pittsburgh in 1784, 601.
- Lee, Major John, 611.
- Leet, Daniel, 558.
- Leet, William, 558.
- Leffler, George, Jr., 583.
- Leffler, Jacob, 511.
- Legion of the United States, 646, 649.
- Leingerfeld, Catherine, a captive, 232.
- Leninger, Christine Margaret, likely Regina Leininger, the "German Captive," 232.
- Lemon, James, 511.
- Lequeeppees, location of, 7.
- Le Roy, John Jacob, a captive, 230.
- Le Tort, James, 7, 8.
- Lewis, Major Andrew; commands Virginians in Forbes campaign, 23; at Grant's defeat, 47, 49, 50, 58; defeats Cornstalk at Point Pleasant, 321 to 324; at treaty with Delawares at Fort Pitt, 444, 446; sketch of, 114, 115.
- Lichtenau, Moravian mission, 544.
- Ligonier, Sir John, 43.
- Lincoln, Abraham, 321.
- Linsay, Lord, 622.
- Link, Jonathan, 529, 531.
- Linn, Capt. William; his powder exploit, 363 to 366; his death, 366.
- Little Turtle, Miami chief, 609, 650; sketch of, 654.
- Lloyd, Thomas, 22.
- Lobengier, Christopher; delegate to constitutional convention, 346, 347.
- Lochry's expedition, 516 to 522.
- Lochry, Col. Archibald; a Pennsylvania adherent, 282; builds fort, 312; raises rangers for defense of Westmoreland, 362; 363, 449; first county-lieutenant of Westmoreland, 347; sends Indian scalps to President Wharton, 375; describes Indian raids, 377, 378, 379; gives much information as to Fort Ligonier, 380; a neighbor of Col. John Proctor, 381; active in repairing Fort Ligonier, 384; 385, 389, 391, 393; describes engagement near Fort Wallace, 426, 427; gives return of public arms, 430, 431; removes records of Westmoreland court, 499; friction between Lochry and Col. Brodhead, 491, 525; his unfortunate expedition and death, 516 to 521.
- Logan, Captain, Indian chief, 422.
- Logan, Chief of the Mingoes; murder of family of, 288 to 291; his revenge, 295 to 298; his great speech, 324, 325.
- Logan's Elm, 324, 326.
- "Long Knives"; the term defined, 75.
- Long, Peter, 338.
- Long Run Presbyterian Church; massacre near, 502, 503.
- Loskiel, Moravian bishop, 541.
- Loutzenheiser, Peter and Jacob; join in petition to Gen. Irvine, 566.
- Love, Mrs., 573, 574.
- Lowrey, Lazarus, a trader, 7.
- Lowry, Jane, Mary and Susannah, captives, 232.
- Loyalhanning, Delaware Indian town on whose site Fort Ligonier was built, 1; founding of, 5, 6; meaning of the name, 6.
- Loyal Hannon, camp at. See "Camp at Loyal Hannon".
- Lutheran and Reformed churches, early, 244, 245, 246.
- Lutheran and Reformed settlers; early in Western Pennsylvania, 243 to 246, 251 253, 254, 316 to 321.
- Lyon family, attack on by Indians, 589, 590.
- Lyon, Eli, James, Mary and Thomas, 589, 590.
- Lyon, William, 21.

M

- Mackay, Col. Aeneas; a justice of Hannastown court, 274; Colonel of Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, 281, 348; death of, 351.
- Maclay, William, 600.
- Maclean, Gen Allan, 592, 593.
- Maghingquechahocking, Delaware Indian town, 487.
- Maidenfoot and Miss Means, 187 to 189.
- Mamachtaga, Indian, hanged at Hannastown. See Appendix.
- Mann, Andrew, 349.
- Manselle, Margaret, 232.
- Markle, Gaspard, 518.
- Marshall, William; murder of family of, 502, 503.
- Marshel (Marsel, etc.), James; county-lieutenant of Westmoreland County, 347, 509, 604.
- Marns, John, 520.
- Martin, James and William, captives, 231.
- Martin, Martha, a captive, 233.
- Mass, Roman Catholic; first celebrated where Pittsburgh now stands, 251.
- Matthews, Sampson, 415.
- Maus, Rev. C. W., 502.
- May, William, 611.
- Maxwell, William, 630.
- Mead, Darius, 626.
- Mead's settlement; attack on, 625.
- Means family; experience of with Indians in Pontiac's War, 187, 188; experience with Indians in Revolutionary War, 431, 432.
- Means, Robert, 173.
- Mehaffey, Stephen, 615.
- Mehaffey, Mrs. Stephen, 634.
- Mellon, Hon. Andrew W., 245, 439.
- Mellon, Hugh; experience of with Indians, 635.
- Mellon, James R., 436, 439.
- Mellon, Judge Thomas, 256.
- Mellon, Richard Beatty, 439.
- Mercer, Capt. (later Major and General) Hugh; his troops and those of Washington make fatal mistake in ravine (the present Idlewild Park) near Fort Ligonier, 77; in command at Pittsburgh for a time, 125, 139, 144; promises Delaware, Shawnee and Six Nations chiefs at council at Pittsburgh that the English will withdraw east of the Allegheny mountains, 144, 145; sketch of, 112, 113.
- Meyer (Mayer), Balthaser, Lutheran catechist and schoolmaster; comes to Westmoreland County, 244.
- Miamis join Pontiac, 141; Little Turtle a Chief of, 654.
- Middle Presbyterian near Mt. Pleasant, 248, 569.
- Migration of Delawares, eastward, 2, 3.
- Migration of Western Pennsylvania settlers to Kentucky, 284.
- Miles, Capt. Samuel, 129.
- Miller, Frederick, 551.
- Miller's Blockhouse (Washington County); attack on, 550 to 552.
- Miller, Dorcas, 576.
- Miller, Ezekiel, 645.
- Miller, George, 621.
- Miller, Jacob, Sr., 551, 583.
- Miller, Capt. John Jacob, Jr., 529, 551.
- Miller, John, 558.
- Miller, Kitty and Beverly, captives, 232.
- Miller, Margaret, a captive, 232.
- Miller, Capt. Samuel; Captain in Eighth Pa. Regiment, 349; killed by Indians, 442.
- Miller's Station (Westmoreland County), attacked during Hannastown raid, 567 to 580.
- Mills, Benjamin, 447.
- Mingoes; the term defined, 152; join in Pontiac's uprising, 141; Logan, Chief of, 288 to 291, 295 to 298, 324, 325; take part in Dunmore's War, 295 to 298; go over to British in Revolutionary War, 331, 340; invade Westmoreland County, 367, 501.
- Mitchell family; sufferings of at hands of Indians, 622 to 624.
- Mitchell, James, 643.
- Mohicans; join in Pontiac's uprising, 141; go over to the British, 367.
- Monckton, Gen.; succeeds Gen. Stanwix at Fort Pitt, 173, 174;

- promises Western Indians that English do not want lands of the Indians, 146.
- Monongalia County; established by Virginia, 278; its court sits at Theophilus Phillips, 278.
- Montgomery, John, 22.
- Montgomery's Highlanders, 192, 206.
- Montour, John (friendly Indian), 484, 511.
- Moravian missionaries and missions in Western Pennsylvania, 252, 253, 547, 548; same in Ohio, 515, 516, 522, 523, 524, 538 to 544.
- Moravian missionaries warn Col. Brodhead, 522, 523.
- Moravian missions broken up by Indians and missionaries taken to Detroit for trial, 515, 516.
- Moore, James, 577.
- Moore, John, 346.
- Moore, Patrick, 531.
- Moorehead, Fergus; captured by Indians, 362.
- Moorehead, Capt. Samuel; raises rangers, 360, 362; at Fort Ligonier, 436; commands at Fort Hand during attack on same, 464; resigns command and is succeeded by Capt. James Carnahan, 490, 491.
- Morgan, Colonel George; appointed Indian agent at Fort Pitt, 338; career as Indian agent, 338 to 341; sketch of, 340, 341; educates son of White Eyes and brother of Killbuck, Jr., 430, 513; informs Jefferson as to Burr's plans, 341; quotes Col. Hamilton's speech to the Minnogois, 340, 341; David T. Watson, a descendant of, 341.
- Morgan, Jacob, 22.
- Morgan, 22.
- Morgan, Lear, 605.
- Morgan's Riflemen, 352, 353.
- Mountz, Providence, 342.
- Muhlenberg, Rev. Henry M., D. D., 233.
- Muhlenberg, Gen. John Peter Gabriel, 318, 319.
- Munsees, a Clan of the Delawares, 3.
- Myers, Eliezer, 349.
- Myers, Mrs., 588.
- Mc**
- McCandless, William, 506.
- McCleery, John, 606.
- McCleery, Col. William, 497, 498.
- McClellan, James, 346.
- McClellan, Robert, 610.
- McClelland, John, 558.
- McClelland, Maj. William, 362.
- McClung, Charles, 22.
- McClure, Rev. David, 251, 349.
- McCullough, James and John, captured, 9; John's account of his captivity, 9.
- McCullough, Capt. Samuel, 511.
- McDonald, Mafor Angus, 322.
- McDowell's Mill, 34.
- McDowell, Nathan, 616.
- McDowell, Samuel, 415.
- McDowell, Maj. William, 431, 615.
- McElroy, Elizabeth and Mary, captives, 232.
- McFarlane, Andrew; a Pennsylvania adherent and justice of the Hannastown court, 277; captured by Indians at Kittanning, 359 to 361.
- McFarlane, James, 360, 361.
- McGeehan, Duncan, 558.
- McGraw, Sergt. Philip, 464.
- McGrew, Archibald, 22.
- McHarge, Peter, 520.
- McIntosh family murdered by Indians, 606.
- McIntosh, Gen. Lachlan; takes command of Fort Pitt, succeeding Gen. Hand, 414, 447; opens new road from Fort Pitt to Fort McIntosh, often called the "Brodhead Road," 448; erects forts McIntosh and Laurens, 448, 450; his march to the Tuscarawas, 447 to 453; succeeded by Col. Daniel Brodhead, 453.
- McIntyre, Capt. William; his fight with Indians, 504, 505; in Col. Brodhead's campaign against Coshocton, 511.
- McKee, Capt. Alexander; in Forbes campaign, 22; deserts Americans and becomes renegade, 416 to 419; at St. Clair's defeat, 269; at battle of Fallen Timbers, 651; sketch of, 418, 419.

McKee, David, 620.
 McKee, Capt. Thomas; promises Indians at Fort Pitt that English will withdraw east of Allegheny Mountains, 146; sketch of, 418, 419.
 McKellog, John, 637.
 McKnight, John, 22.
 McLaughlin, William, 464.
 McLean's Redoubt, 38.
 McMahon, Maj. William, 649.
 McMillan, Rev. John, D. D., 248, 249.
 McPherson, Robert, 22.
 McVey, Mrs., 579.

N

Nanowland, Delaware friend of Capt. Samuel Brady, 471, 484, 511; killed on Smoky Island by Scotch-Irish settlers, 548.
 Negley, Alexander; flight of family of to Fort Ligonier, 435 to 439; settles near Fort Pitt, 439; helps to found first church in Pittsburgh, 245; descendants of, 245, 439.
 Negley, Felix, 436, 632.
 Nelson, Samuel, 22.
 Neville, Capt. John; succeeds Dr. John Connolly at Fort Pitt, 335, 336; non-partisan policy of, 336; succeeded by Gen. Hand, 337, 397.
 New Comer, Delaware chief; holds councils with Col. Bouquet, 224; at treaty of alliance with Americans, 445; invites Moravian missionaries to the Tuscarawas, 544; death of, 339.
 New Comer's Town, 512.
 Nicely family; sufferings of at hands of Indians, 624, 625.
 Nicholson, Joseph, Indian interpreter, 338, 555.
 Nimwha, a Shawnee chief, 240.
 "Notes on Virginia," Thomas Jefferson's, 325.
 "Notes" on Indian wars and settlements, Doddridge's; errors in, 513, 514.

O

Ogle, John, 511.
 Ohio Company, 9, 10, 11, 12, 33, 318, 263; grant to, 10, 11; major

historians of the United States erroneously describe bounds of Ohio Company's grant, 11.
 "Old Blockhouse" at Fort Pitt, 237.
 Orndt, Jacob, 21.
 Orr, Capt. Robert, 520, 521.
 Orr, Gen. Robert, 521.
 Orr, Samuel, 620.
 Ottawas; join in Pontiac's uprising, 141; Pontiac a chief of, 149.
 Ourry (Uhrig), Eve; saves Hannastown when it was attacked by Indians in 1778, 572.
 Ourry (Uhrig), Francis, 572.
 Ourry (Uhrig), Lieut. (later Capt.) Lewis; in command of Fort Bedford, 177, 178, 179, 189, 190, 197.
 Ourry (Uhrig), Wendel, 349.
 Owens, David; kills Indian wife and children, 219; is interpreter for Colonel Bouquet, 220, 223.
 See also Appendix.

P

Pachgantchihilas, See Buckongehaleas.
 Packanke, Delaware chief, 547.
 Palmer, John, a captive, 231.
 Parker, William, 588.
 Patterson, William, 22.
 Paul, James, 620.
 Patton, J. Howard, 211.
 Patton, Howard C., 211.
 Paxinosa, a Shawnee chief, 83.
 Peake, Pressly, 530.
 Peak (Peck), Priscilla, 585.
 Peelór, David, 625.
 Pentecost, Dorsey, 278, 347, 539, 557.
 Penn's Creek massacre, 230.
 Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention; delegates to, 345 to 347.
 Pennsylvania Germans; ancestry of, 253. See also German settlers.
 Pennsylvania history neglected, page 662. See also Introduction.
 Pershing, Gen. John J., 244.
 Perry, Col. James, 345; reports Klingensmith massacre, 533, 534.
 See also page 511.
 Peters, Richard, 33.

- Petitions from forts during Dunmore's War; 315 to 317; during Revolutionary War, 564 to 566.
- Phillips, Theophilus, 278.
- Pickering, Henry G., 78.
- Pickering, Timothy, 504, 659.
- Piggott, James, 349.
- Pipe, Captain, 146, 240, 417, 445; heads war faction among Delawares, 559; befriends Moravian missionaries, 515, 516; orders Col. Crawford to be burned at the stake, 559; assists Major Douglass on peace mission, 591, 592; sketch of, 564.
- Pisquetomen, Delaware chief, 87.
- Pitt, William, 19; Pittsburgh named for, 122.
- Pittsburgh; population of in 1760, 161; Tories flee from, 416 to 420; Indian raids near in Post-Revolutionary Indian uprising, 607, 614, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620; first Roman Catholic Mass at, 251; first Protestant services at, 125; first Church at, 245.
- Pluggy, Mingo chief, 367.
- Pluggy's Town, 367.
- Poe, Adam and Andrew; fight with Big Foot, 526 to 529.
- Point Pleasant; battle of, 322, 323.
- Pollock, Oliver, 364, 365.
- Pomroy, Col. John; in command of Fort Ligonier, 396; attack on home of, 532, 533.
- Pontiac, Ottawa chief; sketch of, 149 to 152.
- Pontiac's War; Chapters IX to XIII.
- Post, Christian Frederick, Moravian missionary; peace missions to Teedyuscung, 81 to 86; first peace mission to Western Delawares, 86 to 95; second peace mission to Western Delawares, 95 to 107; importance of his treaty with Western Delawares, 106, 107; conducts Indians and released captives to Lancaster treaty of 1762, 138 to 140; at Fort Ligonier, 97 to 98, 159.
- Postelwait, Dr., 576.
- Post-Revolutionary Indian uprising, 601 to 661; cause of, 601, 602.
- Potter, Gen. James, 21, 240, 585.
- Power, Rev. James, D. D., 248, 577.
- Presbyterian settlers, early in Western Pennsylvania; 173, 247 to 250, 254, 255; education among, 254, 255.
- Presbyterian churches, early, 247, 248, 249, 502.
- Presqu' Isle lands, 655 to 659.
- Pressure on Indian lands, 238.
- Price, Ensign G; in command of Fort Le Boeuf, 157 to 159.
- Proctor, Colonel John; presbyterian preaching on plantation of, 247; a Pennsylvania adherent, 282; first sheriff of Westmoreland County, 342; blockhouse erected on his plantation, 313; commander of "First Battalion of Westmoreland County," 342, 343; appointed commissioner with Thomas Galbraith to seize goods of deserters, 382; a neighbor of Col. John Proctor and executor of his will, 381; helps rebuild Fort Ligonier, 391.
- Purchases of land from Indians; Lancaster purchase of 1744, 9, 34; purchase of 1754, 19; "Walking Purchase," 4; purchase of 1768 at Fort Stanwix, 241; purchase at Fort Stanwix in 1784, 596 to 599; purchase at Fort McIntosh in 1785, 599 to 601; purchase of Erie Triangle or Presqu' Isle lands, 655 to 658.

R

- Ralston, David, 643.
- Rankin, Thomas, 558.
- Rankin, William, 527.
- Rattlesnake Flag, 341, 342.
- Ray, Thomas, 625.
- Rea, Miss, 579.
- Read, Adam, 22.
- Reading, Col. George, 493.
- Red Hawk, a Shawnee chief; holds councils with Col. Bouquet, 225.
- Red Hawk, a Shawnee who was killed when Cornstalk was murdered, 327, 328.
- Red Jacket, a Seneca chief, 611.
- Red Pole, a Shawnee chief, 652, 653.
- Reed, David, 558.

- Reed family (Robert); experiences of at hands of Indians, 187, 188, 431, 432.
- Reed, Robert, 172, 173, 187, 188, 431, 432.
- Regina, the German Captive; captivity of and liberation by Colonel Bouquet, 233 to 237.
- Religion of early Western Pennsylvania settlers, 243 to 255.
- Religious liberty fostered by early Western Pa. settlers, 317 to 319.
- Revolutionary War; Chapters XV to XX.
- Reynolds, William, 22.
- Reynolds, Mrs. William; killed by Indians, 491, 492.
- Rice, Abraham, 408; attack on fort of, 583, 584.
- Rice, Daniel, 583.
- Richards, Capt. H. M. M., 235.
- Richardson, William, killed, 374.
- Richey, Myrtle W., 506.
- Richie, Craig, 558.
- Richey, William, 645.
- Robinson, James, 520.
- Robinson, John, 31.
- Rodgers, Capt. David; fatal voyage of, 423 to 426.
- Roosevelt, Theodore; error in his "Winning of the West," 329, 330.
- Ross, Ezekiel, 558.
- Ross, James, Esq., 613.
- Ross, Nancy, 638.
- Roth, Rev. John, Moravian missionary, 252.
- John Lewis, 544.
- Roth, Rev. T. B., D. D., 253.
- Royal Americans; the term defined, 23; composed largely of Pennsylvania Germans, 23; Col. Bouquet commands First Battalion of, 23; in the Forbes campaign, 23, 24; garrison Fort Ligonier, 132, 133, 135, 136, 140, 174; garrison Fort Presqu' Isle, 154; garrison Fort Le Boeuf, 157; garrison Fort Venango, 158; garrison Fort Pitt, 161, 170; among Bouquet's forces at battle of Bushy Run, 192, 198, 201, 206; garrison Fort Bedford, 177, 178.
- Royce, Benjamin, 511.
- Rowe, Daniel, 552.
- Rowe, Jacob, 551, 552.
- Rugh, Michael; builds blockhouse, sketch of, 404.
- Rushton, Job, 22.
- Russ family; murdered by Indians, 618 to 620.
- Rutledge, Ralph, 660.
- Ryerson, Thomas, 613.

S

- Saam, Adam; builds blockhouse on his plantation, 407, 408; German riflemen of, 534, 565.
- Sample family; captured by Indians, 616, 617.
- Scalp bounties; British, 333, 334, 354 to 358, 507 to 509; Pennsylvania, 332, 507 to 509; Virginia, 332; Puritan, 332.
- Schoenbrunn, Moravian mission, 542, 544, 545.
- Scotosh, 527, 528.
- Scott, John, 520.
- Scott, Joseph, 22.
- Scott, Gen., 608.
- School, first in Western Pennsylvania, 244.
- School books; first printed in America, 253.
- Scotch-Irish; the term defined, 254; early settlements of in Western Pennsylvania, 173, 242, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 253, 254, 255; religion of, 247, 248, 249, 251, 254, 255; education among, 254, 255; more numerous in early Western Pennsylvania than the Germans, 255; early churches among, 247, 248, 249, 251, 254, 255, 502.
- Settlers; first near Fort Ligonier, 173. See also Germans and Scotch-Irish.
- Senangelstown, location of, 7.
- Senecas; the only tribe of the Six Nations to join Pontiac, 141, 151; go over to British in Revolutionary War, 332, 353, 354, 357; conciliation of in Post-Revolutionary Indian uprising, 611, 612.
- Sewickley, Shawnee Indian town, 7, 8.
- Sewickley settlement founded, 250.
- Shamokin Daniel, a Delaware, 87, 90.

- Shannon, Capt. Samuel, 518, 519, 521.
- Sharp, Agnes, 643.
- Sharp, Capt. Andrew; attack on by band of Indians, 640 to 644.
- Sharp, James, 22.
- Shaw, David, 577.
- Shaw, Margaret (Peggy); fatally wounded during attack on Hannastown fort, 569, 576.
- Shaw, Moses, 577.
- Shawnees; migration of, 6, 7; Lord Dunmore's War against, Chapter XIV; do not attack Pennsylvanians in Dunmore's War, 309, 310; effects of Lord Dunmore's War on, 329, 330; join Pontiac, 141; councils at Fort Pitt attended by chiefs of, 144, 146, 238, 337, 339; go over to the British, 332, 401 to 403; not at Fort McIntosh purchase of 1785, 600; finally conquered at battle of Fallen Timbers, 645 to 652.
- Shearer, Robert and Hugh, 556.
- Sheshosh, a Moravian Delaware, 540.
- Shepherd, David; a justice of West Augusta court, 278; county-lieutenant of Ohio County, 347; receives Lieut. Linn's powder, 366; in Brodhead's Campaign against Coshocton, 511.
- Sherlock, Edwin T., 556.
- Shields, Capt. John, 312, 342, 622.
- Shingas, a Delaware chief; 5, 89, 92, 144, 164, 166; holds councils with Col. Bouquet, 224.
- Shippen, Joseph, 21.
- Shippensburg refugees, 195.
- Shoyer, Jacob, 231.
- Silvis, Anna, captured, 503.
- Simon, John, Andrew and Michael, 505.
- Sims, Andrew, 230.
- Sinclair (often written St. Clair), Sir John; quartermaster general in Braddock and Forbes campaigns, 26; wavers in selection of road in Forbes campaign, 30; his quarrel with Col. Stephens, 110; disliked by Provincials, 109; sketch of, 109, 110.
- Singleton, John, 22.
- Slaughter, Maj., 501.
- Slavery; Pennsylvania German settlers opposed to, 319, 320.
- Slippery Rock Creek, 488.
- Sloan, Capt. John, 615, 623.
- Sloan, John and Nancy, 622.
- Slöver, John, 558, 562, 563.
- Smallman, Thomas, 231.
- Small-pox; attempt to inoculate Indians with, 170, 171.
- Smeltzer, Adam and Jacob, 230.
- Smith, Devereux; a justice of Hannastown court, 277.
- Smith, George, 615.
- Smith, Elizabeth, 231.
- Smith, Hannah, 231.
- Smith, Col. James; a prisoner among Delawares, 68, 74; in Col. Proctor's battalion, 342; pursues Indians, 375; his expedition to French Creek, 456 to 459; a delegate to Constitutional Convention, 346; sketch of, 346.
- Smith, Rev. Joseph, 249.
- Smith, Thomas, 22.
- Smithfield Street German Protestant Church (Pittsburgh), 245.
- Smoky Island; friendly Delawares attacked on, 548, 549.
- Snaidor, Jacob, 21.
- Snyder, Mrs. Elizabeth, 607.
- Snyder, Joseph, 375, 607.
- Spicer family; attacked by Indians, 295, 296.
- Spicer, William, 295, 603.
- Springer, Lieut. Uriah, impresses cattle, 496.
- St. Clair, Gen. Arthur; in command of Fort Ligonier, 242; stations militia at Fort Ligonier, 304 to 309; grants military permits to settle lands, 242; first prothonotary of Westmoreland County, 260, 261; agent of the Penns, 266; letters of during Lord Dunmore's War, 274, 280, 292, 302, 304, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310; arrests Dr. Connolly, 276; comments on Hannastown Resolutions 280; memorial of to Pa. Legislature, 311; Repairs Fort Ligonier, 310; receives commission in Continental army, 267; services of in Revolutionary War, 267; president of Congress, 267; Governor of Northwest Ter-

ritory, 267; erects "Hermitage Furnace," 267; sent against Western Indians, 268 to 273, 627; last days and death, 272, 273; sketch of 264 to 273; refers to Indian treaty, 336.

St. Clair, Louisa; "Legend" of, 271.

Stanwix, Gen.; takes command at Fort Pitt, 132, 135; succeeded at Fort Pitt by Gen. Monckton, 173, 175.

Steck, Rev. John Michael, 255, 256.

Steel, Isaac, 578.

Steel, Rev. John, 22, 240.

Stephen, Col. Adam; in command of Fort Ligonier during attack on same in 1759, 132; his quarrel with Sir John Sinclair, 110; sketch of, 115, 116.

Stewart, Mary, 233.

Stimble, Isaac; 173, 221.

Stinson, Elizabeth, 233.

Stokely, Capt. Nehemiah, 489.

Stokely, Thomas, 520.

Stone, Ludowick, 22.

Stony Creek, 68.

Stroud, Col. Jacob, 507.

Stoops, Jennie; capture and rescue of, 504, 478, 479.

Stroudman, Uly and Catherine, 232.

Studebaker; Abraham and Joseph join in petition to Gen. Irvine, 566.

Studebaker, Elizabeth, 227, 233.

Suffolk, Lord, 356.

Sugar Cabins, 39.

Sullivan, Gen. John, 483.

Surphlitt, Robert, 417.

Sutton, a scout, 630.

Swearingen, Andrew, 349, 399.

Swearingen, Drusella; wife of Capt. Samuel Brady, 481.

Swearingen, John; first sheriff of Washington County, 301; erects blockhouse on his plantation, 301.

Swearingen, Capt. Van; Capt. in Eighth Pa. Regiment, 349; his daughter Drusella becomes wife of Capt. Samuel Brady, 481.

Sweitzerbarth, Rev. J. G. C., 255.

T

Tamanend, 5.

Tatemy, Moses, Delaware chief, 83.

Taylor, Henry, 613.

Taylor, Robert, 368.

Teedyuscune; Post's peace missions to, 81 to 85.

Ten Mile Classical school, 254, 255.

Thompson, Charles, 83.

Thompson, Mordecai, 21.

Traders; English and French in Western Pennsylvania, 7.

Trent, Capt. William, 18, 146.

Trinity Episcopal Church (Pittsburgh), 652.

Truby, Col. Christopher; commander at Fort Allen, 315; his daughter captured, 534; in Har-mar's expedition, 610.

Tucker family; sufferings of at hands of Indians, 499, 500.

Turkey Foot, 34.

Turner family; sufferings of at hands of Indians, 499, 500.

Turtle Heart, Delaware chief; 166, 224.

Tuscarawas; Col. Bouquet marches to, 218 to 237; Moravian missions on, 515, 516, 522, 523, 524, 538 to 547; Gen. McIntosh marches to, 447 to 453.

U

Ulery family; sufferings of at hands of Indians, 432, 433.

Ulrich, Rev. Anton, 244.

Unity Presbyterian Church; founded, 247; services at time of Hannastown raid, 577.

V

Van Horn, Cornelius, 625.

Van Meter, Captain, 399.

Vaughan, Andrew, 556.

Vernon, Major, 454.

Vetri, Mons., 77.

Villa (probably Villiers), Mary, 232.

Villiers, Marianne, 230.

Vincennes; George Rogers Clark captures Hamilton, the "hair buyer," at, 423.

Virginia treaty at Logstown, 17.

Virginia's claim to Southwestern Pennsylvania; basis of, 9, 10, 17, 33, 34; Lord Dunmore's attempt to assert, Chapter XIV.

Virginia counties and courts in Western Pennsylvania, 277, 278, 279.

W

Walker, Benjamin, 611.

Walker, Gabriel; attack on home of, 581, 582.

Walker, John, 611.

Walker, Joseph, 611.

Walker, Isaac, 582.

Walker, Henry, 611.

Walker, Mrs., 537.

Wallace, Dr. J. C., 653.

Wallace, Richard, 312, 520.

Wallace, Robert; his wife and child killed, 537; at Gnadenhuetten massacre, 542.

Wallace, Samuel, 231.

Walter, Richard, 22.

Walters, Ephraim, 230.

Walthour, Christopher; builds Fort Walthour, 314.

Walthour, George, Joseph and Michael join in petition to Gen. Irvine, 566.

Walum Olum, 2.

Wampler, Christopher, 233.

Wampler, Christina, 232.

Ward, Edward, 21, 278.

Washington, Augustine; in the Ohio Company, 9.

Washington County erected, 284, 509.

Washington and Jefferson College; forerunner of, 255.

Washington County; forts and blockhouses erected in during Dunmore's War, 299, 300; forts and blockhouses erected in during Revolutionary War, 408 to 411.

Washington County; principal events in during Dunmore's War, 278, 294, 298, 299; principal events in during Revolutionary War, 476, 491, 492, 501, 504, 509, 516, 517, 523, 524, 526, 527, 529, 530, 531, 537, 538, 539, 548, 550, 551, 552, 556, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585.

Washington, George; his mission to the French forts, 18; his campaign of 1754, 18; commands Virginia troops in Forbes campaign, 23, 24; favors the Braddock Road route in Forbes campaign, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33; his comments on Grant's defeat, 53; his narrow escape from death near Fort Ligonier (the present Idlewild Park), 75 to 79; he and most of his Generals receive their military training in Pennsylvania, 118; in the advance in the march from Fort Ligonier to Fort Duquesne, 119, 120; gets title to Washington County lands under Virginia Certificates, 284; Colonel William Crawford his land agent, 282; urges raising regiments on frontiers, 348; forms Morgan's Riflemen, 352; his army joined by Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, 359; sends Gen. Hand to Fort Pitt, 397; relieves Gen. Hand of his command and commissions Gen. McIntosh to succeed him, 414; detaches Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment from his army, 439; relieves Gen. McIntosh of his command and commissions Col. Brodhead to succeed him, 453; approves erection of forts McIntosh and Laurens, 453, 454; orders Rawling's corps to Western Pennsylvania, 460, 461; orders Brodhead's expedition of 1779, 482; orders Colonels Brodhead and Gibson to assist George Rogers Clark's expedition, 517; relieves Col. Brodhead of his command and commissions Gen. Irvine to succeed him, 525; his comments on murder of Moravian Delawares at Gnadenhuetten, Ohio, 563; orders three expeditions against Indian allies of British, 585; sends Gen. St. Clair against Western Indians, 268 to 271; sends Gen. Harmar against Western Indians, 608 to 610; conciliates Senecas, 611, 612; sends Gen. Wayne against

- Western Indians, 645 to 652; visited by Little Turtle, 654.
- Washington, Lawrence; in the Ohio Company, 9; endeavors to persuade Pennsylvania Germans to settle on Ohio Company's lands, 317, 318.
- Washnash, Delaware chief; raid of, 500, 501.
- Watson, Robert, 520.
- Wayne, Gen. Anthony; comes to Pittsburgh, 628; his campaign against the Western Indians, 645 to 651; compels them to sign treaty of Greenville, 651, 652; death of, 653, 654.
- Wayne, Col. Isaac, 653, 654.
- Weber, Rev. John William; comes to Westmoreland and established first religious organization in Pittsburgh, 245.
- Weinel, Rev. William, 257.
- Weiser, Conrad; negotiates treaty with Indians at Logstown opening region west of the Alleghenies to Anglo-Saxon influence and development, 10.
- Weiser, Samuel, 22.
- West, Benjamin, 124.
- West, Captain, 124.
- West Augusta County; established, 277; its court sits at Fort Dunmore (Port Pitt), 277, 278; its first justices, 277, 278; its court moves to Augusta Town, 278.
- Westmoreland County; established and bounds of, 259, 260; original court of and its first officers and justices, 260, 261, 274, 277; its court broken up by Dr. Connolly and three of its justices taken to Virginia, 273 to 277. See records of its court in Appendix.
- Westmoreland County; forts and blockhouses erected in during Dunmore's War, 311 to 315; forts and blockhouses erected in during Revolutionary War, 403 to 408; forts and blockhouses erected in during Post-Revolutionary Indian uprising, 620, 636.
- Westmoreland County; principal events in during French and Indian War, Chapters II, III, IV, V, VI; principal events in during Pontiac's War, Chapters XI and XII; principal events in during Dumore's War, Chapter XIV; principal events in during Revolutionary War, 279, 341, 342, 363, 366 to 396, 426 to 439, 442, 456, 463 to 466, 468 to 470, 501 to 503, 506, 516 to 521, 532 to 534, 554 to 556, 564 to 581; principal events in during Post-Revolutionary Indian uprising, 595, 596, 607, 608, 620, 622, 623, 624, 629 to 631, 635, 636.
- Weston, John, 420.
- Weston, Richard, 422.
- Wetterholt, John Nicholas, 21.
- White, Mrs., 570.
- Whiteacre, James, 527.
- White Eyes, Delaware chief, 5; holds councils with Col. Bouquet, 224; peace efforts of in Dunmore's War, 291 to 295; prevents Girty from turning peaceable Delawares against Americans, 417; at treaty of alliance between Delawares and Americans at Fort Pitt, 443 to 447; in McIntosh's expedition to the Tuscarawas, 455; death of, 455.
- White Mingo, 240.
- Wilkins, John, 633, 658.
- Wilkins, Mary and Elizabeth, captives, 232.
- Williams, Catherine, 232.
- Williamson, Col. David; erects blockhouse on his plantation, 409; his expedition against Moravian Delawares in autumn of 1781, 523, 524; his massacre of Moravian Delawares in March, 1782, 538 to 548.
- Williard, Catherine, 232.
- Williard, Mr.; killed and daughter captured and later killed, 554 to 556.
- Williard, Mrs. Mary, 554 to 556.
- Williard, Frederick, 566.
- Wilson, George; Lieut.-Col. Eighth Pa. Regiment, 348; death of, 351.
- Wilson, Major James, 373, 533.
- Wilson, William; peace mission of, 338, 339.
- Wingenund, Delaware chief; unable to save Col. Crawford, 560.
- "Winning the West," Theodore Roosevelt's; error in, 329, 330.

Wipey, Joseph, Delaware Indian ;
murder of 301 to 304.
Wiséman, Isaac, killed, 505.
Wolf, a soldier, killed, 631.
Work, Patrick, 22.
Wounded Knee, battle of, 543.
Wyllys, Major, 609.
Wynal (Weinel), Rev. William,
257.
Wyandots ; go over to the British,
331 ; their settlement at Sandus-
ky, 497 ; invade settlements, 504.

Y

Yeaman, John, 556.
Yohogania County ; established by

Virginia, 278 ; its court sits at
Andrew Heath's, 278. See also
Appendix.
Yohroonwago, a Seneca village,
486.
Young, Betty, 232.
Young, James, 21.

Z

Zane, Jonathan, 485, 511, 558.
Zeisberger, Rev. David, Moravian
missionary ; 252, 523, 544, 547 ;
death of, 545.
Zundel, Rev. W. A. ; his "History
of Zion (Old Harrold's) Luther-
an Church," 469.

SEP 07 2002

SEP 07 2002

OCT 5 2002

~~OCT 31 2002~~

NOV 23 2002

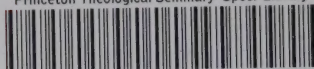
GAYLORD

#3523PI

Printed in USA

F152 .S57
Fort Ligonier and its times; a history

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00024 5672